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# HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

RELATING TO

REMARKABLE PERIODS

OF

THE SUCCESS

*to Beekinning*

THE GOSPEL,

AND

EMINENT INSTRUMENTS

EMPLOYED IN PROMOTING IT.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

MATTH. XXVIII. 19, 20. GO AND TEACH ALL NATIONS:—AND LO,  
I AM WITH YOU ALWAY, EVEN TO THE END OF THE WORLD.

COMPILED BY

JOHN GILLIES,

ONE OF THE MINISTERS OF GLASGOW.

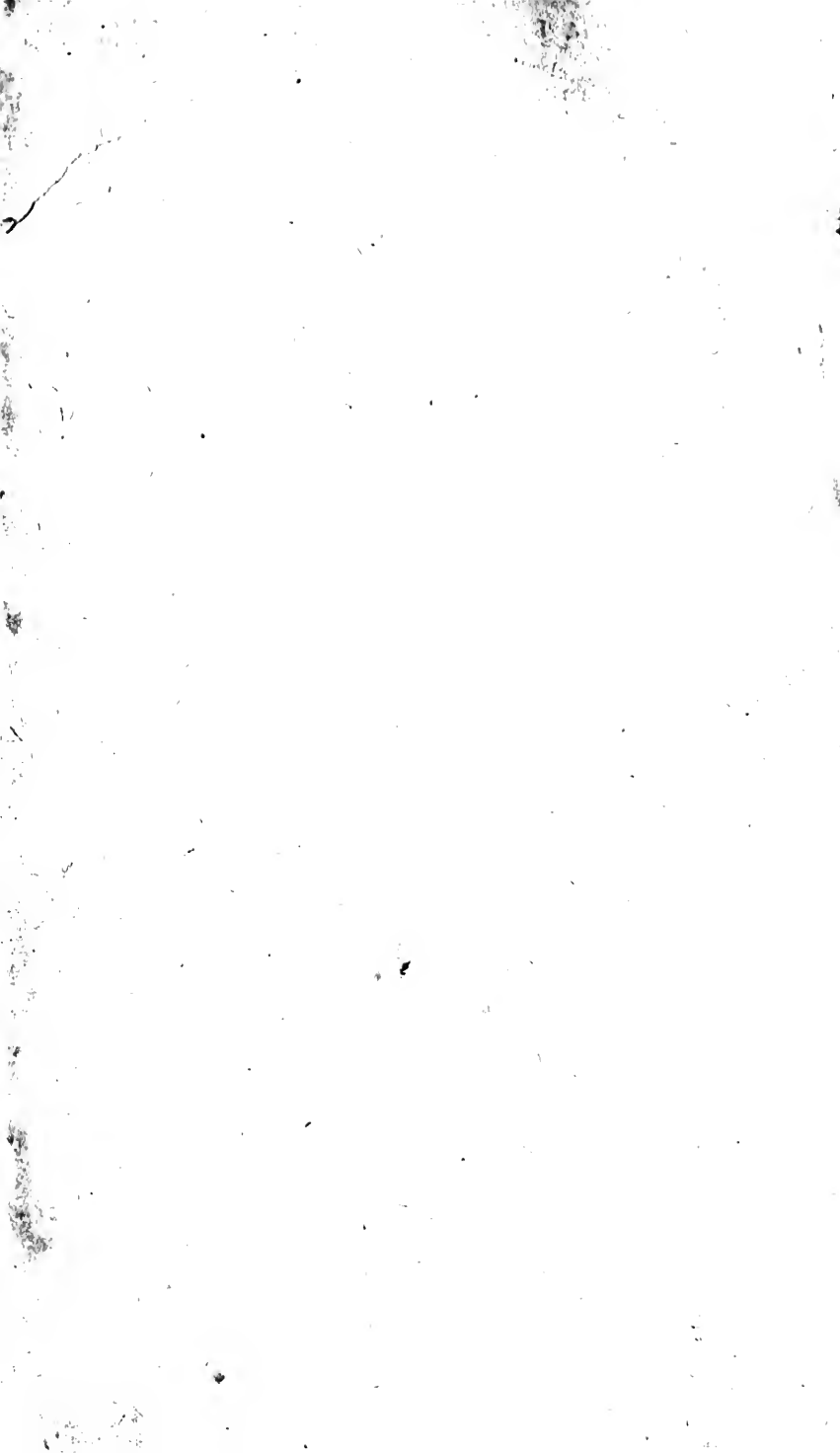
*IN MAGNIS VOLUISSE*

VOL. I.

GLASGOW,

PRINTED BY ROBERT AND ANDREW FOULIS

MDCCLIV.



## A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

*THE Recommendation annexed to the Proposals, December 19th, 1752, refers to Book IV. Chapters 2d, 5th, 6th, 7th, which would have been a more considerable Part of the Whole, had the two Volumes been of no larger Size than what was promised in the Proposals: But they now contain as much as would have made about three Volumes and a Half of that Size. The Type is the same; but the Paper (being a great Deal larger) is almost a third dearer; yet this additional Expence of Paper and Print, as well as that of Binding, is sufficiently answered by the numerous Subscription with which Providence has favoured the Undertaking.*

# P R E F A C E.

## *Of the Characters and Uses of this Kind of History.*

ALL who are acquainted with the New Testament, know what a considerable part of it is employed in historical narrations of the success of the gospel. We meet with them in the Evangelists; the Acts of the Apostles are a continued series of them: and they are even to be found in the Epistles intermixed with doctrinal and practical subjects: a convincing proof that they have a tendency, by the divine blessing, to promote real religion.

These scripture-narrations (the true standard of this manner of writing) are of two sorts: the first sort contain accounts of considerable numbers wrought upon, at one and the same time. And these accounts are sometimes more compendious<sup>a</sup>, sometimes more diffuse and circumstantiated<sup>b</sup>. The second sort contain large accounts of particular eminent persons, such as Paul, Cornelius, the jailor at Philippi<sup>c</sup>, &c.

The chief materials of the first sort of narrations are such as these: 1. The numbers that were converted, sometimes told in a more general way, as when it is said, "Believers were the more added to the Lord," "multitudes both of men and women<sup>d</sup>." And "the number of the disciples multiplied in Jerusalem greatly<sup>e</sup>." Sometimes in a more particular and determinate way, as when we are told, that "there were added to the church about three thousand souls<sup>f</sup>." And that "the number of the men who believed were about five thousand<sup>g</sup>." 2. The religious instructions that were the means of this happy change, and the instruments employed in proposing these instructions. 3. The providences that brought them in the way of those that reaped such benefit by them. 4. The earnest prayers that preceded such times, and the uncommon influences of the Holy Spirit that attended them. 5. The blessed fruits of holiness in the lives of the converts, as when we are told, "They continued daily with one accord in the temple, and breaking bread from house to house, did eat their meat with gladness and singleness of heart, praising God, and having favour with all the people<sup>h</sup>." And again, "the churches had rest throughout all Judaea, and Galilee, and Samaria, and were edified, and walking in the fear of the Lord, and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost were multiplied<sup>i</sup>." And, in another place, "Our gospel came not unto you in word only, but also in

<sup>a</sup> Rom. i. 8. 1 Cor. i. 4, 5, 6.

<sup>b</sup> Acts, chap. ii. iii.

<sup>c</sup> Acts, chap. ix. x. xvi.

<sup>d</sup> Acts v. 14.

<sup>e</sup> Acts vi. 7.

<sup>f</sup> Acts ii. 41.

<sup>g</sup> Acts. iv. 4.

<sup>h</sup> Acts ii. 46, 47.

<sup>i</sup> Acts ix. 31.

“ power, and in the Holy Ghost, and in much assurance; and ye became followers of us, and of the Lord, having received the word in much affliction, with joy of the Holy Ghost: so that ye were examples to all that believe in Macedonia and Achaia<sup>a</sup>.” By the way we may notice, that the short descriptions contained in the passages just now quoted, of the blessed change wrought upon the hearts of sinners, when redemption is applied to them, the divine image restored, and the precious graces of repentance, faith, and love, &c. implanted, are to be considered as explained more fully in the other parts of scripture that are more strictly doctrinal and practical, which shew more particularly the nature of those blessed attainments, and teach us to make proper allowances for the diversity of degrees in spiritual attainments of the same kind.

As to the second sort of narrations, concerning particular eminent persons, we find these used in such cases as the following: 1. When the persons were made remarkably instrumental in promoting the gospel; especially if they were formerly noted opposers of it, as Paul; or had denied it in any degree, as Peter. 2. When they were men of extraordinary gifts and graces, and of exemplary diligence and fervency, as Barnabas and Apollos; descriptions of such characters being very proper parts of a history of the success of the gospel, both as such men were instances of it in their own persons, and as they were instruments in the hand of God to bring in others. 3. When they were men of exemplary fidelity and stedfastness, in sealing the truth with their sufferings of various kinds, as Stephen, Paul, Silas, Peter. 4. When there was something remarkably gracious, or remarkably providential, or both, in their conversion; as the jailor and Onesimus.

Several other particulars might be added, but these few hints may be sufficient to direct an intelligent reader who is acquainted with the Scriptures, to judge how far the following collection is agreeable to the Scripture-pattern of this species of writing.

There is indeed an infinite disparity betwixt inspired and uninspired writings: yet it is to be considered that the knowledge of facts relating to the success of the gospel, is represented to have had very good effects even before they were recorded in holy Scripture, when spread merely in the ordinary way of well attested report or correspondence<sup>b</sup>. And this shews how wisely HE, who is at once the author of nature, and God of all grace, does, in the operations of his grace, act suitably to the frame of our nature, on which example has so peculiar an influence, tho’ far from being of sufficient efficacy in this case, without the Almighty influences of his Holy Spirit.

And here it seems to deserve particular notice, that tho’ the age of the apostles was that of miracles, and immediate inspiration: and tho’ it was easy to HIM who instructed his servants in that way, in the knowledge of the truths of the Gospel, to have informed them at any time, in the same way, as to the facts relating to the success of it: yet the great apostle Paul, is made to set us a pattern of seeking information about such facts from men who had access to know them<sup>c</sup>. This con-

a 1 Thess. i. 5, 6, 7. b See Rom. i. 8. compared with 1 Thess. i. 7, 8. c 1 Thess. iii. 5, 6.

sideration ought to make us beware of despising the knowledge we may attain of the success of the gospel, in the ordinary way of moral or historical evidence.

When witnesses are sufficient as to their characters, their numbers, and their means of information; their testimony affords a very high degree of moral evidence. This is still increased when it has the concurrence of adversaries; as the accounts we have of the primitive Christians, for instance, are greatly confirmed by the testimony of Pliny a Heathen. And the evidence which facts admit of is still greater, when what is attested is not merely one single fact, or a number of facts happening at the same instant; but a permanent series of them exposed to the view of numbers. Of this kind was the evidence Paul had of the conversion of these Corinthians, which he speaks of not as peculiar to himself and other apostles, but as known to all, "Ye are our epistle written in our hearts, known and read of all men, for as much as ye are manifestly declared to be the epistle of Christ ministered by us<sup>a</sup>." Such evidence of holiness is what the scripture calls elsewhere "a light shining before men," and what makes its subjects to "shine as lights in the world."

As to the uses of the following Collection, it is hoped several will occur to the intelligent serious reader, which need not be enumerated here. Only (as was observed in the recommendation annexed to the proposals): 1. Without such a collection, several smaller pieces, out of which valuable materials are here taken, are in danger of being lost. 2. When similar facts, that were so dispersed, and sometimes mixed with other subjects in different books (some of which are rare in this country) are now united, so as to be laid before the reader in one view, and methodized according to the order of time in which the events happened in different places; they may be read and compared with much greater advantage in subserviency to the various branches of edification for which they ought to be improved. 3. Though the chief subject of the whole is the success of the gospel; yet, as it is of great use to know the evils which have been found, in experience, to have greatly marred that success, the composures, here collected, do contain important informations on that head. 4. Tho' by far the greatest part of the materials are taken from useful writings formerly published, yet there are some new materials of so much the greater importance, as they relate directly to the evidences of the perseverance of goodly numbers, concerning whom several things formerly published could only narrate hopeful beginnings. To which may be added, 5. That the lovers of religious intelligence, who observe involuntary defects in this Collection, for want of more materials, have in this an argument to excite them to get these defects made up, that so this kind of history may be gradually more compleated. And, if this end is gained, it may prove, by the Divine blessing, of real service to the interests of religion.

I shall conclude, with insisting a little upon one particular improvement of all our reading and conversation of this kind, which, for vari-



ous reasons, claims peculiar attention: and that is, that it should move us to continual ardent prayer, that the Lord would give more success than ever to his gospel in all parts of the earth.

If this is one of the branches of practical religion that has been least inculcated, in proportion to its importance, is not this an additional inducement to greater application to a too much neglected duty? Does not the first half of the prayer, which our Lord himself taught us, relate to this case? so that to put up any of the first three petitions of it, is in effect to pray for the success of the gospel?

But, besides that excellent pattern of prayer, is there not a great variety of other scripture-motives to this duty, from scripture-precepts, examples, and promises; from the love we owe to God, to his Zion, to his ordinances and truths, to his saints, to all men, to our own souls; from the tendency of such exercises, to strengthen and evidence the graces whence they flow; to purify the heart through grace from the opposite evils, and to promote the heavenly and angelical joy resulting from dispensations that fulfill the desires implied in such prayers?

Is it not a just motive to superior earnestness, in the duty under consideration, that whereas in praying merely for ourselves, we pray but for the happiness of one soul; in prayer for the success of the gospel, we pray for the happiness of thousands, and for our own among the rest? If it is cruelty to indulge indifference about the temporal interests of others, especially the most important of them, tho' even these deserve not the name of happiness; is not a worse name, if worse there is, than cruelty, due to indifference about these eternal interests of men, to which their highest temporal interests bear no proportion?

Is it not to kindle ardent desire, and prayer for the success of the gospel, that the scripture-descriptions of eminent dispensations of that kind, are made with such uncommon magnificence of stile, as to resemble descriptions of heaven? "Zion is said to awake, to put on strength, to put on her beautiful garments, to arise and shake herself from the dust,<sup>a</sup> to arise and shine, because her light is come, and the glory of the Lord risen on her, and that his glory is seen on her, whence nations will come to the brightness of her rising<sup>b</sup>; that her righteousness breaks forth as brightness, and her salvation as a lamp that burneth<sup>c</sup>; yea, that she is clothed with the robes of righteousness, and garments of salvation, as a bridegroom decketh himself with ornaments, and a bride adorneth herself with her jewels<sup>d</sup>; so as she is a crown of glory in the hand of the Lord, and a diadem of beauty in the hand of her God<sup>e</sup>. Her stones laid with fair colours, her foundations with sapphires, her windows made of agates, her gates carbuncles, and all her borders of pleasant stones<sup>f</sup>. Not only the excellency of Carmel and Sharon, and the glory of Lebanon given her<sup>g</sup>; but her wilderness made like Eden, and her desert as the garden of the Lord<sup>h</sup>. The Lord rending the heavens, coming down<sup>i</sup>, placing

<sup>a</sup> Isaiah lii. 1, 2. <sup>b</sup> Isaiah lx. 1, 2. <sup>c</sup> Isaiah lxii. 1. <sup>d</sup> Isaiah lxi. 10. <sup>e</sup> Isaiah lxi. 3. and xxviii. 5. <sup>f</sup> Isaiah liv. 11, 12. <sup>g</sup> Isaiah xxxv. 2. <sup>h</sup> Isaiah li. 3. <sup>i</sup> Isaiah lxiv. 1.

“salvation in Zion for Israel his glory<sup>a</sup>; appearing in his glory to build  
 “up Zion,<sup>b</sup> and by doing so, taking to him his great power and reign-  
 “ing<sup>c</sup>. Making his work to appear unto his servants, and his glory to  
 “their children, so as the beauty of the Lord their God may be upon  
 “them,<sup>d</sup> girding his sword on his thigh in his glory and majesty, and in  
 “his majesty riding prosperously<sup>e</sup>, making his people see his goings, as  
 “the goings of their God and their king in his sanctuary<sup>f</sup>. As walking  
 “amidst the golden candlesticks<sup>g</sup>, glorifying the house of his glory<sup>h</sup>, and  
 “making the place of his feet glorious<sup>i</sup>. On all the glory creating a de-  
 “fence<sup>k</sup>, and shewing himself a wall of fire round about Zion, and the  
 “glory in the midst of her<sup>l</sup>; as her everlasting light, her God and her  
 “glory<sup>m</sup>.”

Should it not greatly add to the ardour of our prayers, for the suc-  
 cess of the gospel, and our praise for every instance of it, when we con-  
 sider that such events are represented, not only as the objects of Zion's  
 heavenly joy, but of a joy infinitely more glorious, and in which it is  
 her highest dignity to share, that of HIM whose great and free love  
 makes its own chief effects, consistently with self-sufficiency, the objects  
 of great complacency, without being the cause of any advantage. “Be  
 “you glad and rejoice for ever in that which I create; for behold I  
 “create Jerusalem a rejoicing, and her people a joy; and I will re-  
 “joice in Jerusalem, and joy in my people<sup>n</sup>.” No wonder such expres-  
 sions should be followed with promises about putting an end to the  
 voice of weeping: and when they are compared with others of the  
 same import<sup>o</sup>, are they not a commentary on our Lord's words, about  
 his servants, as entering into his joy, and his joy as being in them, that  
 their joy may be full<sup>p</sup>?

In the hundredth and second Psalm, when 'tis mentioned as a proof,  
 that the time of God's favouring Zion was come, because his servants  
 were favouring her dust and stones; is it not plainly implied that such  
 glorious days cannot be far off, when there is much longing and pleading  
 for them? and tho' the regarding the prayer of the destitute, mentioned  
 in that Psalm, is indeed accomplished, in dispensations of grace, to particu-  
 lar members of Zion; is there not good ground, from the connection of  
 purposes, to understand it there, as respecting the general interests of  
 Zion, which are the subject both of the preceeding and following con-  
 text, especially considering that remarkable character of the mentioned  
 regard to prayer; that it was to be written on record, not only for  
 the present but future generations? To restrict that context to the re-  
 turn from Babylon would be absurd, when it speaks so evidently of  
 New Testament times, and seems to extend even to the latest and hap-  
 piest of them. Mean time, may it not be considered as one of these  
 scriptures, which directs us to consider New Testament revivals, not  
 only as accomplishments of Old Testament predictions, but also as an-  
 swers to Old Testament prayers? according to what is said of the

a Isaiah xli. 13. b Psalm cii. 16. c Rev. xi. 17. d Psalm xc. 16, 17. e Psalm  
 xlv. 3, 4. f Psalm lxxviii. 24. g Rev. ii. 1. h Isaiah lx. 7. i Isaiah lx. 13. k Isaiah  
 iv. 5. l Zechar. ii. 5. m Isaiah lx. 19. n Isaiah. lxxv. 18, 19. o Jerem. xxxii. 41. Ze-  
 phan. iii. 17. Luke xv. p Jo. xv. 11.

tribes of the ancient church, "Unto which promise made of God to our fathers, our twelve tribes instantly serving God day and night, hope to come<sup>a</sup>."

Though great importunity in such prayers is strongly inculcated in the expressions in the sixty second chapter of Isaiah, which require the Lord's people not to hold their peace, not to keep silence day or night; and, to give themselves no rest; is there not something still more astonishing in what is added verse seventh of the same chapter, about their giving HIM no rest, till he establish and make Jerusalem a praise in the earth?

The above persuasives to prayer, are things about which it may be hoped, that people who differ about other things must agree. Such pious persons as are not yet sufficiently informed, and persuaded of several past events, as instances of the success of the gospel, must own, that they see not the less, but rather the more need of prayer for future success, even such as shall unite us all in thanksgiving, for what we must own we are now bound to unite in prayer for.

Are not all these late extraordinary dispensations of grace, with which the Lord has favoured so many different corners, so many gracious invitations and encouragements, and consequently so many new additional obligations to ask for more, as they put new arguments in our mouths; so that, in pleading, that the arm of the Lord may "Awake as in the days of old<sup>b</sup>," we may add now also as in the days of late.

If before these late gracious dispensations, prayer for such blessings was so much neglected, that in some respect it may be said, the Lord was found of people when they sought him not, and did wonderful things which we looked not for; may it not be hoped, if there shall be an abundant united seeking and looking for him, a seeking his face, and that with all the heart, that we shall find, that he has not commanded the house of Jacob to do this in vain, and that as he never was, he never will be a barren wilderness, nor land of darkness<sup>c</sup> to them who long for him?

It is indeed too certain that there are also, in our day, several discouragements relating to the public interests of religion; particularly the opposition to Christianity, whether more openly or otherwise, surpassing perhaps what has appeared in Christendom for some ages. Our own sinfulness and ingratitude may also discourage us. But will remissness in prayer be justified by the things which shew the greatest need of earnestness? Should not such things rather excite our attention the more to the assurances given us, that when so employed we are pleading for a cause that must finally prevail; and whose most threatening dangers and lowest times have frequently been soon followed with the most signal appearances in its behalf: as is evident from the times preceding the deliverances from Egypt and Babylon, the first promulgation of the gospel, and the Protestant reformation. So agreeable is it

<sup>a</sup> Acts xxvi. 6, 7.

<sup>b</sup> Isaiah li. 9.

<sup>c</sup> Jeremiah li. 31.

to the church's experience, and the scripture-promises concerning her, that when her power is gone, and she seems in imminent danger of being consumed; the power and good-will of him who dwelt in the bush seasonably interposes<sup>a</sup>; and the time of need proves the time for the Lord to work<sup>b</sup>.

How much is the exercise of faith and hope, even under public discouragements, extolled in scripture, not only as a forerunner of success, but also as matter of joyful reflection when it comes, as in that passage of the prophet, "The rebuke of his people shall he take away" from off all the earth; and it shall be said in that day, lo, this is our "God, we have waited for him, and he will save us: this is the Lord, "we have waited for him, we will be glad and rejoice in his salvation!"

Whether the times of the greatest and most extensive flourishing of the gospel promised to the church in the last days be far off or near at hand, is it not desirable to be of the number of those to whose fervent prayers these inestimable blessings shall be gracious returns? seeing it is evident from scripture, that God will be enquired after, even for what he has absolutely promised; and that they who see such promises only a far off ought to embrace them<sup>d</sup>. But it is no small encouragement, that as the glory of the latter days is still necessarily approaching, so some interpreters of great name, have, without presuming to determine the precise time, brought arguments of considerable weight to prove in general that the happy period cannot be far off. Sir Isaac Newton in his observations on the predictions, relating to that period in Daniel and the Apocalypse, which were published more than twenty years ago, in part ii. of his book chap. 1. near the end, has some remarkable passages upon the grounds of that probability. He observes that in Daniel xii. 4. that prophet was commanded to shut up the words and seal the book, even to the time of the end: "That therefore it is a part of this prophecy "that it shall not be understood" (so clearly and fully) "before the "last age of the world: but if the last age, the age of opening these "things, be now approaching, as by the great successes of late interpreters it seems to be; we have more encouragement than ever to look "into these things. If the general preaching of the gospel be approaching, it is to us and our posterity that those words mainly belong. "In "the time of the end the wise shall understand, but none of the wicked "shall understand<sup>e</sup>. Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the "words of this prophecy, and keep those things which are written "therein<sup>f</sup>." And afterwards he adds, "Amongst the interpreters of "the last age there is scarce one of note who hath not made some "discovery worth knowing; and thence I seem to gather that God "is about opening these mysteries. The success of others put me upon considering it; and if I have done any thing which may be useful "to following writers, I have my design."

<sup>a</sup> Deut. xxxii. 36.  
and Heb. xi. 13.

<sup>b</sup> Psalm exix. 126.  
<sup>c</sup> Daniel. xii. 4, 10.

<sup>d</sup> Isaiah xxv. 8, 9.  
<sup>e</sup> Apoc. i. 3.

<sup>f</sup> Esck. xxxvi. 37.

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*The* **AUTHORS** *from whom this* **VOLUME** *is collected, (mostly verbatim) are:*

1. Millar's Propagation of Christianity.
2. Bennet's Memorial of the Reformation.
3. Clark's Martyrology and Lives.
4. Knox's History of the Reformation.
5. Fleming's Fulfilling of the Scriptures.
6. Wesley's Christian Library.
7. Neal's History of the Puritans.
8. Preface to Usher's Sermons.
9. Calamy's Life of Baxter.
10. Elavel's Life prefixed to his Works.
11. Preface to Bunyan's Works.
12. Vincent's Book, intitled, God's terrible Voice in the City.
13. Welch's Life.
14. Livingston's Life and Memoirs.
15. Blair's Life in M.S.
16. Binning's Life prefixed to his Works.
17. Preface to Durham on Scandal.
18. Preface to Guthry's Trial of a Saving Interest in Christ.
19. Prince's Christian History (including Edward's Narrative, &c.)
20. Mather's Life of Eliot.
21. Mayhew's Indian Converts, with the Appendix.
22. Pietas Hallensis, Part 1st, 2d, 3d.
23. Account of the Societies for Reformation of Manners.
24. Woodward's Account of the Religious Societies in London.
25. Appendix to the Edinburgh Edition of Pietas Hallensis, 1707.
26. Robe's Monthly History.
27. Gouge's Life prefixed to his Works.
28. Burnet's Sermons.
29. Turner's History of Remarkable Providences.

## HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS.

## BOOK I.

A few Hints of the Success of the Gospel from the Beginning  
to the Sixteenth Century.

## CHAPTER I.

*Its quick and extensive Progress in the first three Centuries. Some of the Means employed by Divine Wisdom for promoting it; such as,*  
1. *The Apologies for Christianity written by Men of Learning.* 2. *The Zeal of the Primitive Christians.* 3. *The Holiness of their Lives.*  
4. *Their Patience and Constancy in suffering Martyrdom. The Gospel not only subsists but flourishes under repeated Persecution in the Years 67, 92, 108, 118, 167, 205, 237, 250, 257, 303.*

[ From MILLAR's Propagation of Christianity, vol. i. pag. 465, &c. ]

**T**HE swift progress of the Gospel, in the time of the Apostles, through most part of the then known world, was indeed astonishing. What followed was also remarkable; especially, if we consider that Christianity, from the spirituality of its precepts, its tendency to suppress lusts and corruptions, and its contrariety to the idolatry and superstition which had obtained a footing in the world for some thousands of years, was like to meet with the fiercest opposition. In fact, it did meet with such opposition; yet still it prospered, being attended with the power of God.

Origen tells Celsus<sup>a</sup>, "Many, both Greeks and Barbarians, wise and unwise, contend for the truth of our religion, even to the laying down their lives, a thing not known to any other profession in the world;" and he challenges him<sup>b</sup>, "To shew such an unspeakable number, reposing confidence in Aesculapius, as he could shew of those who had embraced the faith of the holy Jesus." When Celsus objects, "That Christianity was a clandestine religion that crept up and down in corners;" Origen answers<sup>c</sup>, "That the religion of the Christians was better known through the world than the dictates of their best philosophers."

Nor were they mean and ignorant persons only that came over to Christianity. But, as Arnobius observes<sup>d</sup>, "Is not this an argument for our faith, that in so little a space of time, the sacraments of Christ's great name are diffused over the world? that orators, grammarians, rhetoricians, lawyers, physicians, and philosophers, men of great genius, love our religion, despising these things wherein before they trusted? that servants will rather suffer torments from their masters, wives sooner part with their husbands, and children chuse to be disinherited by their parents, rather than abandon the Christian faith?"

<sup>a</sup> Book i. pag. 21, 22.  
Gentiles, Book i. p. 53.

<sup>b</sup> Book iii. p. 124.

<sup>c</sup> Book i. p. 7.

<sup>d</sup> Against the

Tertullian, addressing himself to the Roman governors, in behalf of the Christians, assures them<sup>a</sup>, “That tho’ Christians be as strangers of no long standing, yet they had filled all places of their dominions, their cities, islands, castles, corporations, councils, armies, tribes, the palace, senate, and courts of judicature; only they had left to the Heathens their temples. They are fit and ready to war, tho’ they yield themselves to be killed for their religion. Had they a mind to revenge themselves, their numbers were great enough to appear in open arms, having a party not in this or that province, but in all quarters of the world. Nay, should they all but agree to retire out of the Roman empire, what a loss would there be of so many subjects. The world would be amazed at the solitude which would ensue upon it; and you would have more enemies than friends; whereas now your enemies are fewer, because of the multitude of Christians, almost all your subjects and best citizens consisting of Christians. It would be more than a sufficient revenge to us, that your city, if we were gone, would be an empty possession to unclean spirits: and therefore Christianity is not to be called a trouble to your cities, but a favour; nor are we to be accounted enemies to mankind, but only adversaries to human errors?” The same learned Author, writing to Scapula, deputy of Afric, then persecuting the Christians, desires him to consider<sup>b</sup>, “If he went on with his persecution, what he would do with these many thousands, both of men and women, of every rank and age, that would readily offer themselves? what fires or swords must he have to dispatch them? Carthage itself must be decimated, his own friends and acquaintances, the principal men and matrons in the city, will suffer; if you spare not us, spare yourself, spare Carthage; have pity on the province.”

Pliny the younger, tho’ a Heathen, confesses to the Emperor<sup>c</sup>, “That the cause of the Christians was a matter worthy of deliberation, by reason of the multitudes who were concerned; for many of each sex, of every age and quality, were and must be called in question; this superstition, says he, having infected and over-run not the city only, but towns and countries, the temples and sacrifices being generally forsaken.”

Justin Martyr tells Tryphon, the Jew<sup>d</sup>, “That however they might boast of the universality of their religion, that there were many nations and places of the world, where they nor it ever came; whereas there was no part of mankind, whether Greeks or Barbarians, or by what name soever they be called, even the most rude and unpolished nations, where prayers and thanksgivings were not made to the great Creator of the world, through the name of the crucified Jesus.”

Irenaeus, who flourished in the year 179, informs us<sup>e</sup>, “This preaching of the Gospel, and this faith the church scattered up and down, the whole world maintains, as inhabiting one house, and believes it with one heart and soul, teaches and preaches it as with one mouth; for tho’ there be different languages in the world, that doctrine that has been delivered to the church is but one and the same. The churches which

<sup>a</sup> Apology, Chap. 37. p. 46.

<sup>b</sup> To Scapula, Chap. 15. p. 92.

<sup>c</sup> Pliny’s Epistles, Book 10. Epist. 97.

<sup>d</sup> Dialogue with Tryphon.

<sup>e</sup> Against Heresies, Book 3. Chap. 3. p. 39.

are founded in Germany do not believe otherwise than these in Spain, France, Egypt and Lybia, as well as these in the middle of the world."

Tertullian, above-cited, gives a larger account<sup>a</sup>, " Their sound, says he, went through all the earth (speaking of the Apostles;) in whom but in Christ, who is now come, have all these nations believed? even Parthians, Medes, Elamites, the inhabitants of Mesopotamia, Armenia, Phrygia, Cappadocia, Pontus, Asia, and Pamphilia, these who dwell in Egypt, and the region of Afric, which is beyond Cyrene, strangers and denizons at Rome, Jews at Jerusalem, and the rest of the nations; as also many of the Getuli, many borders of the Moors, the utmost bounds of Spain, divers nations in Gaul, and places of Britain, inaccessible to the Roman armies, have yielded subjection to Christ; and also the Sarmatians, the Dacians, the Germans and the Scythians, with many obscure countries and provinces, islands, and places unknown to us, which, says he, I cannot reckon up; in all which the name of Christ reigns, because he is now come, before whom the gates of all cities are set open, and bars of iron are snapt asunder; that is, these hearts, once possessed by the devil, are opened by faith in him." And afterward he demonstrates, that the kingdom of Christ is more extensive than any of the four great monarchies.

To which, add another passage of Arnobius; he, when speaking of the success of the Gospel, says<sup>b</sup>, " We may enumerate these things done in India among the Persians and the Medes; and also in Arabia, Egypt, Asia, Syria, Galatia, Cappadocia, among the Parthians, Phrygians, in Achaia, Macedonia and Epirus; and in all isles and provinces that the rising or setting sun shines upon, even at Rome itself, the empress of all, where men, educated in king Numa's arts and ancient superstition, have forsaken the same, and heartily embraced the truth of the Christian religion."

There were many things, in the first two or three centuries, that very much recommended Christianity to the world, and in divine providence tended to the happy progress of it. I shall notice these following.

*First*, Several men of learning became defenders of Christianity. It could not but be satisfying to men of meaner capacities, to see those of greater understanding, who could not be easily imposed upon, trampling under foot their former opinions, and not only entertaining the Christian faith, but strenuously defending it. The Gospel, at its first appearing in the world, was published by men of ordinary education, that it might not seem to be an human artifice. But, when after an hundred years considerable progress, malice did enflame its adversaries, it was proper to take in external helps to its assistance. The Christian apologists, and first writers against the Gentiles, did, by rational discourses, justify the Christians from the things they were unjustly charged with; proved the excellency, reasonableness and divinity of our holy religion, and exposed the folly and wickedness of Heathenism: by which means prejudices were removed, and many brought over to the faith. Thus, Quadratus of Athens, and Aristides, formerly a philosopher in that city,

<sup>a</sup> Against the Jews, Chap. 7. p. 98.    <sup>b</sup> Against the Gentiles, Book ii. p. 61.

dedicated each an Apology to the emperor Hadrian. Justin, the martyr, besides his Tract against the Gentiles, wrote two Apologies; the first to Antoninus Pius, the second to Marcus Aurelius and the senate. About the same time Athenagoras presented his Apology to the emperors Marcus Aurelius, and Aurelius Commodus, and wrote his excellent discourse concerning the resurrection. To the same Marcus Aurelius, Melito, of Sardis, did exhibit his Apologetic Oration. To him also Apollinaris, of Hierapolis in Asia, dedicated his Defence of the Christian faith, and wrote five books against the Gentiles, and two concerning the truth. Not long after, Theophilus, of Antioch, composed his three excellent books for the conviction of Autolycus; and Miltiades presented an Apology, probably, to the emperor Commodus; and Tatian, the Syrian, scholar to Justin Martyr, wrote a book against the Gentiles. Tertullian, a man of great learning, the first among the Latins that appeared in this cause, under the reign of Severus, published his Apologetic, directed to the magistrates of the Roman empire, beside his books to the Gentiles, to Scapula, and many more. After him succeeded Origen, whose eight books against Celsus, did great service to the Christian cause. Minucius Felix, an eminent advocate at Rome, wrote a short, but most elegant Dialogue between Octavius and Caecilius, which, as Lactantius observes<sup>a</sup>, shews how fit and able an advocate he would have been to assert the truth, had he wholly applied himself to it. About the time of the emperors Gallus and Velusian, Cyprian addressed himself in a discourse to Demetrius, proconsul of Afric, in behalf of the Christians, and published his Tract on the Vanity of Idols, which is a compend of Minucius' Dialogue. Toward the close of that age, under Diocletian, Arnobius, who taught rhetoric at Sica in Afric, being convinced of the truth of Christianity, could hardly at first make others believe he was in earnest; therefore, to evidence his sincerity, he wrote seven books against the Gentiles, where he smartly and rationally pleads the Christian cause. Lactantius, his scholar, professed rhetoric at Nicodemia; he composed several discourses in defence of the Christian, and in subversion of the Gentile religion.

A *second* mean of the progress of Christianity, was the indefatigable zeal used in the propagation of it. Every method was essayed to reclaim men from error, and bring them to the acknowledgment of the truth. The teachers of the primitive church preached boldly, and prayed heartily, for the reformation of mankind, solicited their neighbours, who were yet strangers to the truth, instructed and informed new converts, and built them up in their most holy faith. Those who were of greater parts and eminency erected schools, where they publicly taught such as resorted to them, in the principles of the faith, affording them antidotes both against Heathens and Heretics. Among us, says Tatian<sup>b</sup>, "Not only the rich and wealthy, but even the poor are freely instructed: for the doctrine concerning God is greater than can be recompensed with gifts; therefore we admit all who are willing to learn, whether old or young." And a little after, he says, "All our virgins are sober

<sup>a</sup> Of Righteousness, Book v. Chap. 1. p. 395.    <sup>b</sup> Discourse against the Greeks, p. 167, 168.

and modest, and use to discourse of divine things, even sitting at their distaffs." No pains, no travel nor hardships, were counted insuperable to enlarge the bounds of the Gospel-church. "The divine and admirable disciples of the apostles, says Eusebius<sup>a</sup>, built up the superstructures of the churches, the foundations whereof the apostles had laid, in all places where they came; they every where promoted the preaching of the Gospel, sowing the seeds of heavenly doctrine through the whole world. Many of the disciples then alive distributed their estates to the poor; and leaving their own country, did the work of evangelists to those who had never yet heard the Christian faith, preaching Christ, and delivering the evangelical writings to them. No sooner had they planted the faith in any foreign countries, and ordained guides and pastors, to whom they committed the care of these new plantations, but they went to other nations, assisted by the grace and powerful working of the Holy Spirit. As soon as ever they began to preach the Gospel, the people flocked universally to them, and cheerfully worshipped the true God, the Creator of the world, piously and heartily believing in his Name." In the number of these evangelical missionaries, were Silas, Sylvanus, Crescens, Andronicus, Trophimus, Marcus, Aristarchus, and afterwards Pantaenus, Pothinus and Irenaeus, with many others mentioned in the histories and martyrologies of the church, who counted not their lives dear to them; so that they might finish their course with joy.

*Thirdly*, Christianity recommended itself to the world, by the admirable holy lives of its professors, which could not but reconcile the unprejudiced part of the Gentiles to a good opinion of them, and vindicate their religion from the cavils of its adversaries. The piety of these primitive Christians towards God, their sobriety towards themselves, and their justice, righteousness and charity towards others, are well explained and illustrated by the learned Dr. Cave, from their own writings, in his book of Primitive Christianity. A few testimonies, to confirm it, shall suffice at this time. The Christian, in Minucius Felix, says<sup>b</sup>, "We despise the pride and superciliousness of philosophers, whom we know to be debauched, corrupt men, adulterers and tyrants, always eloquent against the vices of which themselves are most guilty. We measure not wisdom by mens habits, but by their minds and manners; nor do we speak great things so much as we live them, glorying that we have attained these things which they (*i. e.* the Gentiles) sought for, but could never find." Justin Martyr tells the emperor<sup>c</sup>, "We Christians have renounced daemons, and worship the only unbegotten God through his own Son: we, who formerly took pleasure in adulteries, now embrace the strictest chastity: we, who used magic charms, have devoted ourselves to the immortal God: we, who valued money and gain above all things, do now cast what we have in common, distributing to every one according to his need: we, who by hatred and slaughter, raged against each other, and refused to sit at the same fire with these who were not of our tribe, since Christ's coming into the world, familiarly converse together, pray for our enemies, and the conversion of those who

unjustly hate us, endeavouring to persuade them to live according to the excellent precepts of Christ." Thereafter he informs the emperor of the precepts of holiness, given by Christ in his excellent sermon on the mount.

Wonderful was the efficacy of this doctrine upon the hearts and lives of men, which the Christian apologists plead, at every turn, as an unanswerable evidence, that their religion was of God, since it made all sorts of men, who received it, chaste and temperate, quiet and peaceable, meek and modest, yea, afraid of the appearance of evil. When the Heathens derided them for the mean and unpompous solemnities of their religion, they declared, that God respected no man for external advantages; he delighted in the pure and holy soul; he stood in no need of blood or smoke, perfumes or incense; the best sacrifice, was to offer a mind truly devoted to him. Meekness and kindness, an humble heart, and an innocent life, was the offering with which God was well pleased; a pious soul was the fittest temple for God to dwell in; to do our duty, to abstain from sin, to be intent upon prayer and praise, the truest festival. This religion of the Christians rendered their profession amiable to the world, and oft forced their enemies to fall down, and say, God was in them of a truth.

*Fourthly,* The first Christians gained many proselytes, by their patience and constancy in their sufferings. They entertained the fiercest threatnings with an unshaken mind: they died rejoicing, and triumphed in midst of the greatest tortures. This continuing for some ages, convinced their enemies, that they were supported by a divine supernatural power. Lactantius thus triumphs in the cause<sup>a</sup>, "By reason of our wonderful courage, says he, our number is encreased, many flocking to us from these that worship idols; for, when they see men torn in pieces by variety of torments, and yet maintaining patience invincible, able to tire out their tormentors, they begin to think, as they have ground to do, that the consent of so many, and the perseverance of such dying persons, cannot be in vain; and that patience itself, were it not from God, could not hold out under such racks and tortures. Thieves, and men of robust bodies, are not able to bear such tearing in pieces; they groan and cry out, being overcome with pain, because not endued with patience inspired from Heaven: but our very children, and women; to say nothing of our men, do with silence conquer their tormentors. Let the Romans go and boast of their Mutius and Regulus. Behold with us the weaker sex, and the most tender age, suffer their bodies to be torn and burnt. This is that true virtue which the philosophers vainly boast of, but never really possessed." This, and more to the same purpose, he there urges to the honour of our religion.

By the force of such arguments, Justin Martyr confesses he was brought over from being a Platonic philosopher to become a Christian; for when he observed the Christians, whom he had often heard calumniated, not afraid of terrible deaths, "I thought with myself, says he<sup>b</sup>, that it was not possible such persons could wallow in vice and luxury, it being the interest of vicious people to shun death, to dissemble with



magistrates, and to do every thing to save their lives." Tertullian tells Scapula, in the conclusion of his address to him<sup>a</sup>, "It is to no purpose to think this sect will fail, which you see is the more built up the faster it is cast down; for who can behold such eminent patience, and not have some scruple in his mind, and begin to enquire into the cause of it, and, when once he knows the truth, will not immediately follow it." Arrian, a Heathen, in his Commentary on Epictetus, owns<sup>b</sup>, that the Galileans did undergo death and torments with courage, but ascribes it to fury and custom. Lucian, an avowed enemy of the Christians, says<sup>c</sup>, "These miserable wretches or devils, *οὗτοι κακοδαίμονες*, do persuade these of their own party, that they shall surely be immortal, and live for ever; upon which account they despise death." Hence Julian, called the apostate, is said to have counted it policy not to put the Christians openly to death, because he perceived they were like new mown grass, the oftener it was cut down, the thicker it sprang up again.

The first who raised a general persecution against the Christians, was the emperor Nero, of whom Tertullian tells the Gentiles; and, for the confirmation thereof, appeals to their public records<sup>d</sup>; "We glory, says he, in such an author of our persecution: any body who knows him, may understand, that nothing but what is eminently good could be condemned by Nero." He was a prince of such brutish and extravagant manners, as their own writers scruple not to call him a beast in human shape, the very monster of mankind. He published laws for suppressing Christianity, and putting Christians to death, as appears by an inscription found in Spain<sup>e</sup>; for he seems to have carried his persecution even to that country. Among other instances of his madness, he set Rome on fire in the year of our Lord 65. The flames reduced the far greatest part of it to ashes, Nero himself beholding the same with pleasure from Mæcenas' tower, and, in the habit of a player, singing the destruction of Troy. This act exposed him to the hatred of an injured people, which he endeavoured to remove by promises and rewards, and by public supplication to the gods. Notwithstanding all this, Tacitus says<sup>f</sup>, "The infamy could not be wiped off, the people still believing the burning of the city to have been done by his order: to abolish this rumour, he derived the odium of it upon those who are commonly called Christians, from Christ, who in the reign of Tiberius was crucified under Pontius Pilate. Tho' this superstition had been a little born down, yet it had spread again, not only through Judea, but through the city of Rome, where, says he, all evil things meet, and are had in reputation; they, who confessed themselves to be Christians, were seized upon, and, by farther discovery, a great multitude, whom not the burning of the city, but common hatred, made criminal. They were treated, when dying, with all instances of scorn and cruelty, were wrapped up in the

a To Scapula, Chap. 5. p. 92.

b Book iv. Chap. 7. p. 497.

c Lucian's Works, Vol. ii. p. 763.

d Apology, Chap. 6 p. 23.

e NERONI. CL. CAES. AUG. PONT. MAX. OB. PROVINCI. LATRONIB. ET. HIS. QUI. NOVAM. GENERI. HUM. SUPERSTITION. INCULCAB. PUR.

GATANI. that is, "TO NERO CAESAR AUGUSTUS, high-priest, in memory of his having purged the country of robbers, and of such as had introduced and obtruded a new superstition upon mankind." Cave's Primitive Christianity, p. 322.

f Annals, Book xv. Chap. 44. p. 364.

skins of wild beasts, and worried by dogs; others were crucified, and others burnt alive, that, when day-light failed, they might serve for torches in the night. These spectacles Nero exhibited in his own gardens, as if they had been a Circensian game, himself being among the people in the habit of a charioteer. Yet tho' severity was used against those, says Tacitus, who deserved death, the people beheld them with pity, as the thing was not done for the public good, but to satisfy the cruelty of one man." This persecution continued a full year.

The short reigns of Galba, Otho and Vitellius, and the merciful disposition of Vespasian, and Titus his son, gave some rest to the Christians, till Domitian succeeding to the empire, began a new persecution. "He had a portion, says Tertullian<sup>a</sup>, of Nero's cruelty, but in this he exceeded him; Nero was content to command executions to be done at a distance, while Domitian took pleasure to see them done before his own eyes." The Christians did bear the heaviest load of his rage and malice, whom he every where persecuted by death or banishment. He commanded those to be killed who were of the stock of David in Judaea<sup>b</sup>. He put to death his cousin-german Clemens, at that time consul, for giving a good testimony to Christ, and banished his wife Domitilla, his own kinswoman, into the island Pontia, upon the same account. This persecution began in the ninety-second year of the Christian aera, twenty-six years after that by Nero, and continued to Domitian's death, which happened about three years after. His successor, Cocceius Nerva, abrogated his acts, and recalled those he had proscribed or banished.

The third persecution commenced under Trajan, whom Nerva appointed to be his successor: he looked upon the religion of the empire as undermined by this new way of worship; that the number of Christians grew formidable, and might possibly endanger the tranquillity of the Roman state; and that there was no better way to secure to himself the favour of the gods, especially in the wars, than to punish the Christians. Accordingly he issued out orders to proceed against them as illegal societies, erected, and acting contrary to the laws. He looked upon Christian assemblies as *heteriae*, or unlawful corporations; and under this pretence endeavoured to suppress them; and, in the mean time, commanded Christians either to sacrifice to the gods, or to be punished, as contemners of them. The chief of those who obtained the crown of martyrdom in this persecution, were, Clemens of Rome, Simon of Jerusalem, and Ignatius of Antioch. The last of these Trajan himself condemned, and ordered to be sent to Rome, and there thrown to wild beasts. His desire for martyrdom was great, as his words, recorded in Eusebius' history<sup>c</sup>, do declare: "From Syria even to Rome, says he, I fight with beasts by land and sea, night and day; bound with ten leopards, that is, a guard of soldiers, who are worse for the favours I do them. I am instructed by their injuries; yet by this I am not justified. I wish I may enjoy the beasts that are prepared for me, who I pray may make quick dispatch of me: I know what is best for me: now I begin to be a disciple, desiring nothing of things seen or unseen, that so I may gain

<sup>a</sup> Apology, Chap. 6. p. 23. <sup>b</sup> Eusebius' History, Book iii. Chap. 15. <sup>c</sup> Book iii. Chap. 36.

Christ. Let fire, cross, troops of violent beasts, convulsion of members, bruising of the whole body, and all torments come upon me, so that I may enjoy Jesus Christ." Jerom adds, "That when this Ignatius was condemned to be actually thrown to wild beasts, and heard the lions roaring, he said I am Christ's wheat, which the teeth of wild beasts shall grind, that I may be found pure bread." He suffered in the eleventh year of Trajan.

This persecution raged, as in other parts of the empire, so especially in the provinces of Pontus and Bithynia, where Pliny the younger then governed as *propraetor*, who seeing the vast number of Christians who were indicted by their accusers, and were very willing and ready to suffer martyrdom; and that to proceed to severity with all who came, would be in a manner to lay desolate these provinces, he thought proper to write to the emperor concerning this matter, that he might know his pleasure. Seeing his letter contains a testimony from a Heathen, of the propagation of the Christian religion in these times, and also acquaints us so exactly with the state of Christians, their innocency and integrity, and the manner then of proceeding against them, I here insert a translation of it.

<sup>a</sup> C. PLINIUS to the emperor TRAJAN. "It is my custom, Sir, in all affairs wherein I doubt, to have recourse to you; for who can better either sway my irresolution, or instruct my ignorance: I have never been heretofore present at the examination and trial of Christians; and therefore know not what the crime is, or how far it is wont to be punished, or how to proceed in these inquiries. Nor was I a little at a loss whether regard be to be had to the difference of age, whether the young and the weak are to be distinguished from the more strong and aged; whether place may be allowed to repentance, and it may be any advantage to him, who was once a Christian, to cease to be so: whether the name alone, without other offences that go along with the name, ought to be punished. In the mean time, towards these, who, as Christians, have been brought before me, I have taken this course: I asked them, if they were Christians; if they confessed, I asked them once again, threatening punishment; if they persisted, I commanded them to be executed; for I did not at all doubt, but that, whatever their confession was, their stubbornness and inflexible obstinacy ought to be punished. Others, who were guilty of the like madness, because they were Roman citizens, I adjudged to be transmitted to Rome. While things thus proceeded, the error spreading, as is usual, more cases offered; a nameless libel was presented, containing the designations of many, who denied themselves to be or have been Christians. These, when, after my example, they invoked the gods, and offered wine and incense to your statue, which, for that purpose, I commanded to be brought, with the images of the gods, and had moreover blasphemed Christ, which, 'tis said, none who are true Christians can be compelled to do, I dismissed. Others mentioned in the libel confessed themselves Christians, but presently denied it; they had been such, but had renounced it, some by the space of three years, others many years, and one twenty-five years

ago. All these paid their veneration to your statue, and to the images of the gods, and blasphemed Christ. They affirmed, the whole sum of their sect or error lay in this, that they ufed on a set solemn day, to meet together before sun-rising, and to sing among themselves a hymn to Christ, as the God whom they worshipped; and to oblige themselves, by an oath, not to commit any wickedness, but to abstain from theft, robbery and adultery, to keep faith, to restore any pledge intrusted with them; which being done, to depart for that time, and to meet again at a common meal, to partake of a promiscuous and harmless food, which they laid aside after my edict, according to your order, prohibiting the *heteriæ*, or unlawful assemblies, to be kept. To satisfy myself of the truth of this, I commanded two maids, called deaconesses, to be examined upon the rack; but I perceived nothing but a wicked and immoderate superstition; and therefore, delaying any further process, I have sent for your advice: for the case seemed to me worthy to be consulted, especially considering the great numbers that are in danger; for very many of all ages and ranks, both men and women, are, and will be called in question, the contagion of this superstition having overspread, not only cities, but towns and country villages, which yet, it seems, may be stopped and cured. 'Tis very evident, that the temples, which were almost quite forsaken, begin to be frequented; that the holy rites and solemnities, of a long time neglected, are set on foot again; and that sacrifices, from all parts, begin to be sold, which hitherto found very few to buy them: whence it is easy to conjecture, what multitudes might be reclaimed, if place be given to repentance."

This letter seems to be writ about the year of our Lord one hundred and seven, the ninth of Trajan's reign, the emperor lying then at Antioch, in order to prosecute his wars in the East, where the persecution was very hot. By this account we see, that tho' the enemies of our religion load it with hard names, as a wicked and immoderate superstition; yet, at the same time, they own it innocent and unblameable. Tho' the severity of the persecution might tempt some to turn renegadoes; yet, so great was the number of the professors of Christianity in those parts, that Pliny knew not how to deal with them. To direct him therefore in this affair, the emperor sent him the following rescript.

<sup>a</sup> *TRAJAN to PLINY greeting.* "As to the manner of your procedure, my Secundus, in examining the causes of these that have been brought before you, for being Christians, you have taken the course you ought to take; for no general law can be framed, so as to provide for all cases. Let them not be sought for; but if they be accused, and convicted, let them be punished. Yet, if any denies himself to be a Christian, and gives evidence of it, by supplicating our gods, tho' heretofore he has been suspected, let him be pardoned upon his repentance. But, as for libels published without the names of the authors, let them not be regarded as to the crimes they charge; for that were an ill precedent, and is not usual in our reign.

Hadrian, the adopted son of Trajan, succeeded in the empire, and continued the persecution raised by his predecessor: tho' we do not find

that he made any new laws against the Christians, yet the old ones were still in force: and, as he countenanced Heathenism, he gave occasion to those who hated the Christians, without any particular warrant, to fall upon them. Tertullian says<sup>a</sup>, “That when Arrius Antoninus (whom many conceive to be the same person who succeeded Hadrian in the empire) was proconsul of Asia, he severely persecuted the Christians. But the whole of them in that city, where he at the time was, having, as one man, beset his tribunal, and openly confessing themselves to be Christians, he was so amazed at the multitude, that he caused only some few of them to be executed, telling the rest, that, if they had a mind to end their lives, they had precipices and halters enough at home; and need not come hither for execution.” Eusebius informs us, that Serenius Granianus, one of the following proconsuls, wrote to Hadrian, to mitigate the persecution; which the emperor commanded to be done, by a rescript<sup>b</sup> directed to Minucius Fundanus, his successor in that province. The like he did in other places of the empire, as appears by Melito’s Apology, a part whereof is preserved by Eusebius, Book iv. Chap. 26.

The next persecution was under Antoninus Philosophus, and his brother Verus. The writers of Antoninus’ life speak great things of him, as a good man, and a great philosopher; but withal zealous of Heathen rites to the highest degree of superstition. He had from his youth been educated in the Salian college, all the offices whereof he had gone through<sup>c</sup>, affecting an imitation of Numa Pompilius, from whom he pretended to derive his original. What thoughts he had of the Christians appears from this; that he ascribes their resolute undergoing of death to stubbornness and obstinacy<sup>d</sup>: he was therefore easily led, by the priests and philosophers about him, into a prejudice against Christianity, and persuaded to begin a fifth persecution against the Christians, whom he endeavoured to suppress by new laws and edicts, exposing them to all the malice of their enemies. This persecution commenced in the Eastern parts, about the seventh year of his reign, and continued several years; it spread likewise into the West, especially France, where it raged with great severity. That the conflict was very sharp, may be guessed by the croud of Apologies presented to the emperor by Justin Martyr, Melito, Athenagoras and Apollinaris. In Asia, Polycarp, of Smyrna, was among the first martyrs; twelve others from Philadelphia suffered with him. When the proconsul began to persuade him, saying, “Regard thy great age; swear by the genius of Cæsar; say with us, Take away the impious, swear, blaspheme Christ, and I will release thee:” Polycarp answered, “These fourscore and six years have I served him, and he never did me any harm; how shall I blaspheme my Saviour!” He suffered about the hundredth year of his age, in the year of our Lord 167. In this persecution many others received the crown of martyrdom. At Rome, Ptolemy and Lucius, Justin, the martyr, and his companions, were first scourged, and then beheaded. In France, the letter writ by the churches of Lyons and Vienne to these of Asia and

<sup>a</sup> To Scapula, Chap. 5. p. 92.    <sup>b</sup> Church Hist. Book iv. Chap. 9.    <sup>c</sup> Julius Cæsar, p. 152.    <sup>d</sup> Meditations, Book ii. Sect. 3.

Phrygia, preserved by Eusebius<sup>a</sup>, informs us, “ That it was impossible for them to describe the cruelty of their enemies, and the severity of these torments the martyrs suffered, being beaten, hurried from place to place, plundered, stoned, imprisoned, with all expressions of ungovernable fury. Vettius Epagathus, a man full of zeal and piety, seeing his fellow Christians unjustly dragged before the judgment-seat, asked leave of the president, that he might plead his brethrens cause, and openly shew that they were not guilty of the least wickedness or impiety. But the court not daring to grant him so reasonable a request, the judge took the advantage to ask, if he was a Christian? which he publicly owning, suffered martyrdom. Blandina, a lady of singular virtue, but of whom the church doubted how she would hold out to make a resolute confession, by reason of the weakness of her sex, and tenderness of her education, yet endured all with such invincible magnanimity, that her tormentors, tho’ they used all kinds of tortures, were forced to give over, and confess themselves overcome; wondering that a body so broken and mangled should yet be able to draw its breath; and declared, that one of these torments was sufficient to take away her life; much more so many and so great! But her happy soul gained strength by suffering, and mitigated all the sense of her pain, by repeating these words, *I am a Christian*. Biblis, tho’ at first she fainted, yet recovered her courage, and expired in the midst of most acute tortures. Pothinus, of Lyons, an infirm man above ninety years old, was beaten and stoned to death. Sanctus, a deacon of Vien, together with Maturus, were exposed in the amphitheatre, tormented and imprisoned several days together, presented to wild beasts, placed in an iron chair red-hot; and at last run through with a spear. Attalus, a Roman citizen, was disgracefully led up and down, as in triumph, and then beheaded; as was also Alexander, the physician, a Phrygian, who readily professed himself a Christian; and Ponticus, a youth of fifteen years of age, who, through all methods of cruelty and torment, which might have shaken a more mature age, entered the kingdom of heaven.” These and some others, the circumstances of whose sufferings are more at large preserved by Eusebius, in the place last cited, cheerfully endured these extremities themselves, and encouraged and strengthened others.

Under the reigns of the emperors Commodus, Aelius Pertinax, and Julian; that is, from about the year 180 to 195 the Christians enjoyed peace. And during this time religion made great progress; for, as Eusebius informs us<sup>b</sup>, the doctrine of salvation did then prevail with all sorts of men to worship the only true God. Even at Rome, these who were of the first rank for riches and honours, with their whole families, joined themselves to the Christian church.

In the year 195, Severus, an African, got into the throne: he was a prince witty and learned, prudent and politic, hardy and valiant; tho’, at the same time, crafty, unfaithful, bloody and passionate, as his own historian observes<sup>c</sup>; his nature truly answering his name, *vere pertinax*, *pere severus*; that is, truly obstinate and cruel. He put to death many

<sup>a</sup> Church Hist. Book v. Chap. 1.    <sup>b</sup> Church Hist. Book v. Chap. 21.    <sup>c</sup> Spartian’s Severus, p. 184.

of the Roman senators: under him began the sixth persecution; for tho', at first, he shewed himself favourable to the Christians, yet afterwards he changed his mind, and gave ear to these who traduced them, as an infamous generation, a people that designed nothing but rebellion and treason against the state. Whereupon he not only suffered his ministers and governors of provinces to treat them with all imaginable cruelty, but also he himself gave out edicts, forbidding any, under the most terrible penalties, to profess either the Jewish or Christian religion, as is mentioned even by Spartian, a Heathen<sup>a</sup>, which edicts were executed with that rigour and inhumanity, that the Christians in those days verily believed that the time of Antichrist did then take place. The martyrs of note, whom this persecution sent to heaven, were, Victor of Rome, Leonidas, the father of Origen, beheaded at Alexandria<sup>b</sup>, Serenus Heraclides, Heron, another Serenus, Plutarchus, all Origen's scholars, and Rhais, a Catechumen, Potamiana, an illustrious virgin, and her mother Marcella, after various torments, were committed to the flames, and Basilides, one of the officers who led them to the execution. Irenaeus, of Lyons, having suffered several torments, was at length put to death. 'Tis not easy to assign the certain date of his martyrdom, the record thereof being lost; but probably it was about the year of our Lord 202<sup>c</sup>, before Severus' expedition into Britain, when he took Lyons in his way. And, indeed, the vast numbers who are said to have suffered there, agree well enough with the fierce and cruel temper of that prince, who had conceived a particular displeasure against these citizens, and a worse against the Christians.

After his death, the church enjoyed peace for about twenty-seven years. The next who created disturbance to the Christians, was Maximinus, a man of an obscure original, and of a mean and sordid education. He was of strength and stature beyond the ordinary size, and his manners as robust and boisterous as his constitution. Never did a more cruel beast, says his historian<sup>d</sup>, tread upon the earth, relying altogether upon his strength; and, upon that account, reckoning himself almost immortal: he spared none, especially those that knew any thing of his mean descent, that none might reproach him with the obscurity of his birth. The seventh persecution was raised by him. This persecution is placed in the year 237. Firmilian, of Cappadocia, in his letter to Cyprian, says, "It was not a general but a local persecution, that raged in some particular places<sup>e</sup>, and especially in that province where he lived, Serenianus, the Roman president, driving the Christians out of all these countries." He adds, "That many dreadful earthquakes happening in these parts, whereby some towns were swallowed up, this gave new life and vigour to the persecution, it being usual with the Gentiles, if a famine, pestilence, earthquake, or inundation happened, to charge all upon the Christians, and to fall foul on them." Pontian, of Rome, (being before banished to Sardinia) and Anteros, his successor, did at

<sup>a</sup> Spartian's Severus, p. 184. *Judeos fieri sub gravi poena vetuit. Idem de Christianis sanxit:* That is, he prohibited Judaism under a severe penalty. The same law he made against Christianity.

<sup>b</sup> Eusebius's Church Hist. Book vi. Chap. 1.

<sup>c</sup> Cave's Life of Irenaeus, p. 164.

<sup>d</sup> Julius Capitolinus, p. 236.

<sup>e</sup> Spanheim's Christian Hist. Col. 761.

that time both suffer martyrdom<sup>a</sup>. Ambrosius, who was converted by Origen from the errors of Valentinus and Marcion, a rich man, and also of great parts and learning, was then a noble confessor<sup>b</sup>. Origen wrote his book *de Martyrio*, for the comfort of those who suffered in this evil time. But this being lost, the names of the most of those who then suffered are unknown to us, but they are honourably written in the Lamb's book of life.

After Maximinus, reigned Balbinus and Pupienus: to them succeeded the Gordians; and to them Philippus Arabs, at which time, for about twelve years space, the church enjoyed some tranquillity. But Decius having mounted the Imperial throne, proved, tho' a good commander of an army, and a prudent governor, yet an implacable enemy to the Christians, against whom he raised the eighth persecution in the year 250. This persecution, tho' among the shortest (for it continued not two years) yet was the hottest of any that had hitherto oppressed the church: which may be ascribed to the emperor's zeal for declining Heathenism, which he saw undermined by Christianity, and that there was no support for the one, but by the ruin of the other. During his time the storm was very black and violent. There was no place but what felt the dreadful effects of it: the Christians were every where drawn from their houses, spoiled of their estates, and tormented in their bodies. Whips and prisons, fire and wild beasts, scalding pitch and melted wax, sharp stakes and burning pincers, were but some of the methods of their treatment. When the old ones were run over, new were daily contrived; the laws of nature and humanity were broken down, friend betrayed friend, and the nearest relation, his own father and brother. Every one was ambitious to promote the Imperial edicts, and thought it meritorious to bring a Christian to the stake. Dionysius, of Alexandria, says<sup>c</sup>, "That in that city they fell upon a Presbyter, called Metra, whom they would have forced to blaspheme Christ. When he refused to do it, they beat him with staves and clubs, with sharp reeds pricked his face and eyes, and then stoned him to death. They apprehended a holy woman, called Quinta, and endeavoured to compel her to worship in an idol temple, which she refusing, the persecutors bound her feet, and dragged her through the street on hard stones, whipt her, dashed her against millstones, and stoned her to death. They apprehended Serapion in his house, whom they treated with the most bitter torments, broke all the joints of his body, and throwing him from a high loft killed him. The poor Christians could no where shelter themselves, nor rest day or night, the multitudes crying out, that unless they would blaspheme Christ, they should all be burned. But sedition and intestine war troubling our persecutors, we got a little breathing. Soon after came out cruel edicts, which made some stagger: others more strong in the faith, valiantly endured persecution, and obtained martyrdom; as Julian, a man diseased with the gout, and not able to stand, and Cronion, who were laid upon camels, scourged, and at last thrown into the fire, where, with great constancy, they suffered death in view of the multitude. When

<sup>a</sup> Cyprian's Epistles, N<sup>o</sup> 75.

<sup>b</sup> Eusebius' Church Hist. Book vi. Chap. 18, 19.

<sup>c</sup> In the same place, Chap. 42.



Julian went to martyrdom, a soldier standing by checked those who abused the sufferer with reproachful words; whereupon a cry being raised, the soldier was presently apprehended, and, being found a steadfast soldier of Christ, was beheaded." It might detain us too long to give a detail of the sufferings of the rest; as Epimachus, Alexander, Ammon, Zeno, Ptolemy, Ammonaria, Mercuria, Iliodore, and Dioscorus, a boy of fifteen years of age, and many others, who willingly declared themselves to be Christians before the Heathen tribunals, and that they were ready to seal their testimony with their blood; which frightened the judges, and made the cause of Christ to triumph, as is mentioned by the same Dionysius: "Neither know I any, save one, says he, of all they seized to this very day, who denied our Lord."

Callus succeeded Decius, as in his government, so in his enmity to the Christians, carrying on what the other had begun. But the cloud soon blew over; he having made an ignominious peace with the Scythians, his own army turned him off, and put him and his son to death<sup>a</sup>.

He was succeeded by Valerian, who entered upon the empire with universal applause. In the beginning of his reign he was a patron to the Christians, treating them with all offices of kindness and humanity, and entertaining them in his own family, so as his court seemed a little church for piety, a sanctuary and refuge for good men<sup>b</sup>. But, alas! this pleasant scene soon vanished, the emperor being seduced by a magician of Egypt, called Macrinus, who persuaded him, that the only way to prosper in his affairs, was to suppress Christianity, so hateful to the gods. Whereupon he commenced the ninth persecution, which began about the year 257, and continued three years and a half. Dionysius, of Alexandria, says<sup>c</sup>, "The Christians, who suffered at this time are many, and unknown to me: but this I know, in general, that both men and women, young and old, soldiers and country people, persons of all ranks and ages, were some of them scourged and whipt, others beheaded, others cast into the flames. To this very day, the praefes does not cease to kill some, to expose others to torments, and weary others with prisons and chains, ordering that no person see them; and if any enquire for them, that such be apprehended. But God comforts his afflicted, by the chearful care and diligence of the brethren." Cyprian very pathetically bewails the hardships and sufferings which the martyrs did then undergo, in his letter to Numesian, and the rest that were condemned to the mines; nor did he himself escape, being beheaded at Carthage<sup>d</sup>, as Xistus and Quartus had been before him. In Spain suffered Fructuosus, of Terragon, with his two deacons; at Rome, Xistus and Laurence<sup>e</sup>; at Caesarea, Priscus, Melchus and Alexander<sup>f</sup>. At length Divine Providence punished this emperor for his horrible cruelty to those whose interest with Heaven, while he was favourable to them, secured his prosperity; for not only the Northern nations did break in upon the empire, but Valerian himself was taken prisoner by Sapor, king of Persia, who treated him below the rate of the meanest slave, using him

<sup>a</sup> Pompinus Leotus.

<sup>b</sup> Eusebius, Book vii. Chap. 9.

<sup>c</sup> In Eusebius, Book vii. Chap. 9, 10.

<sup>d</sup> See Cyprian's Life before his Works.

<sup>e</sup> Cyprian's Epistles, Epist. 82.

<sup>f</sup> Eusebius, Book vii. Chap. 12.

as his footstool to mount on horse-back<sup>a</sup>; and, after some years captivity, caused him to be flayed alive, and rubbed with salt; and so put a period to his miserable life. His son, Galienus, growing wiser, by the miscarriages of his father, stopped the persecution, and restored peace to the church, as appears by his edict recorded by Eusebius<sup>b</sup>.

Under the reigns of the emperors Claudius, Tacitus, Florianus, Probus, Carus, and Numerian, the Christians enjoyed a long time of peace and prosperity. If we reckon, from the captivity of Valerian in the year 260 to the beginning of the tenth persecution, which I conceive may be placed in the year 302, this tranquillity continued near forty-two years. Indeed, if we consider the ten Heathenish persecutions from first to last, we may observe, that there were such intervals betwixt them, as gave the church, not only a sweet breathing time, but also a happy occasion to propagate Christianity over the world. Yea, the courage, constancy and patience of the martyrs, with the holy lives and zealous endeavours of the primitive Christians, to promote the kingdom of Christ, did very much tend to advance the glory of our Redeemer, and the good of the church, in spite of all the persecutions which the enemy of mankind raised against it.

In the year 284 Diocletian was declared emperor, and assumed Maximinus Hercules for his colleague in 286. These two governed the empire themselves for some years; but, finding themselves straitned on all hands, by the revolt of their subjects, they made two Caesars, Constantius Chlorus, father to Constantine the Great, and Galerius Maximianus. About this time Eusebius informs us<sup>c</sup>, “That the emperors were so favourable to the Christians, as to make them deputies and governors over whole nations; that they lived in honour at the emperor’s court; that they made public profession of their religion; that great numbers of the Heathens embraced Christianity; that there were churches in all cities; that the assemblies of the Christians were so numerous, they were forced to pull down the old, and build new and more spacious houses for public worship; that Dorotheus, and Gorgonius, and others who preached the word, were had in honour by the officers and governors of the provinces; and the emperors themselves shewed affection to the Christians; the wives, children, and servants of the emperors were Christians; and the greatest part of the subjects of the empire had abandoned the worship of false gods to embrace Christianity. This prosperity did daily encrease, and could not be hindered by the arts of the devil or wicked men, as long as the right hand of the Lord did protect his people. But, alas! says he, our affairs, by too great softness and liberty, did degenerate, one hating and reproaching another; the ministers of Christ contending with one another; and the people running into factions: and, at last, hypocrisy, dissimulation and wickedness began to prevail.” In this state of affairs, the Lord was pleased to permit another persecution, Diocletian and Galerius, meeting at Nicomedia in Bithynia<sup>d</sup>, passed the winter in considering upon methods to exterminate the Christians. Diocletian opposed it a long time, but at last it was resolu-

<sup>a</sup> Eutropius and Aurelius Victor.    <sup>b</sup> Church Hist. Book vii. Chap. 13.    <sup>c</sup> Church Hist. Book viii. Chap. 1.    <sup>d</sup> Lactantius, Chap. 6.

ved upon. Then, in the nineteenth year of his reign, in the year of our Lord 303, he commanded the churches to be pulled down to the ground<sup>a</sup>, the bibles to be burned, the richer sort of Christians to be branded with infamy, and the vulgar to be made slaves. By subsequent orders he deprived Christians of all protection by the laws, that they could have no reparation for any injury done them<sup>b</sup>. He commanded Christ's ministers to be every where imprisoned, and forced to sacrifice. This was but a prelude to what followed, other orders being issued, commanding these who refused to offer sacrifice, to be exposed to all manner of torments. It were tedious to reckon up the particular persons who suffered in this evil time. The eighth and ninth books of Eusebius' history are full of them. It may suffice us to observe from him, that the Christians were scourged to death, had their flesh torn off with pincers, were cast to lions and tygers, were burned, beheaded, crucified, thrown into the sea, torn to pieces by distorted boughs of trees<sup>c</sup>, roasted at a gentle fire, or, by holes made on purpose, had melted lead poured into their bowels. Orders were given, that all the ministers of the Christian churches should be put in prisons and chains. All goals were so full of them, that there was no room for malefactors<sup>d</sup>: and Maximian stirred up Diocletian, to carry on the persecution with still greater fury on occasion of a fire that was raised in the emperor's palace at Nicomedia<sup>e</sup>, the blame whereof was laid upon the Christians. In the mean time Diocletian went to Rome to celebrate the solemnity of the twentieth year of his reign, which was observed with profane Heathenish games. He had not staid long there, when he retired to pass the Winter at Ravenna. By the way he was seized with sickness, and his disease encreasing, he went to Nicomedia, where he grew still worse, so as the report did sometimes go that he was dead. He had fits of madness, but with calm and sedate intervals<sup>f</sup>. In this situation of affairs, Maximian, a cunning man, persuaded Diocletian to resign the Imperial purple, which he at last consented to about the year 304, and retired to Salone, where he lived private to the day of his death. At his resignation Constantius and Galerius Maximian, were declared emperors, and Severus, with Maximin the younger, created Caesars. Galerius Maximian, as he had begun, so he was the great instrument of carrying on the persecution. It is indeed impossible for us to conceive, much more to express, the cruelties of that time. Eusebius, who was an eye-witness to them, tells us<sup>g</sup>, that they were innumerable, and exceeded all relation: what a multitude of men, says he, had their right eyes bored out, and cauterized with a red-hot iron, had their left legs burnt, and were condemned to the mines; all which they endured with the most admirable patience. They despised the threatenings and barbarities of their enemies, and received the fatal sentence with a smile. When persuaded to be tender of their lives, and to compassionate the case of their wives and children, they bore up against the temptation with manly courage, or rather with a soul truly pious and devoted to God, so as

a Eusebius, Book viii. Chap. 2, 3.

b Lactantius, Chap. 13.

c Eusebius, Book viii. Chap. 9.

d Chap. 6. e Chap. 6.

f Lactantius, Chap. 17.

g Church Hist. Book viii. Chap. 13.

neither fears nor charms could take hold on them thro' the mighty power of God<sup>a</sup>. One other passage I shall offer from Eusebius, he having discoursed of the impiety and horrid crimes of Maximian, adds<sup>b</sup>, "The Christians, contemning death, undervalued his tyranny. Men did endure fire, sword, crucifixion, cruel beasts, drowning in the sea, the amputation and burning of the members of their body, the boring of their eyes, famine, chains; and, in fine, all torments, rather than forsake the worship of God, and embrace that of idols. Women also, as well as men, by the doctrine of the word of God, were made so courageous, as to suffer the same torments." Of which he there gives many instances. Monsieur Godeau reckons, that in this persecution there was no fewer than seventeen thousand martyrs killed in one month's space. And he observes, that, during the continuance of it, there were, in the province of Egypt alone, no less than one hundred and forty-four thousand persons who died by the violence of their persecutors, and seven hundred thousand who died through the fatigues of banishment, or of the public works to which they were condemned<sup>c</sup>. This persecution seems to have been the first of the ten that affected the isle of Britain. Gildas, the most ancient British historian we have, says, "That, by this persecution of Diocletian<sup>d</sup>, the churches were thrown down, and all the books of the holy scriptures that could be found, were burnt in the streets, and the chosen priests of the flock of our Lord, with the innocent sheep, murdered; so as in some parts of the province no footsteps of the Christian religion did appear." Ten years did this persecution continue. The emperors thought they had finished their work, and told the world, as in some ancient inscriptions<sup>e</sup> found at Clunia in Spain, that they had utterly destroyed the name and superstition of the Christians, and had restored and propagated the worship of the Gods. But they were far deceived in their vain boastings: Christianity was not destroyed, but rather farther propagated; and where they had done their utmost to ruin it, even there it had a glorious resurrection, and Paganism hastned to its ruin.

It is remarkable, that Divine vengeance did pursue many of those who had an active hand in this and the former persecutions of the Christian church. This is so frequently noticed by ecclesiastical historians, that I cannot but with them also observe, that Nero being thrust from his throne, and perceiving himself in danger of death, became his own executioner<sup>f</sup>; Domitian was killed by his own servants; Hadrian died of a distemper accompanied with uneasiness of mind, as appears by some

a Against Celsus, Book vii. p. 357.

b Church Hist. Book viii. Chap. 15.

c Dr. Calamy's Sermon on Matth. xvi. 18.

d Gildas on Britain's Ruin, near the beginning.

e DIOCLETIANUS. IOVIUS. ET. MAXIMIAN. HERCULEUS. CAES. AUGG. AMPLIFICATO. PER. ORIENTEM. ET OCCIDENTEM. IMP. ROM. ET. NOMINE. CHRISTIANORUM. DELETO. QUI. REMO. EVERTEBANT. Gruterus' Inscriptions, N<sup>o</sup> 3. p. 200. DIOCLETIAN. CAES. AUG.

GALERIO. IN. ORIENTE. ADOP. SUPERSTITIO. NE. CHRIST. UBIQUE. DELETA. ET. CULTU. DEORUM. PROPAGATO. N<sup>o</sup> 4. The meaning of both which, is to show, that Diocletian, and his colleague Maximianus, had every where extinguished the wicked superstition of Christianity, so pernicious to the commonwealth, and had restored Paganism, and the worship of the gods. Cave's Primitive Christianity, p. 321.

f Sueton, Chap. 49.

of his last words<sup>a</sup>; Severus, after he persecuted the church, never prospered in his affairs, and was taken off by the treachery of his wicked son; Maximinus reigned but three years, and died a violent death<sup>b</sup>. As to Decius, he was drowned in a marsh, and his body was never found<sup>c</sup>. Of Valerian's death we have discoursed already. And as to these concerned in this tenth and last persecution, Diocletian, soon after it commenced, was obliged to resign the empire, and became disordered in his mind. Maximianus Hercules was spoiled of his empire, and strangled. Maximianus Galerius was smitten with a dreadful ulcer and nasty disease<sup>d</sup>. And, 'tis to be remarked, that when the disease prevailed upon him, he emitted an edict, recorded by Lactantius<sup>e</sup>, and by Eusebius<sup>f</sup>, ordering the persecution to be stopped; yea, allowing the Christians peaceably to enjoy their religion and their assemblies, and desiring them to pray to God for his health, and the prosperity of the republic, that they might enjoy his protection, and live quietly under it. However, soon after this he expired. Severus cut his own veins and died.

This propagation and success of Christianity, notwithstanding all the persecutions raised against it by the greatest potentates of the world, is a great glory to our religion.

I shall conclude with the words of some of the antients on this subject. Thus writes Sulpicius Severus<sup>h</sup>, "Under the reign of Diocletian and Maximian, for ten years the persecution continually preyed upon the Lord's people, during which space the whole world was full of the sacred blood of martyrs. Never was the world more exhausted by wars; and never did we conquer by a greater triumph, than when with ten years suffering we could not be overcome." Thus also Tertullian speaks to the Gentiles<sup>i</sup>, "Good governors, you may torment, afflict, and vex us; your wickedness tries our innocency; and therefore God permits us to suffer it: but your cruelty is to no purpose; 'tis but a stronger invitation to bring others to our sect. The faster we are mowed down, the faster we spring up again. The blood of Christians is the seed of the church. Many of your philosophers have exhorted their hearers to patience under death and sufferings: as Cicero in his Tusculans, Seneca, Diogenes, Pyrrhon, and Callinicus; but they could never make so many proselytes, by all their fine discourses, as the Christians by their actions. That very obstinacy you charge upon us serves to instruct others. For who, beholding such things, will not be moved to enquire

a SPARTIAN'S Life of the Emperor HADRIAN.

<i>Animula, vagula, blandula</i>	Poor, little, pretty, fluttering thing,
<i>Hesperes, comesque corporis,</i>	Must we no longer live together?
<i>Quae nunc alibis in loca</i>	And dost thou prune thy trembling wing,
<i>Pallidula, rigida, nudula?</i>	To take thy flight thou know'st not whither?
<i>Nec, ut soles, dabis jocos.</i>	Thy pleasing vein, thy hum'rous folly Is all neglected, all forgot; And pensive, wavering, melancholy, Thou hop'st, and fear'st thou know'st not what.

b Spanheim's Christian Hist. Col. 800.      c Aurelius Victor.      d Lactantius, Chap. 31, &c.      e Chap. 34.      f Church Hist. Book viii. Chap. last.      g Lactantius, Chap. 26.      h Sacred History, Book ii. p. 117.      i Apology, Chap. last. p. 45.

what is the truth from which they proceeded? and when he has found it, will not embrace it? and having embraced it, will not desire to suffer for it? 'Therefore we give thanks for your sentence, knowing that the judgments of men do not agree with that of God; for when we are condemned by you, we are absolved by God.'

## C H A P. II.

*From the fourth to the sixteenth Century.*

### SECTION I.

*In the fourth Century, Constantine favours the Christians. Julian endeavours, by various Methods, to undermine Christianity, and restore Heathenism, but in vain.*

**W**E have seen the Christian church oppressed by a long tract of violent persecution. But the kingdom of our Redeemer "shall never be destroyed; it shall break in pieces, and consume other kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever." No less than a Divine Power could banish Heathenish idolatry, which had been the religion of the world for so many ages, was firmly rooted by custom, and supported by all the authority of the Romans, who had then dominion over the world: yet now we shall see idolatry ruined and abandoned, and the Roman empire itself become, in profession, Christian.

It is said that Constantine was first induced to seek the true God, by hopes of success to his arms; that he observed the fatal miscarriages of his predecessors, who worshipped a multiplicity of gods; whereas his own father, who acknowledged one only God, the Supreme Governor of the world, and protected and encouraged the Christians, was successful in his undertakings; he resolved therefore to lay aside the vulgar deities, and adhere only to the God of his father<sup>a</sup>. But, whatever be in this, it is certain that when he came to the full possession of the empire, about the year 324, he immediately restored tranquillity to the Christians, and directed orders to the governors of the provinces, whereby they recalled the banished, released those who had been confined, restored those who had been unjustly deprived of their offices and estates, set at liberty the imprisoned, and those who had been condemned to mines or other slavery, and bountifully rewarded many of them. He took also strict care for the observation of the Lord's day, ordering it to be set a-part for prayer and holy exercises, that all persons, as far as possible, might be induced to observe it; and that the commanders of his army might set them a good example<sup>b</sup>, by attending the emperor in his devotions on that day. He ordered that none should be governors or presidents, but who were Christians; or, if Gentiles, that they should offer no sacrifices<sup>c</sup>. He extended this even to the praetorian prefect, the highest office in the empire. He wrote a large Epistle to the pro-

<sup>a</sup> Eusebius' Life of Constantine, Book i. Chap. 27, 28.  
12, 15, 29.

<sup>b</sup> Eusebius, Book iv. Chap. 2.  
<sup>c</sup> Sozomen, Church Hist. Book i. Chap. 8.

vincial governors of the East, wherein he earnestly exhorted all his subjects to embrace Christianity<sup>a</sup>. In a word, he, by several laws, prohibited the offering of sacrifices, the erecting of images to the gods, and the exercising of the Heathenish rites. He caused pastors to be settled every where in the churches, and advanced Christianity, which had been so much trampled upon, to be the religion of the empire<sup>b</sup>. In his time also the gospel was farther propagated among some remote nations. The Iberians, since called Georgians, sent an embassy to him, requesting, that Christian preachers might be sent among them, which was accordingly done. Bacurius, the king of that country, is said to have been a great friend to true religion<sup>c</sup>. The like success the Christian religion had in other countries, of which Sozomen gives this account<sup>d</sup>, "That the barbarous nations having made several irruptions into Thracia, many Christian priests were taken captives, who being of a holy blameless life, reformed the vices of the Barbarians; and, by calling on the name of Christ, procured health to their sick. This made them see an excellency in the Christian religion, and enquire after it; and the captives employed all their time to promote their conversion. By these means were the inhabitants upon the Rhine, the Celtae, some of the remote parts of Gaul, and the people upon the river Danube, brought to entertain the gospel."

Constantine died in the year 338, and divided the empire amongst his three sons, who all continued to protect Christianity: but after them came Julian, commonly called the Apostate, a bitter enemy to the gospel. This man, for some time, had professed himself a zealous Christian<sup>e</sup>, and had even suffered himself to be ordained, and did read the scriptures to the people before the congregation: but, as soon as he was delivered from the fears of a rival in the empire, which was about the year 361, he began openly to restore Paganism. As his schemes for this purpose were very well contrived, and yet, by the power of God protecting the gospel, were defeated, it will not be unsuitable to the design of this history, to lay some of them before the reader.

*First*, then, Julian set himself to reform Paganism, and the professors of it from more gross corruptions, and to introduce many excellent constitutions he had observed among the Christians. The abominations of the Gentiles in their lives, and in their vile worship, had been exposed to the view of the world, and he found no way to regain credit to his religion, but by cutting off what was offensive, and planting what was more useful in its room. Therefore, in one of his discourses<sup>f</sup>, he presses the magistrates, "To take care that men live justly according to the laws, and express piety to God, and humanity to mankind; be chaste and regular in their persons; that they entertain venerable apprehensions of the gods, approach their temples with sanctity, adore their images and statues, as if they beheld them present before their

<sup>a</sup> Eusebius, Book ii. Chap. 43, &c.

<sup>b</sup> On the other hand, it must be owned, that his heaping so much wealth and honour upon church-men, and his blending the church and state together, did, through human corruption, great hurt to Christianity.

<sup>c</sup> Rufinus, Book i. Chap. 10.

<sup>d</sup> Sozomen, Book ii. Chap. 6.

<sup>e</sup> Sozomen, Book v. Chap. 2. Theodoret, Book iii. Chap. 2.

<sup>f</sup> Julian's Works, p. 288, and 429.

eyes. For we are not, says he, to look on altars and images as gods, (the gods being incorporeal, and needing no sacrifices) but as symbols and representations of the divine presence, and as means and instruments by which we pay our adoration to them. That the priests be honoured equally, or above the civil magistrates, as being the domestics of heaven. And that the priests should not read such authors as Archilochus and Hipponax, but should imitate Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle, Chrysippus, or Zeno; but beware of the Epicurean and Pyrrhonian opinions; that they give themselves to philosophic thoughts, and to the duties of their office; be seldom seen in the Forum, or about the houses of great men, and should be chosen out of the best of men. The neglect of these things, says he, will give opportunity to the Galileans, by their singular humanity and charity, to establish their pernicious party, and pervert the honest-minded Gentiles to their impiety." Thus he sought to reform Paganism, and to bring it as near as might be to the admirable methods, by which he perceived Christianity had prevailed in the world. In imitation whereof he designed and endeavoured to introduce schools for the education of youth in every city<sup>a</sup>, lectures both of moral and speculative divinity, stated times of prayer, alms-houses and hospitals for the poor and cripple, and reception of strangers; and what he most admired, commendatory ecclesiastic epistles, or letters testimonial, from the governors of the church, whereby persons travelling from one country to another, were upon producing these letters sure to meet with a kind entertainment. All which he commends in his letter to Arsacius<sup>b</sup>.

*Secondly*, He took all occasions of exposing Christians, and their religion, to ridicule. He was a man of a sarcastic wit, and principally turned it that way. When he read the scriptures, if he met with a seeming contradiction, he made it real, if with an hyperbolical expression, he improved it to blasphemy. He scorned at the simplicity of the apostles and prophets, whom he represented as ignorant and illiterate fellows. In his Persian expedition, he wrote seven books against Christianity, which were afterward solidly answered by Cyril of Alexandria. When he spoke at any time of our Saviour, he would give him no other title than the son of Mary, or the Galilean; and, by a particular law, ordered the followers of our Lord, not to be called Christians, but Galileans<sup>c</sup>. In his pictures and statues he represented Jupiter near him, coming down from heaven, and delivering to him the crown and the purple<sup>d</sup>, and Mars and Mercury giving him skill in war. His design in this was, that when his officers paid their respect to the Imperial statue, they might at the same time worship idols, or that he might have the better occasion to punish their pretended contempt.

*Thirdly*, He sought by all means to bring Christians low, and to weaken and destroy their power and interest: he banished them out of all places of honour and authority; he obliged them either to do sacrifice, or to quit their employment, and be incapable of civil offices<sup>e</sup>. Thus Valentinian, who was afterward emperor, threw up his office as colonel of one part of the guards of the palace, and submitted to banishment, ra-

<sup>a</sup> Nazianzen's Discourse against Julian, Sozomen, Book v. Chap. 16.

<sup>b</sup> Julian's Epistles, Epist. 49.

<sup>c</sup> Nazianzen's Discourse against Julian.

<sup>d</sup> Sozomen, Church Hist. Book v. Chap. 17.

<sup>e</sup> Sozomen, Book v. Chap. 18.



ther than yield to idolatrous compliances. This emperor ordered that no Christian should be a magistrate, nor capable to write testaments, nor transfer an inheritance<sup>a</sup>. He exacted unreasonable sums of money of them upon all occasions, that, being impoverished, they might either under a strong temptation to apostasy, or be secured from attempting any thing against his measures. Thus, when the Arians at Edeffa had fallen foul of the Valentinians, he seized the treasures of that church, which he bestowed upon his soldiers, and the lands he appropriated, and mocking them, said<sup>b</sup>, “He would ease them of their burden, that they might go lighter to the kingdom of heaven: but, says he, if they provoke our humanity, by fighting and sedition, let them be punished, for their insolence, with sword, banishment and fire.”

*Fourthly*, Tho’ he himself abstained from open persecution, yet he connived at these who persecuted the Christians. “He glories oft what kindness he had shewn to these Galileans<sup>c</sup>, beyond what they had met with from his predecessors. Instead of banishment they had been sent home; instead of a prison they had enjoyed liberty; instead of being plundered, their confiscated goods had been restored to them by edicts.” He observed that the Christians gloried in martyrdom; he would not therefore gratify them with that honour. But tho’ no public warrants were issued, he left his officers to use their discretion in these places that were far from court. They understood their master’s mind, and were not backward to use their power. Several examples of this are upon record in Theodoret’s Church History<sup>d</sup>. They killed Cyril, a deacon, who had broken a Heathenish image in the emperor Constantine’s reign; and, after putting him to death, they ate of his liver. They acted a terrible tragedy on the person of Marcus Arethusius, a grave man, who had overturned a Heathen temple, and destroyed images in that reign. They tormented his body, cast him into a stinking privy, hung him up in a basket greased with honey, that the wasps and flies might torment him in the hot sun: yet he would not yield to any of their proposals, but gloried in his sufferings<sup>e</sup>. Capitolinus, governor of Thrace, caused burn Aemilian. Artemius, an officer of Egyptian soldiers, because in Constantine’s reign he had broken images, was beheaded. Publia, a noble woman, for singing, “The idols of the nations are silver and gold, the work of mens hands,” was cruelly beaten. Yea, not content to abuse the living, their rage extended to the dead. Among others, they digged up the bones of John the Baptist, buried at Samaria, called also Sebaſta, and having mixed them with the bones of beasts, burnt them to ashes, and then scattered the ashes in the wind<sup>f</sup>.

*Fifthly*, He endeavoured especially to weary out and discourage the clergy with bad usage. To compass this more effectually, he seized their incomes<sup>g</sup>, took away their allowances of corn, repealed the laws in their favours, and made them liable to bear burdens in civil courts. When all this would not do, he removed them by fraud or force. Thus Atha-

a Julian’s Epistles, Epist. 43.

b Epist. 52.

c Epist. 7, and Epist. 52.

d Book iii, Chap. 6. 7, 16, 17, 18, 19.

e Nazianzen’s Discourse against Julian.

f Theodoret, Book iii. Chap. 6.

g Sozomen, Book v. Chap. 5.

nasius being brought home to Alexandria, after the death of the emperor Constantius, was obliged by Julian to leave it again. He had a particular spleen at this honest man, as appears by his letter to Ecdicius, governor of Egypt, which is yet extant, where he says<sup>a</sup>, "Tho' you write nothing of others, yet be sure you ought to write of Athanasius, that enemy of the gods, since you know our decrees against him. I swear by the great Serapis, that if, before the kalends of December, that enemy of the gods, Athanasius, be not expelled, not only out of that city, but also out of all Egypt, you shall be adjudged to lose your troop, which is worth an hundred pounds of gold. It is very uneasy to me, that, by this man's industry, the gods are contemned. I can hear nothing more to my pleasure, than that this wicked Athanasius is expelled out of all Egypt, who has had the confidence, in my very reign, to allure some illustrious Greek women to baptism." The like orders he gave to the people of Alexandria<sup>b</sup>. Athanasius retired to shun the storm; but, with undaunted courage, said to his dejected flock, "It is but a little cloud that will soon pass away<sup>c</sup>."

*Sixthly*, He gave all manner of assistance and encouragement to the Jews, in contempt of the Christians. He hated both; but when he found the Jews were like to be instruments to promote his purpose, he called for them, spoke tenderly to them, pitied their miserable and afflicted state, released the tribute put upon them, desired the help of their prayers in his Persian wars, and wrote to them a kind letter yet extant<sup>d</sup>; in the end whereof he tells them, "This is what you ought principally to attend, that when I shall have successfully managed my Persian expedition, and the holy city Jerusalem, which you have so long and so earnestly desired to see inhabited, shall be rebuilt by my endeavours, I may dwell in it, and together with you, offer up our joint prayers to the Supreme Being of the world." When the Jews told him the reason why they could not offer sacrifices, was, "That the law had fixed these to a particular place at Jerusalem, where their temple was ruined, and themselves banished;" he commanded them immediately to go repair the temple, retrieve the customs of their ancestors, and worship God according to the rites of their religion. The Jews were so glad of these orders, that they began to triumph over the Christians, threatening to make them feel as terrible effects of their severity, as ever they themselves did feel from the Romans. When the news came abroad of rebuilding the temple, contributions were made<sup>e</sup> by all hands: the very women sold their ornaments and jewels to advance the work; what was wanting the emperor commanded to be furnished from his own treasury. Alypius of Antioch was overseer of the work; tradesmen were brought from all parts; all materials were made ready, and the work begun. But Cyril, the bishop of Jerusalem, remembring Daniel's prophecy, and that of our Lord, told them, "That even now the time was come, that not one stone should be left upon another." The event justified his prediction<sup>f</sup>: for, in whatever manner their disappointment happened, 'tis certain that providence defeated the design.

<sup>a</sup> Epist. 6.<sup>b</sup> Epist. 26.<sup>c</sup> Sozomen, Book v. Chap. 15.<sup>d</sup> Epist. 25.<sup>e</sup> See Warburton's Julian.

*Seventhly*, Julian endeavoured to extinguish all humane learning among the Christians, well knowing how naturally ignorance opens a door to contempt, barbarism, and impiety. To effectuate this design, he emitted the following law: "Professors of any art or science should excell in eloquence and good manners; and because I cannot be present in every city, I command that no teacher shall set up in any place, till by long exercise he is fitted for it, and, after mature deliberation, be found deserving of it by the court of the city; and that their decree be sent to me for approbation." Theodoret tells<sup>a</sup>, that he discharged the children of Galileans from being taught poetry, rhetoric and philosophy; for, said he, "We are killed by our own arrows; they take weapons out of our own books whereby they fight against us." This decree is called by Ammianus Marcellinus, a Heathen, "A cruel edict, worthy to be covered with eternal silence." By these methods he designed to introduce rudeness and ignorance among the Christians, and thereby to dispose them to any impressions he might make upon them, that they might not be able to encounter the Heathens.

*Eighthly*, Above all men he highly honoured and rewarded philosophers, and those who were most likely to refute Christianity. It grieved him to see so many excellent books writ in defence and explication of our religion. He wished the writings of these Galileans were banished out of the world<sup>c</sup>. He encouraged the sophists, philosophers and orators by pensions and privileges to write against them. He brought the most eminent of that tribe to court, as Jamblichus, Libanius, Maximus, Eccebius, Oribasius, Aedesius, Chrysanthius, and others, whose lives are described by Eunapius, an author who frequently shews his spleen against the Christians, especially in the lives of Aedesius, and Maximus, and in some other places of his book. Any body who reads Julian's letters to these philosophers, yet extant among his works, may see with what fondness of affection, he writes to them, as his dear comrades, whom he would put all in his bosom. The truth is, if wit, learning, or eloquence could have done it, he had driven our religion out of the world. But Divine Wisdom broke all his measures.

*Ninthly*, He used the most popular arguments he could think of to persuade the world to return to Paganism. We may have a taste of these from his letter to the people of Alexandria, where he tells them<sup>d</sup>, "Tho' you had had another founder of your city than Alexander, I should have expected that those who have transgressed the laws, and introduced new doctrines and opinions should be punished. Will you then make any requests for Athanasius? when Alexander built your city, and Serapis is your tutelar God, with Isis queen of Egypt, a maid who assists him.—I swear by the gods, I am ashamed of you, people of Alexandria, that any among you should own himself a Galilean. The fathers of the Hebrews did serve the Egyptians, but you who have conquered Egypt, for your founder Alexander conquered it, how do you debase yourselves to serve those who condemn the ancient opinions of your fathers? Unmindful of the ancient happiness of your country,

<sup>a</sup> Church Hist. Book iii. Chap. 2.

<sup>b</sup> Book xxii.

<sup>c</sup> Epist. 60. and Epist. 9.

<sup>d</sup> Epist. li.

when the world had communion with the gods of Egypt, and you lived in great abundance of all things. But those who have brought in this new religion, what good can they do to your city? Your founder, Alexander, the Macedon, was religious toward the gods: so was Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, who protected this city. Did it grow by the preaching of Jesus, or by the hateful doctrine of the Galileans? When we the Romans took this city from the Ptolemies, Augustus came to it, and speaking to your citizens, said, I pardon you all your faults, for the respect I bear to the great God Serapis, to this people, and great city. To all which I may add, says Julian, the proofs you have of my kindness. Have you no sense of that bright sun which shines upon you, that makes Summer and Winter, grass and plants to grow? And of the moon that affords great advantages to your city? Dare you worship none of these gods, but only must believe in Jesus, whom neither you nor your fathers knew." These were the strongest arguments he could adduce for Paganism; but they were too weak to persuade a Christian people to renounce the service of the glorious God, who made sun, moon, and stars, to whom we are reconciled through Jesus our blessed Redeemer, and to serve idols or devils to their own eternal destruction.

Finally, He tried all subtle arts to ensnare unwary Christians to comply with Pagan superstition, to raise horror in their conscience, or to undermine their reputation. To this end he used, as was noticed above, to place the images of the Heathen gods next to or behind his own, that when the people came, according to custom, to do obeisance to the one, they might do it to the other<sup>a</sup>. Those who did it, he persuaded to venture a little further. Those who discovered the cheat and refused, he charged with treason, and proceeded against them as delinquents. When the soldiers came at solemn times to receive their donatives, the ancient use was to throw a piece of frankincense into the fire, in honour of the gods. Which tho' the Christians detested, yet some surprised by an inveterate custom, did it: who being re-minded afterward of what they had done, horror seized their consciences; they went to the emperor, and threw back their donatives, publicly professing themselves Christians. But he would not grant such the honour of martyrdom, only he expelled them from the palace and the army. At other times he used to defile the fountains and springs with Heathen sacrifices, and sprinkle all the flesh and food in the market<sup>b</sup>, with hallowed water offered to his gods, that so the Christians might neither eat nor drink, but they must seem at least to be partners in idolatry. The Christians resented this with just indignation. Juventius and Maximus, two officers of the Imperial guards, expressed to the emperor's face a just dislike of his actions and of his apostasy. "These are the things, said they, which we lament and complain of privately, and now in your presence as the great blemishes of your reign. We were educated in true piety under Constantine, and his sons, and cannot but now be uneasy, when we see all places full of abomination, and our very meat polluted with filthy sacrifices." Julian, notwithstanding his gravity and philosophic composure, was so nettled with this answer, that he commanded them to be first mi-

<sup>a</sup> Sozomen, Book v. Chap. 17.

<sup>b</sup> Theodoret, Book iii. Chap. 15.

serably tortured, and then put to death; tho' he would not have it thought they suffered as martyrs for religion, but for their petulant carriage to himself.

Seven or eight months Julian staid at Constantinople, using these methods to suppress Christianity, and restore Paganism. Having settled his secular affairs, he crossed the Hellespont, and came to Pessinus, a city of Galatia<sup>a</sup>, where stood an ancient temple dedicated to Rhea, or Ceres, the mother of the Heathen deities; the worship whereof he restored. Thence he passed through Cilicia, and came to Antioch, July 362; thence to Emessa, but would not enter the city, because it was all inhabited by Christians; thence to Carrae, a city in Mesopotamia, April 18th, where he entered the Pagan temple, and performed many execrable rites; which being finished, he sealed up the doors, and set a guard on them, giving orders that none should open them till his return. When they were broke open upon the news of his death, there was found a woman hanging by the hair of the head, her hands extended, and her belly ript up, that a presage of success might be had by inspecting her liver<sup>b</sup>. The like seems to have been done at Antioch, where many chests were found in the palace filled with dead mens skulls, and several dead bodies hid in the wells; which seem to have been the engines and monuments of his diabolic divination.

In the middle of Summer, he came within sight of the Persian army, and had a hopeful prospect of victory; when venturing too far, without his armour, he was on a sudden struck with a horseman's lance<sup>c</sup>, which grazing on his arm, passed in at his side, and went to the lower lap of the liver. The lance being two-edged, he cut his fingers while he strove to pull it out, and fainting with the loss of blood and spirits, he sunk down on his horse neck. 'Tis reported by Theodoret<sup>d</sup>, That Julian finding himself mortally wounded, took a handful of his blood, and throwing it up into the air, cried, "Thou hast overcome, O Galilean!" Sozomen says<sup>e</sup>, "He threw up his blood into the air, as looking to Christ, and accusing him as author of his death." His wounds being found dangerous, he was laid on a target, and carried into his tent, where he died about midnight, June 26th, 363, in the 32d year of his age, when he had not reigned full two years. Libanius ought not to have reproached the Christians as killing him by treachery<sup>f</sup>, which calumny Sozomen refutes<sup>g</sup>. Even Ammianus Marcellinus, a Pagan, who was present at the fight, says<sup>h</sup>, 'Tis uncertain who did it; and Eutropius, another Pagan, and at that time in the battle, says, *Hostili manu interfectus est*, He was killed by the hand of an enemy. He was a prince superstitious rather than religious, of a nimble satyrical wit, loved to talk much, affected to be flattered, was skilled in profane learning, diligent in his studies, so as when he had employed the day in business, he would spend the night in reading and writing. In the good providence of God, his death restored health and safety to the Christian world. Had he return-

a Libanius, p. 254.

b Theodoret, Book iii. Chap. 26, 27.

c Ammianus Marcellinus, Book xxv.

d Book iii. Chap. 25. e Book vi. Chap. 2.

f Libanius, p. 324.

g Book vi. Chap. 2.

h Book xxv.

i Eutropius, Book 2.

ed victorious from the Persian expedition, the Christians might have felt the utmost effects of his severity; for it was what he threatned; and if he had prolonged his reign many years, he might have reduced Christianity to a very low ebb in all human appearance. 'Tis no wonder then that Christians entertained the news of his death with triumph and joy, and that their churches were filled with hymns and thanksgivings. At Antioch the people insulted Maximus, the philosopher and magician, who had blown up Julian in his folly and cruelty, crying out, "What is now become, O thou foolish Maximus, of all thy oracles and divinations? God and his Christ have overcome<sup>a</sup>."

Before I conclude this Section, I shall observe, that Christianity made farther progress in Persia in this fourth century. Some authors are of opinion, that there were Christians in that kingdom in the days of John the apostle<sup>b</sup>. And Bardeſanes, who flourished in Mesopotamia in the end of the second century, writes, "That there were Christians in his time in the country of the Parthians, of Medes and Persians, as far as Bactria." But, in the fourth age, the kingdom of Christ was farther enlarged in Persia. In the beginning of it, James of Nisibis went from Mesopotamia into Persia, to visit the Christians who were already there, and to endeavour to make new ones. The Christian religion was extensively spread there at the time of the council of Nice in 325. Adiabene was almost all Christian. Constantine was very glad to hear so good news; and Sapor, king of Persia, having sent ambassadors to him about the year 332, to make an alliance with him, he wrote a letter to that king, wherein he prays him to grant protection to the Christians that were in his kingdom. Nevertheless there arose a great persecution in Persia against the Christians afterwards.

In this century also the Scythian Nomades, who dwelt beyond the Ister, being disposed to entertain the gospel, but having few or none to preach it to them, Chrysostom got men of zeal to undertake this work. Theodoret says<sup>c</sup>, "I have read letters writ to Leontius, bishop of Ancyra, concerning the conversion of the Scythians, and desiring fit teachers might be sent to them."

The same Chrysostom finding the Goths over-run with Arianism, got some proper persons of that country, and ordained them readers, deacons and presbyters, and assigned them a church within the city. By their industry he reclaimed many to the church<sup>d</sup>; and that this might succeed the better, he himself went often and preached among them, making use of an interpreter to convey his discourse to the people, and persuaded other preachers to do the like.

<sup>a</sup> Theodoret, Book iii. Chap. 27, 28.    <sup>b</sup> Du Pin's Abridgment of Church History, Vol. 2. p. 86.    <sup>c</sup> Church Hist. Book v. Chap. 29, 30, 31.    <sup>d</sup> Theodoret, Book v. Chap. 30.

## SECTION II.

*In the fifth, sixth, and following Centuries, to the thirteenth.*

THAT the Reader may not be surprized to find so little said upon such a number of centuries, it is proper to observe, that this period does not afford much matter upon the success of true Christianity. A specimen of such accounts as are to be had, may be seen in MILLAR, Vol. II. Page 89, &c. to which the inquisitive reader is referred. There are two passages in another part of that Vol. II. that deserve particular notice; one concerning the church of Malabar in the East Indies, Page 219, &c. another concerning the church of Abyssinia in Africa, a large country, containing the great and higher Ethiopia, Page 274, &c. Of both which churches it is remarkable that they are very ancient, and that they condemn many of the errors and corruptions of the church of Rome.—The following passages relating to our own country, as they shew our early obligations to Divine Grace, I shall insert at large, Vol. II. Page 93.

“There was a Christian church with us in Scotland about the end of the second century; for Tertullian, who wrote about that time, says<sup>a</sup>, these places of Britain that were inaccessible to the Roman armies have yielded subjection to Christ.” And, Page 127, “The Christianity that was in this island before the Saxon conquest, (that is before the year 450) was more pure than what came in afterwards. There were great contests between those of the old stamp and those of the new. The former lived in Wales and Scotland; the latter in the heart of England. In the year 601, there was a synod called by Austine, to which, Bede tells us<sup>b</sup>, the bishops or doctors of the next province of the Britons were summoned; in which Dinooth, abbot of Bangor, told him, They owned no other subjection to the pope of Rome, but what they were bound to by the Christian duties of love and charity.” And, Page 130, “We have reason to believe that many of these old Britons and Scots were excellent persons; and that God, by their means, kept up true Christianity in this island to a greater degree than it would otherways have been preserved. Even Bede himself represents Aidan, Finan, and Colman, who were chief leaders of the Scots, and famous preachers in Northumberland, to have been eminent for their love of God and their regular life, and great observers of the works of piety and chastity, which they learned out of the holy scriptures. In a word, they stood up for the purity of Christianity, as founded on the word of God, against the canons of the Romish councils.”

a Against the Jews, Chap. 7. p. 98.

b Church History, Book ii. Chap. 2.

## SECTION III.

*In the thirteenth Century. Of the WALDENSES and ALBIGENSES. Their antiquity. Great Numbers. Constancy in suffering for the truth. From France they spread into Germany, Italy, and several other countries. Their enemies could never wholly extirpate them.*

[ FROM BENNET'S Memorial of the Reformation, Page 36. ]

REINERUS, their bitter enemy, gives this account of them in his book against the Waldenses, Chap. 14. "That of all Sects that ever were, none were so pernicious to the church of Rome as the Leonists or Waldenses; and that for these reasons: 1. For their antiquity and long continuance, even from the time of pope Sylvester, who was made pope in the year 316; or, as others have affirmed, from the time of the apostles. 2. For the universality of that sect, because there was scarce any country where they were not. 3. When all other heretics, by reason of their blasphemy against God, were abhorred, the Waldenses had a great appearance of piety, because they lived justly before men, believed all things well of God, and had all the articles of the creed, only they blasphemed the church and clergy of Rome."

[ FROM CLARK'S Martyrology, Page 76. ]

WHEN the darkness of Popery had overspread the Christian world, so that princes employed their authority to establish the Romish idolatry, appointing for slaughter such as denied Transubstantiation, adoration of the Host, and the like; this occasioned many to detest this superstition as unknown to the apostles and primitive church. Particularly, there was one Berengarius, soon after the year 1000, who boldly and faithfully preached the truth; from whom the gossellers were, for some time, called Berengarians. About the year 1110, common notice being taken of their separating from the church of Rome, and their disowning so many of its tenets, they became very odious to the Romanists. Twenty years after, when they were grown into a very great multitude, they had one Peter Bruis, an eminent preacher among them, who taught long and publicly at Tholouse, under the protection and favour of a nobleman called Hildephonfus. From him they were, in those parts, called Petro-Bruisians: for, in the year 1120, Peter Bruis published their tenets in a book called Antichrist, wherein he declared both the grounds of their doctrine, and the causes of their separation from the Romish church.

In the year 1140, they were grown so numerous, that the pope began to set himself to extirpate them; for which end he stirred up the most learned of his followers to write against them; and warned princes to take heed of them, and to banish them out of their territories.

In the year 1147, they had one Henry, of Tholouse, for their most eminent preacher; whereupon they began to be called Henricians: and because they were well read in the scriptures, especially in the Epistles of Paul, whom, by way of eminency, they called THE APOSTLE, alledging



texts out of him, and would admit of no testimonies for the proof of religion, but only out of scripture, they were called Apostolics. And shortly after, God raised up PETER VALDO, a citizen of Lyons in France, who shewed himself most courageous in opposing the Popish inventions; withal taxing divers other innovations which were crept into the church of Rome; and he was the more eagerly hearkened unto, because he was in high esteem for his learning and piety, and his liberality to the poor; for, besides the nourishing of their bodies, he did also feed their souls, by exhorting them to seek Jesus Christ, and salvation by him. The archbishop of Lyons, being informed, that Valdo used thus to instruct the people, boldly taxing the vices, luxury, and pride of the pope and his clergy, forbade him the same, upon pain of excommunication, and proceeded against him as an heretic. Valdo replied, That he could not be silent in a cause of so great importance, as the salvation of mens souls; wherein he must obey God rather than man. Then did the archbishop seek to have him apprehended, but could not effect it, Valdo having many great friends, and being generally beloved, whereby he continued (though closely) in Lyons three years.

Pope Alexander the Third, being informed, that divers persons in Lyons questioned his sovereign authority over the whole church, cursed Valdo, and his adherents; commanding the archbishop to proceed against them by ecclesiastical censures, to their utter extirpation; upon which they were wholly chased out of Lyons. Valdo and his followers were called Waldenses; who afterwards spread themselves into divers countries. Valdo himself went into Dauphiny, conversing in the mountains of the same province, with certain rude persons, yet capable of receiving his belief. His disciples also spread into Picardy, whence they were called Picards. Against whom afterwards king Philip (inforced by the ecclesiastical persons) took arms, and overthrew three hundred gentlemens houses that followed their party, and destroyed some walled towns, pursuing them into Flanders, whither they fled, and causing many of them there to be burnt to death.

This persecution caused many of them to fly into Germany, and Alsatia, where they spread their doctrine; and shortly after, the bishops of Mayence and Strasburgh raised a great persecution against them, causing five and thirty citizens of Mayence to be burnt in one fire, and eighteen in another, who with great constancy suffered death.

At Strasburgh eighty were burnt, at the instance of the bishop; yet multitudes of people received such edification by the exhortations, constancy and patience of the martyrs, that, in the year 1315, in the county of Passau, and about Bohemia, there were above eighty thousand persons that made profession of the same faith.

In the year 1160, some of them came into England, and at Oxford were punished in the most barbarous and cruel manner, as you may see in my English Martyrology<sup>a</sup>. And three years after, in the council of

<sup>a</sup> CLARK'S MARTYROLOGY, Page 376.

In the reign of king Henry the Second, there came above thirty of the Waldenses into England, one Gerard being their minister, acknowledged to be a learned man by the monk of Newbury, who writes the story: These people labouring to win disciples

Turon, or Towers, in France, viz. 1163, Pope Alexander, the Third, made a decree, that these gossellers, and all their favourers, should be excommunicated; and that none should sell them any thing, or buy any thing of them. But, notwithstanding all these devices, they had goodly churches in Bulgary, Croatia, Dalmatia, and Hungary. Cefarius saith, That this heresy (as he calls it) so encreased, that in a short time it infected, *usque ad mille civitates*, a thousand cities. Parsons saith, that they had an army of seventy thousand men to fight for them; yea, they were so spread in Germany, that they could travel from Collen to Milan in Italy, and every night lodge with hosts of their own profession.

Between the years 1176 and 1226, there was so great havoc made of these poor Christians, that the archbishops of Aix, Arles, and Narbonne, being assembled, at the request of the inquisitors, to confer with them about divers difficulties in the execution of their offices, had compassion of the great number that were accused and cast into prison, saying, We hear that you have apprehended such a multitude of the Waldenses, that it is not only impossible to defray the charge of their food, but to provide lime and stone to build prisons for them; we therefore advise you to forbear this rigour till the pope be advertised, and direct what he will have done in this case.

Notwithstanding all their sufferings, there was in the year 1260, according to the report of George Morrel, in his Memorials, Page 54, above 800,000 persons that made profession of the faith of the Waldenses. Besides the churches that they had in Valentinois, where their faith was propagated from father to son, their religion spread also beyond the Alps, into the valley of Pragela, within the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Turin, from whence were peopled the Waldensian valleys of Piedmont, La Perouse, St. Martin, Angrogne, &c. This valley of Pragela was one of the safest retiring places that the Waldenses had, being environed, on all sides, with mountains almost inaccessible, into the caves whereof they retired themselves in the times of persecution: and though they were weakened on all sides, surrounded with enemies, and in danger of being apprehended, if they looked but out of their

to Christ, were quickly found out by the Popish clergy; and great complaints were made against them to the king, who assembled a council of bishops at Oxford, before whom these godly persons were convented, and Gerard, their minister, spoke for them all; saying, We are Christians, holding and reverencing the doctrine of the Apostles. Being examined in order (saith the monk) of the articles of the holy faith, they held right things; but they would not admit of salt, spittle, and exorcisms in baptism, &c. And being urged with arguments, they answered, that they believed as they were taught by God's word. Being admonished to repent, and to return to the unity of the church, they despised that council; they scorned threats also, saying, "Blessed are

they which suffer persecution for righteousness sake; for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." Then did the bishops excommunicate them, and to delivered them over to be corporally punished by the king, who caused the character of heretical infamy to be burnt in their fore-heads; and Gerard, their minister, suffered the disgrace of double burning; then were their clothes cut off to their girdles; and they were publicly whipped thro' Oxford; they singing all the while, "Blessed are ye when men hate you, and despitefully use you." The king further commanded, that none should presume to receive them into their houses, nor to cherish them with any comfort, whereby they perished with hunger and cold.

doors; yet was there never any worldly respect that had power to alter their holy resolution, from the father to the son, to serve God, taking his word for the rule of their faith, and his law for the rule of their obedience; yea, no sooner were the infants weaned from their mothers breasts, but their parents took a singular delight to instruct them in the Christian faith. Their pastors also did not only preach to them on the sabbath-days, but went in the week-days, to instruct them in the villages and hamlets, not sparing themselves for the coldness of the air, and the cragginess of the country, where they were fain to climb up high mountains to visit their flocks. There was also holy discipline exercised among them; the people prayed with fervency at night when they went to their rest, and in the morning before they went about their labour; and they had schools wherein their children were taught and nurtured. The Waldenses were dispersed also into several other countries, as Bohemia, Austria, Germany, Flanders, Poland, Italy, Spain, Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia, Grecia, Philadelphia, Livonia, Sarmatia, Bulgaria; in all which places, at one time or other, they suffered persecutions.

The ALBIGENSES were the same with the WALDENSES, differing only in name, from their habitation in the country of Albi. Divers of WALDO'S disciples going into that country, and amongst them one ARNOLD (from whom they were called Arnoldists) laboured with so good success, that in a short time there was scarce any found that would go to mass. About the year 1210, the English, who now possessed Guienne, which bordereth upon the earldom of Tholouse, began to help the Albigenes, being stirred up thereto by Lollard, a godly and learned man; who, by his powerful preaching, converted many to the truth, and defended the faith of the Albigenes: and for his learning, it is evident by his Comment upon the Revelation, where he setteth forth many things that are spoken of the Roman Antichrist. This worthy man was afterwards apprehended in Germany; and, being delivered to the secular power, was burnt at Collen. Yet, notwithstanding all cruelties used against them, their enemies could never prevail to a total extirpation of them, but they still lay hid like sparks under the ashes, desiring and longing to see that, which now, through God's grace, their posterity do enjoy, *viz.* the liberty to call upon God in purity of conscience, without being enforced to any superstition and idolatry: and so, instructing their children in the service of God, the Lord was pleased to preserve a church amongst them in the midst of the Romish corruptions, till the gospel was dispersed in a more general and public way, by the ministry of LUTHER and his fellow-labourers; at which time these Albigenes received, with greediness, the doctrine of the gospel, and so became more eminent in their profession of piety than formerly<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> More instances of their piety and Christian resolution, and how they were enabled to defend themselves against their cruel enemies, see in Clark's Martyrology, from p. 76. to p. 124.

## SECTION IV.

*In the fourteenth Century. Of WICKLIFF in England, and of some others who before his Time had testified for the Truth of the Gospel there.*

[ From MILLAR's Propagation, &c. vol. ii. pag. 178. ]

BETWEEN the years 1370 and 1380, Providence raised up WICKLIFF in England, to oppose the corruptions of the church of Rome. He had many followers, who were called Lollards, by way of contempt, yet continued down to the time of the reformation both in England and Scotland<sup>a</sup>. They were so inflamed with zeal, that no severities used against them could extirpate them. Several of our princes and great men favoured them, in opposition to the pope, and his tyrannical encroachments, of which they were weary. The scriptures were translated into our mother tongue, and read by many; and such seeds of sacred truth were dispersed in various parts of the land as sprung up many years after, and helped to produce a plentiful harvest, when almighty God, to shew forth his glory, brought about the reformation from Popery.

[ From CLARK's Lives, pag. 109. ]

MR. WICKLIFF, a courageous witness of the truth, was a divinity-reader in Oxford, and had also a pastoral charge there, in which he took great pains. He received his first knowledge of the truth from one frier Lollard, who brought the doctrine of the Waldenses into England, and from whom his disciples were called Lollards. Mr. Wickliff was an eloquent man, and a great scholar. Many of the nobility favoured him, by whom he was sheltered from the rage of the Popish clergy. All his books were commanded to be burnt, but he had before enlightened so great a number, who kept his books carefully, maugre all the diligence of his adversaries, that they could never wholly deprive the church of them: for the more they laboured, by horrible threats, and death itself, to

a Knox's History, which, as the title of it shews, extends only from the year 1422, to August 20th, 1567, begins with remarkable extracts from the records of Glasgow. The historian observes, that it was by the merciful providence of God, that such things, as are after-mentioned, were kept even by the enemies of truth in their registers, to shew that God preserved in this realm some sparks of his light even in time of the greatest darkness. The first thing cited from these records is, that, in 1422, James Retby, a scholar of Wickliff's, was burnt for denying, that the pope was Christ's vicar. In 1431, Paul Craw, a Bohemian, apprehended in the university of St. Andrews, suffered death there. His enemies put a ball of brass in his mouth, that what he said for the truth, at his death, might not instruct the people. In 1494, thirty persons of those called the Lollards of

bishop of Glasgow, of about thirty-four articles, contrary to Popish errors. Among those were George Campbell of Cefnock, Adam Reid of Barskynning, John Campbell of New-Mills, Andrew Shaw of Polkenack, Helen Chamber lady Pokellie, Isobel Chamber lady Stairs. Some of the thirty resided in Kyle, others in Kingtyle, others in Cunningham. Although the bishop's accusation was very grievous, yet God so assisted his servants, partly, by inclining the king's heart to gentleness, for several of them were his familiar friends, and partly by enabling them to give bold and godly answers to their accusers; so that, in the end, the enemies were frustrate of their purpose. Adam Reid, in particular, gave such answers, as turned the cause of the persecutors into ridicule, in the presence of the court where the king presided.

hinder the knowledge and reading of them, the more were many kindled in their affections to read them with ardency. He wrote above an hundred volumes against Antichrist and the church of Rome, besides Commentaries on scripture. He translated the Bible into English, with prefaces and arguments to each book. In his book, intituled, *The path Way to perfect Knowledge*, he sheweth what pains he had taken in translating the Bible into English; how he had got many old Latin Bibles; "For the late books (saith he) are very corrupt:" and he employed many learned men to assist him in his fourth translation of it. He taught that the truth of the gospel sufficeth to salvation, without observing the legal ceremonies. He urged Christian men and women, young and old, to study the scriptures frequently, especially the New Testament, "Which, said he, is full of authority, and gives understanding to the simple, especially in all points needful to salvation<sup>a</sup>," &c.

[ From CLARK's Martyrology, pag. 375. ]

AFTER a short account of about twenty eminent persons who appeared against Popery in England by their writings, or otherwise, before Wickliff, from the year 884, and downwards, and of near thirty more that came after Wickliff, till the year 1507, he concludes to the following purpose, "Thus we have seen in many particular instances, that God preserved a true church, a true ministry, and true ordinances amongst the people of this land, in despite of the devil and all his instruments; and though many times the saints of God were fain to hide themselves, and underwent grievous persecutions for the cause of Christ, yet God still preserved a seed alive, who, when the storm was over, appeared again; and when corruptions and Antichristianity had overspread the greatest part of the Christian world, God from time to time raised up some in this nation to bear witness against the same, who loved not their lives to the death, that they might be found faithful to Christ, and his truth." And therefore Dr. Field, in his book of the church, Book iii. Chap. 6. and 8. had good reason to say thus, "Altho' we do acknowledge WICKLIFF, HUSSE, JEROM OF PRAGUE, &c. to have been the worthy servants of God, and holy martyrs, suffering for the cause of Christ against Antichrist, yet we do not think that the church was to be found only in them, or that there was no other appearance or succession of the church and ministry, as the Papists falsely charge us; for we believe that they who taught and embraced those damnable errors which the Romanists now defend, were a faction only in the church, as were they that denied the resurrection, urged circumcision, and despised the apostles of Christ in the churches of Corinth and Galatia."

<sup>a</sup> Of his complaints of the idolatry, pride, and wickedness of the times, and how he was persecuted by the Popish clergy, and defended by the favour of several of the English nobility, and by other Providences, see Clark's Lives, p. 114.

## SECTION V.

*In the fifteenth Century. Of JOHN HUSSE, and JEROM OF PRAGUE. What befel the churches of Bohemia afterwards. The Discovery of new Countries in this Century, a mean of propagating the Gospel among the Heathen. The Revival of Learning subservient to the Reformation from Popery.*

[ FROM CLARK'S Martyrology, pag. 126, &c. ]

WHEN the pope began to obtrude his superstitions upon the Bohemians, as he had done on other churches, they sent commissioners to Rome, desiring to be eased of their grievances, as early as the year 977; which, for some time, had a good effect. But when these oppressions were renewed, and, about the year 1197, others added to them, Providence raised up many to oppose them, particularly John Melicius, a man of a noble family, and fervent spirit, much honoured for his learning, and holy life. Being much moved in spirit to go to Rome, and there to testify that the great Antichrist was come, he prayed to God, with fasting and tears, desiring, unless these thoughts came from the Spirit of God, to be delivered from them. But when he could find no inward quiet, he went to Rome, where the pope excommunicated him and his hearers, and imprisoned him.

Matthias of Prague was another opposer of the corruptions of the church of Rome. In the year 1375, he, with some other learned men, went to king Charles, who then reigned, requesting him to call a council for the reformation of the church. Charles sending to the pope about it, he was so incensed at the message, that he commanded the king to punish these rash and heretical men. Matthias was banished the kingdom, and the use of the sacrament, according to its original institution, was prohibited through all Bohemia; so that the godly could not administer it but in private houses, or woods and caves; and yet neither so, but with the hazard of their lives. And thus matters continued to the days of John Husse.

[ FROM CLARK'S Lives, pag. 116. ]

JOHN HUSSE, while he was a student at the university of Prague, met with Wickliff's books, from whence he first got light and courage to profess the truth. In the year 1400, he was chosen pastor of a church, and, in 1409, rector of the university. He continued in the exercise of his ministry with great zeal, diligence and faithfulness, for the space of twelve years, instructing the people out of the holy scriptures, and living an exemplary life. He vigorously opposed the pope's proceedings, for which he was cited to Rome, to answer to such articles as should be laid against him. He sent his proctors to Rome, who appeared for him, answered the charge, and cleared his innocency; yet did the pope and his cardinals, condemn him for an heretic, and excommunicate him; which caused the Popish clergy, and some of the barons of Bohemia, to oppose Husse, being thus excommunicated: and king Wincelaus banished him, but he was entertained in the country, and protected at Hussinets, where

he preached in the parish church, and some places adjacent, against the Popish doctrine of merit of works, and against the pride, idleness, cruelty and avarice of the Romish court and clergy, multitudes of persons resorting to his ministry. Sometimes also he repaired to his church of Bethlehem, and preached there. But, upon the pope's death, the cardinals being divided, chose three popes, whereupon there was a council called at Constance, in the year 1414, to which council the emperor Sigismund commanded Hussle to come, giving him his safe conduct for his coming, and return. October 15th, John Hussle began his journey towards Constance, being accompanied with two noblemen and their followers; and, relying upon the goodness of his cause, the clearness of his conscience, and the emperor's safe conduct, with a chearful mind and undaunted spirit, he went to Constance, and, in his journey, set up writings in every city, the tenor whereof was this; "Mr. John Hussle, batchelor of divinity, goeth now to the council of Constance, there to declare his faith which he hath hitherto held, and even at this present doth hold, and, by God's grace, will hold, and defend even to the death. Therefore, even as he hath manifested through all the kingdom of Bohemia, by his letters and intimations, willing, before his departure thence, to have satisfied and given an account of his faith unto every man who should object or lay any thing against him in the general convocation held in the archbishop of Prague's court: so also he doth manifest and signify, that if there be any man in this city, that can impute any error or heresy to him, that he would prepare himself to come unto the council; forasmuch as the said Mr. John Hussle is ready to satisfy every man, at the said council, who shall lay any thing to his charge, as touching his faith." In all cities, as he passed by, especially when he entered into Germany, a great number of people resorted to him, and he was every where kindly entertained, especially by the citizens and burgeses, insomuch, that he confessed, in a certain Epistle, that he found in no place so great enemies as in Bohemia: and when he came to Noremberg, certain merchants, that went before, having given notice of his coming, almost all the priests that were in the city came to him, desiring him, that they might talk with him in private, to whom he answered, that he desired rather to declare his mind openly; and so, from dinner till night, he spake before the priests, senators, and many citizens, insomuch that they all had him in singular estimation and reverence. When Mr. Hussle came to Constance, he was cited to appear before some cardinals, to give an account of his doctrine; but he told them, that he came to do it before all the council; yet, if they would force him to do it before them, he doubted not, but Christ would strengthen him to chuse death for his Glory's sake, rather than to deny the truth, which he had learned out of the holy scriptures. After examination, they committed him to a filthy prison, where, by reason of the stink, he fell sick, and his life was in danger. In the mean time, his adversaries preferred articles against him, wherein they had forged many things of their own heads, wresting and perverting his godly and orthodox sayings to a bad sense, that they might have whereof to accuse him; and thereupon desired of the council, that he might be condemned. Mr. Hussle hearing of these

their malicious proceedings, moved, that he might have an advocate ; but that was denied him. Whilst he lay there in prison, when he had in some measure recovered his health, he wrote sundry books. From that prison he was removed by the bishop of Constance to a castle on the other side of the Rhine, where, in the day time, he was so laden with fetters on his legs, that he could scarce go, and every night he was fastened by the hands up to a rack against the wall. Hereupon many noblemen of Bohemia petitioned for his release, at least upon bail, but that was denied. They who were appointed for his judges, in his absence heard his enemies, examined witnesses against him, judged his doctrine not by the true touch-stone of God's word, but by the Popish canons ; but when the council would have condemned him without hearing, the emperor interposed, requiring that he should be first heard ; but, when he was brought before them, they made such a confused noise, railing upon him, that he could not speak one word. When he saw the cruelty of his judges, the malice of his accusers, the falshood of his witnesses, and the rage of all the council against him, breathing forth nothing but fire and faggots, he kneeled down, and commended his righteous cause to the Lord Jesus Christ, begging forgiveness for his enemies ; yet he earnestly requested the council, even with tears, that they would convince him of any error by the word of God, and he would willingly retract it. But nothing prevailed ; for they proceeded to condemn and degrade him ; whereupon, kneeling down, he said, " Lord Jesus Christ, forgive mine enemies, by whom thou knowest that I am falsely accused ; forgive them, I say, for thy great mercy's sake." In degrading him, they pared off the crown of his head, and the skin, with a pair of sheers : and, to justify their proceedings against him, because the emperor had given him his safe conduct, the council made a decree, that faith was not to be kept with heretics. The Romish agents persecuted him with such eagerness, that his works were condemned to be burned with him. When he was brought forth to be burned, they put on his head a triple crown of paper, painted over with ugly devils ; but, when he saw it, he said, " My Lord Jesus Christ, for my sake, did wear a crown of thorns ; why should not I, then, for his sake, wear this light crown, be it ever so ignominious ? Truly I will do it, and that willingly." When it was set upon his head, the bishops said, Now we commit thy soul to the devil. " But I, said John Husse, (lifting up his eyes towards heaven) do commit my spirit into thy hands, O Lord Jesus Christ ! unto thee I commend my spirit, which thou hast redeemed." As he was going to execution, they burned his books before his face, at which he smiled, and said to the people, " Think not, good people, that I die for any heresy, or error, but only for the ill-will of my adversaries." When he came to the place of execution, he kneeled down, and, with his eyes towards heaven, he prayed, and repeated certain Psalms, and with a cheerful countenance, cried often, " Into thy hands, O Lord ! I commend my spirit." When he rose from his knees, he said, Lord Jesus Christ, assist and help me, that, with a constant and patient mind, by thy most gracious help, I may bear and suffer this cruel and ignominious death, to which I am condemned for the preaching of



thy most holy gospel." And as they tied his neck with a chain to the stake, smiling, he said, "That he would willingly receive the same chain for Jesus Christ's sake, who he knew was bound with a far worse chain." When the fire was kindled, he began to sing, with a loud voice, "Jesus Christ, the Son of the living God, have mercy on me!" And, at the third time that he repeated it, the wind drove the flames so into his face, that it choaked him. He suffered martyrdom in 1415. He told them, at his death, "That out of the ashes of the Goose (for so Huss in the Bohemian language signifies) an hundred years after, God would raise up a Swan in Germany, whose singing would affright all those vultures; which was fulfilled in Luther, just about an hundred years after."

2. JEROM OF PRAGUE, a man famous for virtue, learning, and eloquence, when he understood that the public faith was violated, his country slandered, and Huss burnt, he travelled to Constance, April 4th, in 1415. But no sooner came he thither, but he understood, that watch was laid for him to apprehend him; whereupon the next day he went to Iberling, a city of the empire, and a mile from Constance. From thence he sent to Sigismund, king of Hungary, and his barons, but especially to the council, most earnestly requesting, that they would give him a safe conduct freely to come and go, and then he would come in open audience to answer every man, if any would appear to charge him with any crime. But no safe conduct could be granted him; wherefore the Lords of Bohemia gave him their letters patent with which he returned again towards Bohemia: but, by the treachery and subtilty of his enemies, he was apprehended by the way in Hirsaw, and by the officers was carried before the duke, who presently carried him bound to Constance. Some of the bishops said to him, Jerom, why didst thou fly and run away, and not appear when thou wast cited? to which he answered, Because I could get no safe conduct neither from you nor the king; and perceiving that I had many bitter enemies in the council, I would not be the author of my own peril; but had I known of your citation, assuredly, though I had been in Bohemia, I would have appeared. Then was he delivered bound to the officers to be put in prison. As soon as he came thither, one called to him at his window, saying, "Mr. Jerom, be constant, and fear not to suffer death for the truth's sake, of which, when you was at liberty, you did preach much good:" to whom he answered, "Truly, brother, I do not fear death." But the prison-keeper coming to the man, drove him away with strokes from the window. Presently the bishop of Rigen sent for Jerom, strongly bound with chains, both by the hands and neck, and sent him to a tower, where they tied him fast to a great block, and his feet in the stocks, his hands being also made fast upon them, the block being so high, that he could by no means sit thereon, but his head must hang downwards; where also they allowed him nothing but bread and water: but within eleven days, hanging so by the heels, he fell very sick; yet thus they kept him in prison a year wanting seven days, and then sent for him, requiring him to recant, and to subscribe, that John Huss was justly put to death, which he did, partly for fear of death, and ho-

ping thereby to escape their hands: after which they sent him back to prison, and kept him guarded with soldiers, yet not so strictly chained as before. Then they sent to examine him again; but he refused to answer in private, except he might be brought before the council; and they (supposing that he would openly confirm his former recantation) sent for him thither, May 25th, 1416, suborning false witnesses to accuse him; but he so learnedly cleared himself, and refuted his adversaries, that they were astonished at his discourse, and with shame enough were put to silence: he also concluded his speech with this, "That all such articles as Wickliff and Huss had written against the enormities, pomp and disorder of the prelates, he would firmly hold and defend even unto death; and that all the sins he had committed, did not so much trouble and gnaw his conscience, as did that most pestiferous act of his, in recanting what he had justly spoken, and in consenting to the wicked condemnation of Huss; and that he repented of it with his whole heart." This so enraged them, that they proceeded to condemn him; whereupon he said, "I, after my death, will leave a remorse in your consciences, and a nail in your hearts; *Et cito vos omnes ut respondeatis mihi coram altissimo et iustissimo Iudice post centum annos*; and I cite you all to answer to me before the most high and just Judge within an hundred years."

As he went to the place of execution, he sung some hymns; and coming to the place where John Huss was burned, he kneeled down, and prayed fervently. He was bound to the image of John Huss, and so fire was set to him, which he endured with admirable valour; for, standing at the stake bound, and the executioner kindling the fire behind him, he bade him kindle it before his face: "For (said he) if I had been afraid of it, I had not come to this place." The whole city of Constance admired his Christian magnanimity. At the giving up the ghost, he said,

*Hanc animam in flammis offero, Christe, tibi!*

This soul of mine, in flames of fire,

O Christ, I offer thee!

Poggins, who was secretary to the council of Constance, writing to a friend, saith thus of Jerom, "I profess I never saw any man, who, in discourse (especially it being for life or death) came nearer to the eloquence of the apostles and ancients, whom we so much admire. It was a wonder to see with what words, with what eloquence, arguments, countenance, and with what confidence he answered his adversaries, and maintained his own cause; insomuch, as it is to be lamented, that so fine a wit had strayed into the way of heresy, if that be true which was objected against him." And afterwards he saith, "When many things were heaped up against him, to fix the charge of heresy, which also were proved by witnesses, it was permitted to him to answer particularly to the same; but he refused a long time, because he ought first to plead his own cause, and then to answer to the railings of his adversaries. And when this was denied him, he said, How great an injury and iniquity is this, that when I lived three hundred and forty days in a most hard prison, in filthiness, in dung, in fetters, and in want of all things, ye

have heard my adversaries at all times, and you will not hear me one hour? It is possible you may err: you are men, and not gods."

"Whenever any article of his accusation was read publicly, and proved by witnesses, they asked him, Whether he had any thing to object? But it is almost incredible how he answered, and with what arguments he defended himself. He never spake one word unworthy a good man; so that, if he thought in his heart, as he spake with his tongue, no cause of death could have been found against him; neither indeed was he guilty of the least offence."

[ From the Fulfilling of the Scriptures, Part iii. Chap. 2. Sect. 22. ]

It was a glorious appearance of Jesus Christ for his truth, that testimony by JOHN HUSSE and JEROM OF PRAGUE, at the council of CONSTANCE, with what followed in the church of Bohemia; a passage so remarkable, and such convincing circumstances attending it, that, if judicial induration were not a stroke which refuseth all cure, there could have been no resisting this conviction by the world, that surely it was the finger of God, and his immediate work; when these things are considered,

1. How, in a time of such darkness, and the Romish church at its greatest height, those were raised up with some more than ordinary elevation of spirit, and of the Lord suited to appear on his interest. Aeneas Sylvius himself, who afterwards was pope, saith "That, with the sound of their voice, the Spirit of God assisting, the word thundering in them, did awake the people out of their dead sleep, as they run by flocks to this great light, inviting their neighbours thereto." If any question this, see *Aen. Syl. Hist. Bohem. cap. 35.*

2. That this testimony, even whilst the church was in the wilderness, could not get leave to be smothered in a corner, but was given in the most public view, where nothing could be more notour and conspicuous, at the general council of Constance. The world must be forced to see, what authority Jesus Christ can put upon the meanest of his followers, in their appearance for the truth; yea, what another spirit this is from that of the world, which could thus stand, and withstand, so impetuous a torrent of universal apostasy, even there where the united strength of the Romish church and empire were at once met, yea, by patience and resolution, in avowing the truth, overcome their persecutors, and resist those allurements of preferment, and an honourable place of the church, which were then offered, if they would renounce this doctrine, to which the same Aeneas Sylvius, cap. 36. shews what answer they made, that they taught the truth, being the disciples of Christ, and directed themselves according to his gospel, whilst the church of Rome was departed from the traditions of the apostles, seeking after riches and pleasures, and dominion over the people; yea, Poggius, secretary to the said council, gives this account of Jerom of Prague, that, being called before the council, after he had lain for a year in a most filthy prison and fetters, and in want of all earthly comfort, where he could neither read nor see, it was incredible to be spoke, how he then answered, and with what arguments; he never spoke any thing unworthy

of a good man, and at last bath these words, "O man, worthy of the eternal memory of men!" *Pogg. in Epist. ad Leonard. Aret.*

3. That whilst they were sentenced to die, notwithstanding of the emperor's assurance, and safe conduct given, an extraordinary presence of the Lord in that hour of their suffering was thus also made public; for which, I shall insert the very words of these fore-mentioned writers, whom none could suspect to be partial. Aeneas Sylvius says, "That both of them suffered death (though not at one time) with a constant mind, and went joyfully to the fire, as to a feast, without the least heaviness or discontent, and at the fire sung an hymn: neither have we read (says he) of any of the philosophers who did suffer with more resolution." And Poggius, speaking of Jerom, saith, "When the fire was set unto him, he began to sing an hymn, and when the executioner would have kindled the fire behind his back, that he might not see it, Come (saith he) and do it in my sight; had I feared this, I would not have come here. And in this manner (says he) was that man, rare and excellent beyond all belief, consumed to ashes; and adds, Neither Mutius with so constant resolution endured the burning of one member, as he of his whole body. Neither Socrates so willingly drunk the poison, as he embraced the fire."

4. That known prophesy of his at the stake, turning to the prelates there present, After an hundred years you shall answer to God and me, was then so notour and undeniable, that, upon the money coined after in Bohemia, this inscription was put on the one side in Latin, *Centum annis revolutis Deo respondebitis et mihi*, whilst nothing then of the event could be known, which so remarkably answered to the first breaking up of the reformation, Luther's appearing being in 1517, and Zuinglius a little before; and this was in 1416.

5. Upon this testimony, sealed with the blood of these excellent men, such wonderful providences did attend the actions of that party in Bohemia, then stirred up to appear against such horrid cruelty, yea, to adventure not only against the empire, but that whole formidable power of the Romish church in Europe, as would seem almost incredible, if the adversaries themselves were not enforced to testify it.

[ FROM CLARK'S Martyrology, pag. 127. ]

WHEN these holy men of God were so unjustly burned at Constance, the adversaries were not satisfied with their blood, but took further counsel for the destruction of the whole nation; for, when fifty-eight of the chief nobles of Bohemia, in the name of all the commons, in the year 1416, had sent letters from Prague to the council, complaining, that their pastor, an innocent and holy man, and faithful teacher of the truth, was unjustly condemned, the council, instead of answering them, wrote letters to some violent Papists, who were in authority, to assist their legate in oppressing these heretics. After this, the pope publicly excommunicated the Bohemians at Florence, exciting the emperor, kings, princes, dukes, &c. to take up arms against them, promising universal remission of sins to the most wicked person, if he did but kill one Bohemian. Hereupon great wars were raised against them; but it pleased

God still to give them the victory under their brave captain, Zisca. Of which see more in my Second Part, in Zisca's life. Yet still, as the Popish party prevailed at any time, they exercised all manner of cruelty upon the poor servants of Christ; insomuch, that at Cuttenburgh, where were deep metal mines, in the year 1420, they threw into one of them a thousand and seven hundred persons; into another, a thousand and thirty-eight; and, into a third, a thousand three hundred and thirty-four persons.

In the year 1459, there were divers godly people in Bohemia, ministers, nobles, and commons, who being much pressed in conscience about the superstitions in the church of Rome, obtained of their king, George Pogiebracius, a place in the hill country, near Silesia, to inhabit, where throwing off all superstitious practices, they applied themselves to the form of the primitive simplicity, calling themselves brethren and sisters. The beginning of this church displeased the devil; and therefore he raised a sudden and violent tempest to overthrow it, the priests in every pulpit stirring up the hatred of the people, and the king, by his edict, forbidding all pastors to administer holy services without ceremonies; and withal, threatening death to those that should administer to the brethren, called now by the hateful name of Piccards. And presently after came forth a new edict, that none of them should be suffered to live in Bohemia. Upon which they were dispersed among the woods and mountains, where yet they were scarce safe.

In the year 1468, there came out a new decree against them, requiring all the nobles of Bohemia, within their several jurisdictions, to apprehend as many as they could, and to proceed against them. Many therefore were apprehended, and put into prison, where they were kept for a long time: but through the wonderful working of God, the more the enemies laboured to put out this spark, the more it brake forth into a great flame; for many of their peers submitted to the discipline of the brethren, building churches for them in their towns and villages; so that, in the year 1500, they had, in Bohemia and the country around, near two hundred churches.

After the death of Pogiebracius, Uladislaus, a Polonian, succeeded in the kingdom, to whom the brethren wrote an Apology, by reason of many foul accusations that were carried to him against them. This so exasperated their enemies, that they endeavoured by a most impudent invention, to stir up the hatred of all men against them. The way they used, was this: they suborned a wicked villain, to say that he came from amongst them, and that he had been an elder, but had therefore forsaken them, because, in their meetings, they used to blaspheme God and the saints, to traduce the sacraments, to mingle themselves incestuously, to commit murder, and practise witchcraft, &c. This man they led through the towns and cities, as a spectacle: they brought him to their church, where he must abjure his errors, and beseech the people to pray for him, a most miserable sinner; and to take heed, by his example, of the wicked Piccards. They also published his confession in writing, being confirmed with the seals and subscriptions of some deans and priests, causing them to be read in the churches to the people. But the devil was

befooled herein; for the brethren, by public writings, did confute these lies; and the villain, trembling so often to forswear himself, confessed at last that he was suborned to do what he did, and that he knew not any of the Piccards: yet thus far it made for good, that some, to make experience of so great villanies, began privately, and disguised, to frequent the assemblies of the brethren; and, finding it to be far otherwise than was reported, did associate themselves with them, as with true Christians.

In the year 1510, the bishops, by their importunity, prevailed with the king, that sharp remedies should be used against those growing evils, as they were pleased to call them; whereupon an edict was made, that all the Piccards, without distinction of sex, age, or quality, should be slain. This mandate was brought to the assembly of states at Prague, by two bishops; but divers of the chiefest nobles opposed it: so that eighteen months were spent in debate, before any thing was done; but, at last, by the cunning artifice of the chancellor, and his bloody associates, it was confirmed by the greatest part of the nobility, in presence of the king; and a mutual confederacy was entered into, that it should be prosecuted with an armed power: but God following some of the chief contrivers of it with sundry judgments, it almost came to nothing.

Soon after, God stirred up in Germany undaunted LUTHER, that thunderbolt against the pope, whose writings brought many to resolve to embrace the purer doctrine of the gospel, and to seek for the ordination of their ministers from Wittenberg, rather than from Rome. In the mean time, the brethren being much encouraged by letters from Luther, Bucer, and Capito, went on constantly; and, through God's mercy, a great number was added to the church, till that fatal year 1547, at which time Charles, the Fifth, putting in execution the decrees of the council of Trent, raised wars against the Protestant princes in Germany. His Brother, Ferdinand, solicited the Bohemians for aid; but they refused it in regard of their ancient league with the house of Saxony. But the German Protestants being overcome in War, Ferdinand entered Bohemia with an army, seizeth on Prague, imprisoneth the principal nobles, barons, and citizens; some he scourged, some he beheaded, and upon others he laid grievous fines, and of others he sequestered all their estates: also he disarmed the city of Prague, took away their privilege, banishing some, whilst others went into voluntary exile. Then did the devil raise up some to lay all the blame upon the brethren, to which malicious suggestions the king giving heed, first, by open proclamation, commanded all their churches to be shut up, and then he took away their peers, and banished them all out of his realms. When this heavy stroke befel them, the brethren agreed amongst themselves, that they would still be more faithful to God and their consciences than ever they had been: and so, by common consent, dividing themselves into three companies, they went into Poland; and all of them had experience of an admirable Divine Protection in their journey, escaping some that might and would have robbed them, but that they were restrained by God: as also, in most places where they came, they found pity and liberality, and they got courteous entertainment in Po-

land, though most of the people there were Papists; yet not long after, the bishop of that part where they were, got a mandate from the king, to drive them away: then were they forced to go into the farthest parts of Prussia, where, by duke Albert of Brandenburg, they had a place of habitation allotted to them; and one Paul Speratus, a Protestant bishop, having conferred with them about their faith, was very courteous and charitable to them.

The next edict that Ferdinand set forth against the brethren, was for the apprehending of all their ministers; whereupon some of them retired into Moravia; others, that they might be near their flocks, hid themselves in private places, and in the night-time they visited the faithful: which continued for some years; but, at last, three of them fell into their enemies hands; yet one of them, through the admirable providence of God, escaped out of a deep dungeon in the castle of Prague, and fled to his brethren; and he sometimes passing through Poland, and preaching the gospel, by Divine Mercy, many of the nobility and others were converted under his ministry; so that, in a few years, he erected twenty churches in Poland.

In the year 1549, Ferdinand published another decree for the extirpating both of the brethren and Lutherans; in consequence of which, the ministers that had received ordination in Germany were banished out of the kingdom, to the number of about two hundred.

After the death of Ferdinand, Maximilian succeeded, in the year 1562, who being of a peaceable disposition, could by no means be induced, that any should suffer for their faith.

After him Rodolphus succeeded in the year 1607, who treading in his father's steps, the church of Christ enjoyed peace under him; yea, pure religion so flourished through the whole kingdom, that there was scarce one among an hundred that did not profess the Reformed religion: but, alas! with liberty of religion, by little and little, men began to be licentious in their lives, and carnal security so increased, that some began to presage, that an horrible tempest should again overwhelm them.

After the death of Rodolphus, succeeded Matthias, who coming into Bohemia in the year 1617, called an assembly of the states: to them that did appear, he represented, that since he had no issue, he would adopt Ferdinand for his son, commendeth his virtues, and desires that he may be crowned: the orders assembled, affirmed, that a matter of that consequence could not be done in the absence of the united provinces; Caesar urged, that what Bohemia should do would be confirmed by all the rest, and that it could not be deferred till another time. In brief, the orders protested, that the terms of receiving him king were new; that he ought first to be chosen, and then received; and some, perceiving that there was no place for a free voice, departed; others, partly allured by promises, and partly deterred by threats, staid, and were present at the coronation of Ferdinand, after which he went into Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia, requesting to be received for their king.

Ferdinand being thus obtruded upon the Bohemians for their king,

contrary to the ancient constitutions and customs of the kingdom, and not lawfully elected, as he ought to have been, retired presently into Germany: and thereupon the enemies of the truth began to crow, and openly to threaten the Protestants; and it appeared sufficiently, that Ferdinand swore to the orders with his mouth, but in his heart to the pope; and presently after his departure, the Popish bishops, clergy and nobles, began to vex his subjects for their religion, contrary to that assurance which the king had given to them: they attempted also the like in Prague, the Jesuites daily threatening, that their liberty in religion should not last long. Then did they strictly prohibit the Protestants from printing any thing, unless licensed by the chancellor of the kingdom, themselves publishing their own slanderous pamphlets and dangerous writings against the Protestants. In the mean time, the states resolved not to admit Ferdinand to be their king, who was so open an enemy both to their religion and liberties, and who was obtruded upon them without a due election: they sent also ambassadors to Francfort, where the electors were met together to chuse a new emperor, desiring that Ferdinand might not be admitted amongst them as king of Bohemia, notwithstanding which he was admitted, and was chosen emperor: the Bohemians, in the mean time, chusing Frederick elector Palatine for their king. This more enraged their enemies, so that they sent another army under Maximilian of Bavaria, which took two Protestant towns by storm, and put all to the sword, and every where made great slaughter of the Protestants. Then the Imperial armies came to Prague, which being struck with a panick fear, the Protestant army being overthrown in a set battle under the walls, surrendered to them, the conqueror promising to keep articles agreed upon, but performing nothing less: for they did more mischief to the church of Christ by their subtle and slow proceedings, than lately by their outrageous fury.

The ministers were every where cast out of their churches; some imprisoned, and after a while dismissed; and all commanded to depart the kingdom, upon pain of death.

In the year 1624, a decree came forth from the king, whereby all the ministers of the gospel were commanded to depart the kingdom by a peremptory day prefixed, because, as was alledged, they were seditious men and seducers of the people: yet, in most places, this edict was not known, till the time was almost or altogether elapsed; so that the ministers not having time to communicate their counsels together, went into several provinces; and some were fain to hide themselves in caves and dens, and those either returned privately and visited their auditors, or comforted such as came to them in the mountains and woods, preaching and administering the sacraments to them. But as soon as the enemies understood this, they presently published a new decree; wherein a punishment was threatened against those that should conceal the ministers, and a reward promised to such as should betray them: whereupon some of the ministers were taken and cast into prison; then by the Jesuites were they by all ways solicited to apostasy; and fear of death, hunger, cold, &c. prevailed with some to renounce their mini-



stry; but most bore up courageously against all storms; and, at last, some, by paying great fines, others by giving it under their hands, that they would never return into Bohemia, were dismissed.

The next design of the enemy was against the nobles; their crime was, for taking up arms for Frederick, their lawful king, against an usurper: for though hope of pardon was granted, if, laying down arms, they would submit to Caesar's mercy, yet divers of them were apprehended. And, first, they seized upon some that were of the rank of defenders of the kingdom's liberties; and then all those whom they knew to have done any thing for the common good of religion and liberty, or feared that they might be able to do for the time to come; and all such as feared to break their faith given to Frederick. These were about the number of fifty men, famous for learning, skill in military affairs, and prudence in government, who were the light, delight, and safeguard of their country.

All of these, in one night, and at one hour, were apprehended in their houses, when they suspected no danger, and by the captains were commanded to get up into waggons; and so some of them were carried to the castle of Prague, others to the major's house. Next day they proceeded to the trial of the noblemen whom they had taken. Two apostate Civilians were appointed to examine them, with some of the nobility, who tired them out with a thousand impertinent questions, labouring to extort that from them whereof they were never guilty: which one of them not able to endure, renting his garments, and opening his breast, said, "Tear into a thousand pieces this body, and search into my heart, and you shall find nothing there but what is expressed in my Apology. The love of religion and liberty made us unsheath our swords; but, seeing God would have Caesar prevail, and hath delivered us into your hand, his will be done." Others of them also stoutly maintained, that their cause was not the worse for want of success.

After some time, when none of the noblemen would yield, or acknowledge themselves in an error, or sue unto them for mercy, they proceeded to execution; their judgments were committed to such as were sworn enemies to the gospel. After sentence was passed, it was sent to Caesar to consider of it; and he was so troubled, that he slept none that night; and the next morning, calling his confessor, he said to him, "I adjure thee, upon thy conscience, to tell me, whether I may with a safe conscience pardon these that are condemned? or whether I should suffer execution to pass on them?" The confessor answered, "O Caesar! both are in thy power." Then did he, with his pen, pardon some, and left others to execution, with a great addition of shame and ignominy. Presently after they were brought out singly to hear their sentence; wherein some were condemned to death, others to perpetual imprisonment, others to banishment, and some were reserved to Caesar's further pleasure. Then were each sort of prisoners carried to their several prisons; the noblemen to the inward prisons of the castle, the citizens to the major's house; and, as they went, some villains were suborned to insult over them, saying, Why do they not now sing, the Lord

reigneth? Then did the wives, children, and kinsfolk of the condemned persons humbly petition for their lives; but answer was made, that all the favour which could now be granted to them, was that they should have leave to bury the bodies of their friends. In the evening the condemned men, who were twenty-seven in number, had notice given them of the day when they were to suffer; and therefore they were advised, for the good of their souls, to send for Jesuites, or a minister of the Augustine confession, but they must expect no minister of the brethren; for that would not be granted them. The Jesuites and Capuchins, not staying till they were called for, flocked to them, using many persuasions, promising life, &c. if they would turn. But God so strengthened them, that all these endeavours were vain. Then were some ministers of the Augustine confession sent for, who spent that time which remained, in religious exercises, conferences, prayer, and singing of Psalms; and, lastly, in administering the sacraments to them. They who were of the brethren willingly admitted these ministers, protesting, that they acknowledged them for brethren, though they differed from them in some things.

They who were prisoners in the major's house, being called to supper the night before they were to suffer, comforted themselves, saying, "That this was their last supper on earth; but, to-morrow, said they, we shall feast with Christ in his kingdom." When it was told them, that the noblemen were coming to the scaffold in the market-place, where they were to suffer, they hastened to the windows, and entertained their fellow-martyrs with singing the forty-fourth Psalm, in which are these words, "For thy sake we are killed all the day," &c. The night after they spent in psalms, prayer, godly discourse, and mutual exhortations, that, since it pleased God to call them before others, to this honour of martyrdom, they hoped, by their constancy, to confound the world, to glorify Christ, and to leave a good example to others. Early in the morning they washed their faces, and put on clean clothes, as if they had been going to a wedding, and cut off the collars of their doublets, that, when they came to the scaffold, there should need no new making ready. Then presently was a gun discharged, which was a warning for their bringing forth to execution: whereupon these champions of Christ encouraged one another, praying, that each of them might be strengthened, &c. Then came troops of horse and foot to fetch them, the streets, market-place, and houses, being filled with multitudes of spectators. The martyrs being called forth one by one, went to their death with an undaunted courage, hasting as if they had been going to a banquet.

When one was called for, he thus took his leave of the rest, "Farewel, most loving friends! God give you the comforts of his Spirit, patience and courage, that what formerly with your mouths you have professed, you may confirm by your glorious death. Behold, I go before, that I may see the glory of my Lord Jesus Christ; you will follow me, that we may together see the face of our heavenly Father. At this hour all sorrow departs from me, and joyful eternity shall succeed it." Then did the rest answer, "God above, to whom you are going, prosper your journey, and grant that you may pass happily from this vale of

misery into that heavenly country. The Lord Jesus send his angels to meet you. Go, dear brother, into thine and our Father's house, and we will follow after; presently we shall meet in the heavenly glory: and this we are confident of, through him in whom we have believed."

The first was the lord Schlik, a man of admirable parts, about fifty years old: when he was condemned to be quartered, and his members to be scattered here and there, he said, The loss of a sepulchre is easy. Being exhorted by a minister to courage, he said, I have God's favour so, that no fear of death doth trouble me. I have formerly dared to oppose Antichrist; and I dare now die for Christ. The Jesuites troubling him when he came to the scaffold, he shook them off; and seeing the sun shining bright, he said, Christ, thou Sun of Righteousness, grant, that through the darkness of death, I may pass into eternal light; and so, having ended his prayers, he constantly received the stroke.

The lord Wenceslaus was next, about seventy years old, famous for learning, religion, and his travels through divers countries; his house was formerly plundered, even to his wearing apparel, he only saying, The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken away. Holding forth his Bible, he said, Behold my paradise! it never yielded me so much nectar and ambrosia as now. On the scaffold, stroaking his long beard, he said, My gray hairs, behold what honour remains for you, that you should be crowned with martyrdom! And so, praying for the church, his country, his enemies, and commending his soul to Christ, his head was cut off.

The next was the Lord Harant, a man that had gained much experience by his travels in Asia, Africa, and Europe; his crime was, that he had taken an oath to be true to Frederick, and durst not violate it. Being called to execution, he said, I have escaped many perils by sea and land, and now suffer innocently in my own country, and by them, for whose sake, I, and my forefathers have spent our estates, and lives: Father forgive them. Then he said, In thee, O Lord, I have hoped! let me not be confounded. On the scaffold, he said, Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit! In thee, O Lord, have I trusted from my youth! I am confident, that I shall be accepted by that ignominious death of my Saviour; and falling upon his knees, he said, To thee O Lord, I commend my spirit! for thou, O God, just and true, hast redeemed me; and so he received the fatal stroke with the sword.

The next was Casper Caplitz, a knight of eighty-six years old: when the minister came to him after his condemnation, he said, among other things, My death indeed is disgraceful in the eyes of men, but glorious in the sight of God; for God will account that death precious in his sight, which I suffer for his glory and truth. And when it was told him, That he might have his life, if he would ask pardon, he answered, That he would ask pardon of him, against whom he had committed many sins all his life; but he never offended the prince; and therefore would not give occasion to suspect that he had committed some crime for which he had deserved death. God forbid, therefore, said he, that I should be separated from this holy company of martyrs.

As he was going to the scaffold, being feeble with age, he said, O my God strengthen me, lest I fall down, and become matter of scorn to the enemies! Being crooked with age, and hanging down his head, the executioner could not well come at his neck; whereupon the minister said to him, My noble Lord, as you have commended your soul to Christ, so now offer up your heavy head chearfully to God, and lift up yourself towards heaven. Then lifting up his head as well as he could, he said, Lord Jesus, into thy hand I commend my spirit! and so his head was cut off.

The next was Procopius Dorzeki, who, after his condemnation, said to the minister, I have had a great contention all night with old Adam, so that it made me sweat again; but thanks be to my God, by whom my soul hath overcome all temptations; saying further, O Almighty God, strengthen thy servant, that I may not be made a derision to mine enemies by any fear of death; and as thou wast wont to encourage thy holy martyrs, so I strongly believe thou wilt comfort me. When he was called forth to execution, he said, Thanks be to God, who doth now call me to himself; to him I have lived, and for him I will die! for my Saviour hath therefore died and risen again, that he might be Lord both of the living and the dead. I know that my soul shall live, and my body shall be raised like to his glorious body.

Another was the lord Henry Otto, a man of great judgment; he having received the sentence of condemnation, said, Kill my body, disperse my members whither you please; yet do I believe that my Saviour will gather them together again, and clothe them with skin; so that with these eyes I shall see him, with these ears I shall hear him, with this tongue I shall praise him, and rejoice with this heart for ever. Afterwards, when the minister came to him, amongst other things he said, I was troubled; but now I feel a wonderful refreshing in my heart; adding, with his hands lift up to heaven, I give thee thanks, O most merciful Saviour! who hast been pleased to fill me with so much comfort; O now I fear death no longer. I will die with joy! As he was going to the scaffold, he said to the minister, I am sure that Christ Jesus will meet my soul with his angels, that he may bring it to an everlasting marriage, where I shall drink of a new cup, a cup of joy for ever: this death, I know, shall not separate me from him. After he had prayed silently, he said, Into thy hands, O Lord God, I commend my spirit! have pity on me through Jesus Christ, and let me see thy glory; and so he received the stroke of the sword.

Another was the Lord of Rugenia, an excellent man, and full of zeal for God: when he was judged to die, he said, That it was more welcome to him, than if the emperor had given him life, and restored him to his estate, with addition of more: afterwards he said to the minister, God is our witness, that we sought for nothing but the liberty of religion; and in that we are overcome, and condemned to die: we acknowledge, and find, that God will not have his truth defended by our swords, but by our blood, &c. When he saw divers called out before him, he said, What is the matter, my God? thou knowest that I resign myself wholly to thee. Ah! do not despise thy servant, but make haste

to take me away : and when the sheriff came for him, he rejoiced, and said, Praised be my God, that I shall now be taken out of the world, that I may be with Christ; and so he went up to meet him. On the scaffold he comforted himself with that promise; Father, I will, that where I am, my servant may also be, to behold that glory which thou gavest me: therefore (said he) I make haste to die, that I may be with Christ, and see his glory; and so he suffered martyrdom courageously.

The next was Valentine Cockan, of about sixty years old: during his imprisonment, he was full of heavenly discourse; and, at the scaffold, he said, Grant me, O God! to pass through this valley of death, that I may presently see thee; for thou knowest, my God, that I have loved thy word; bring me, O God! through the paths of life, that I may see fulness of joy in thy presence; and, kneeling down, he said, Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit! and so holily ended his life.

The next was Toby Steffick, a man of a composed temper, he spent the most of the time of his imprisonment in silent sighs and tears: before his execution, he said, I have received many good things of the Lord all my life long; shall I not therefore receive this cup of affliction? I embrace the will of God, who, by this ignominious death, makes me conformable to his Son, and, by a narrow way, brings me to his heavenly kingdom: I praise God, who hath joined me, undeservedly, to these excellent men, that I might receive, with them, the crown of martyrdom. When he was called to die, he said, My Saviour being about to die, said, "Father, not as I will, but as thou wilt; thy will be done." Shall I therefore, who am but a worm, yea, dust, and a shadow, contradict his will? Far be it from me; yea, I come willingly, my God, only have mercy on me, and cleanse me from all my sins, that no spot or wrinkle may remain in me, but that I may appear pure in thy sight; and so he lifted up himself full of sighs, yet full of hope; and, as he was praying, he rendred up his spirit to God.

Another was Christopher Chober, who much encouraged his fellow-martyrs, and then cited the words of Ignatius, "I am God's corn, and shall be ground with the teeth of wild beasts;" so we (saith he) are God's corn, sown in the field of the church; and, that we may be for our Master's use, we are now to suffer death; but, be of good cheer, God is able to raise up a thousand worshippers of himself out of every drop of our blood; for tho' truth now suffers violence, yet Christ reigns, and no man shall cast him down from his throne. Being called to execution, he said, I come in the name of my God, neither am I ashamed to suffer these things for his glory; for I know whom I have believed; I have fought the good fight of faith, and finished my course, &c. Then praying, Into thy hands, Lord, I commend my spirit, he received the crown of martyrdom.

John Shultis was next, who, on the scaffold, said, "Why art thou so sad, O my soul? hope thou in God; for thou shalt yet praise him," &c. The righteous seem in the eyes of fools to die, but indeed they go to their rest. Lord Jesus, thou hast promised, that who so comes to thee, thou wilt not cast off. Behold I now come, look on me, pity me, pardon my sins, and receive my soul to thyself: then, kneeling down, he

said, Come, come, Lord Jesus, and do not tarry ; and so he was beheaded.

The next was Maximilian Hossialick, a learned and pious man ; after his condemnation, he was sadder than the rest ; and, being asked by the minister the reason of it, he said, 'The sins of my youth do now come into my mind ; for tho' I know that nothing remains to condemn them which are in Christ Jesus, yet I know that God exerciseth Justice as well as mercy towards his own. Being called to death, he said, Look upon me, O Lord, my God ! and lighten mine eyes, lest I sleep the sleep of death ; and lest mine enemies say, We have prevailed. Afterward, repeating the words of Simeon, "Now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace ; for mine eyes have seen thy salvation," he was beheaded.

The next was John Kutnaur, who, when the Jesuites began to speak to them, said, Pray you trouble not our consciences ; we are sufficiently furnished against the fear of death ; we need none of your help. And when they would have proceeded, he said, Why do you create unprofitable labour to yourselves, and trouble to us ? then said they one to another, They are hard rocks, and will not suffer themselves to be removed : to whom he answered, You say true ; Christ is an hard rock, and we are firmly fixed on him. When he was called forth to execution, he was besprinkled with the tears of his friends, to whom he said, Play the men, brethren, and refrain from weeping ; I go before, but it is but a short time, and we shall meet in the heavenly glory. When he was upon the ladder, he said, I have plotted no treason, committed no murder ; I have done nothing worthy of death ; but I die because I have been faithful to the gospel and my country. O God ! pardon my enemies ; for they know not what they do : but thou, O Christ ! have pity on me ; for I commit my soul unto thee : and so he slept in the Lord.

The next was Simeon Suffickey, who, when he saw the Jesuites coming, he said to his companions, These birds of prey are flying hither ; but God hath promised to preserve his own, as the apple of his eye ; and therefore he will not suffer us to be seduced. The last night he had a fore conflict, because the scripture saith, "Cursted is every one that hangeth on a tree." But when the minister told him, That that curse was taken away by the death of Christ, he was well satisfied. He went to his death praying and singing.

It may be very edifying to the inquisitive and serious reader, to observe, in the history of those times, the remarkable providential chastisements that befel some of the persecutors, and to attend to the remarks that are frequently and justly made on the honour that providence has put on the posterity of king Frederick, whose family was brought so low at that time, for adhering to the cause of the gospel. But to return to the fifteenth century.

## CONCLUSION of the ACCOUNTS in the FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

*The Discovery of new Countries, a Mean of propagating the gospel among the Heathen. And the Revival of Learning subservient to the blessed Reformation from Popery.*

[ From MILLAR's Propagation, &c. vol. ii. pag. 340. ]

IN this century, the improvement of arts and sciences, the reviving of learning, and the discoveries made by navigation, were made blessed occasions for advancing the kingdom of Christ over the world. This is well represented by the learned Jurieu, in his Preface to the Accomplishment of Prophecies, where he says, "God has revived the light of knowledge, which was almost quite extinguished under the barbarism of scholastic learning. In the last century, God caused the knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew tongues to revive, which was of such use for understanding the sacred inspired writings, and the confutation of heresy and idolatry, that the Papists do not scruple to say, It is what has undone them. I look upon the voyages of our Europeans, the discoveries made of new countries in the East and West, and the improvement of the art of navigation, to be a mean which God prepares for the fulfilling of that great promise that concerns the more universal conversion of the Gentiles. I consider the great number of half-Christians which the Popish missions make in the Indies, to be just as proselytes of the Gate, which the Jews made; they were, properly, neither Jews nor Christians, but were the seed of Christianity. These Eastern converts made by Papists, are neither Heathens nor Christians, but they will be the first part of the harvest God intends to have among this people, and after they are fully converted, they will be very serviceable to promote the conversion of these who are yet altogether Pagans. I admire, says he, the depth of Divine Providence, that, by insensible steps and degrees, disposeth the Mahometan nations for Christianity. For this we need but consult the second book of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire, by Sir Paul Rycaut, where we meet with a sect of Mahometans, who believe the Messiah took a natural body, that being eternal, he became incarnate, as the Christians believe, wherefore they insert that article into their Confession of Faith, That Christ shall come to judge the world at the last day<sup>a</sup>."

We may also observe with Mr. Jenkyns<sup>b</sup>, That Christianity has been still professed in these parts of the world where there has been most learning and commerce, where they have been most able, and had greatest opportunities to instruct other nations. To which end, the vast extent, first of the Greek, Latin, and Syriack, and since of the Persian, Sclavonic, and Arabic tongues, have been very advantageous, the scriptures of the New Testament being written in the first, and translated into all

<sup>a</sup> Rycaut's Present State of the Ottoman Empire, Book ii. Chap. 11, 12.

<sup>b</sup> Reasonableness of the Christian Religion, Vol. i. pag. 116, &c.

the rest. And though, by the just and wise providence of God, Mahometans and idolaters have been suffered to possess themselves of these places in Greece, Asia and Africa, where the Christian religion formerly most flourished; yet there are still remainders of the Christian religion among them, so as to give them opportunity to be converted, when their sins shall not hinder to restore the gospel to these countries; for, by Mr. Brerewood's account<sup>a</sup>, in the dominions of the Turks in Europe, the professors of Christianity make two-thirds at least of the inhabitants; and, in Constantinople itself, he reckons above twenty Christian churches, and above thirty in Thessalonica, where the Mahometans have or had but three mosques. Philadelphia, now called Alahakir, has no fewer than twelve Christian churches<sup>b</sup>. The whole island of Chio is governed by professing Christians; there are above thirty Latin churches, and above five hundred Greek; and in some other islands of the Archipelago there are none but professing Christians.

[ From the Fulfilling of the Scriptures, Part iii. Chap. 2. Sect. 27. ]

WHILST the dawning drew near of that blest day of the church's rising, after that dark night of Antichristianism, we may see some precious advantages most remarkably from the Lord falling in to prepare the way thereof.

1. That in the preceding age, the knowledge of the original languages began to break up, and some instruments eminently fitted for the same; human learning did in some further measure revive.

2. Many excellent men of rare endowments then brought forth beyond what had been known for divers ages.

3. But which should be most convincing, how in the year 1440, or thereabout, that rare invention of printing broke up, as a blest and promising preface, to tell the world of the near approach of time, when the temple of God should be opened in heaven, and the Bible, which had for so many ages been shut up, be universally spread, and thus made accessible for the poorest boy or maid's having familiar converse therewith, and to have it at the easiest rate; yea, for bringing forth those works to the world, in defence of the truth, and promoting of the knowledge of Jesus Christ, which no pen could have reached without the advantage of such a singular mean given of the Lord for his church's use: so that the thing itself was not more marvellous and remarkable, than the time and season of its being brought forth, the appointed time of the spreading of the kingdom of Christ, when men should run to and fro, and knowledge be increased.

It will not be unsuitable, before I pass this, to give in here some instances of such choice instruments for knowledge and learning, who were then raised up a little before the dawning of that blessed reformation from Popery, as pioneers, to prepare the way of the Lord.

1. As Regiomontanus, who died in the year 1470, one of great knowledge in the original languages, and who had such love to the scripture, as that he wrote the whole New Testament in Greek with his own hand.

a Brerewood's Inquiry, Chap. 10.    b Rycaut's Present State of the Greek Church, p. 74.



2. Rodolphus Agricola, who died 1465, singularly learned in philosophy, Greek, and Hebrew languages, which he studied with a special respect to the knowledge of the scripture, did much lament the church's darkness under which she then lay, and expressly owned the doctrine of Justification by Faith in Jesus Christ.

3. Wesselus, born at Groningen, and of deserved renown at that time, for his knowledge in the languages, laws, and divinity; at his death, as at length by Melchior Adams is shewed, when he was asked by a friend how he did, he answered, His case was but conform to his age, and painfulness of his disease; but one thing he was troubled with, which was a being tossed with doubtings about the truth of Christianity; but shortly after, when his friend returned, with great expressions of joy, he said, Now blessed be the Lord, for all these doubtings and false reasonings are gone; yea, I know nothing now but Christ, and him crucified. He died 1489.

4. Mossilanus, a professor of the Greek tongue at Lipsick, one of singular candour, besides his great knowledge in the original languages, yea, in those dark times, most convincingly pious also, as his Epistles wrote to the learned of that age can witness. I judge it edifying to set down here, what account he gave of himself, with much seriousness, sometime before his death: "Let not God, to whom all things are known, be gracious to him in the last shock and conflict with death, if he hath not from his youth, with greatest care, been concerned to wrong the fame of none unjustly, yea, to condemn the honours, pleasures and profits of this natural life, and hath not made this his one thing, to have his spirit kept from being defiled with the pollutions of the world, and given up to Jesus Christ the alone fountain of wisdom and knowledge, for being influenced and watered by his spirit: this I have had continually in my thoughts, have revolved in the night; this, with all earnestness I have contended for, yea, hath been first in all my desires, to wit, lest that should be wanting, which was to that rich man, who came to Jesus Christ (when he gave such an account what length he had come) of the faithful improvement of those talents put under my hand. I can say, I had no other scope nor intent but this in my life; for, if I had pursued honours and greatness in a world, which might not have been successful for such an end, I had taken another way." He died in the year 1524, at the very breaking up of the reformation.

5. I shall but further add that notable learned man Capnio, who died 1521, Erasmus, Stephanus, truly learned in the languages, and a special critic, for collating the most ancient copies then extant of the New Testament, whilst printing was but of late broke up in the world.

## B O O K II.

In the Sixteenth Century.

*Of the eminent Instruments raised up at and after the Reformation in various Parts of the World.—Some Account of their Conversion, and Success in converting others by their Preaching and Writings.—Some of them had formerly been remarkable for opposing the Truth by public Disputations, &c.—Their Laboriousness in Preaching.—Their Courage in Suffering.—Meekness and Forgiveness to Persecutors.—The Recantations of some of them followed with such extraordinary Repentance as tended to confirm the good Cause.—Providential over-ruling of the Hearts of some Persons of eminent Power in their Favours.—Restraints of the Fury of others.—Testimonies of Adversaries to the Goodness of their Lives.—Their Zeal against Unsuitableness of Practice to Profession.—Their public Spirit and Concern for the Interests of Religion through the World.—On some Occasions God made them instrumental in bringing great Numbers at once to the Profession of the Truth.—The Success with which they went on.—Human Power and Policy could not prevail against them.—Many of them gave a remarkable Testimony to the Work of the Reformation on their Death-Beds, going off with triumphant Joy and Foretastes of Heaven.*

## C H A P. I.

*Some Instances of these in Germany, viz. 1. Luther. 2. Myconius. 3. Zellius. 4. Egenbadius. 5. Melancton. 6. Brentius. 7. Bucholtzer.*

[ FROM CLARK'S LIVES. ]

1. **L**UTHER. In the library of the college of Erford, he met with a copy of a Latin Bible, which he had never seen before ; and, with admiration, observed that there were more portions of holy scripture than were read in the churches, which made him wish that he had the like book. And it pleased God, that not long after he obtained his desire, and fell close to the study of it, some sickness and fear also whetting him on in those studies.

Afterwards, falling into a violent disease, which threatened death, an old priest came to him, who cheered him up, by largely discoursing with him upon justification by faith, and explaining the articles of the creed to him : then did Luther read over Augustine's works, where he found the same doctrine of justification by faith frequently confirmed. Afterwards he was sent to Rome in the behalf of his convent, where he saw the pope, and the manner of the Roman clergy ; concerning whom he saith, At Rome I heard them say mass in such a manner as I detest them :

for, at the communion-table, I heard Curtesians laugh, and boast of their wickedness.

Upon his return from Rome, he was taken notice of by duke Frederick, elector of Saxony, who heard him preach, and admired the strength of his arguments, and the excellency of the things which he delivered. Soon after he began to explain the Epistle to the Romans, and some Psalms, where he shewed the difference between the Law and the Gospel, and refuted justification by works; and his demeanour agreed with his doctrine; his speech came not from his lips only, but from his heart.

The year 1517, was, by the account of Scultetus, the 356 from the reformation of religion in France by the Waldenses<sup>a</sup>, the 146 from the first confutation of Popish errors in England by John Wickliff, the 116 from the first year of the ministry of John Husse, who opposed the errors of Popery in Bohemia<sup>b</sup>, the 36th year from the condemnation of Dr. Welsalia, who taught at Worms the same doctrine before Luther was born, that Luther did afterwards. In this year 1517, John Tececius brought indulgences into Germany to be sold, averring, that he had so large a commission from the pope, that though a man had deflowered the Blessed Virgin, he could pardon him. Luther's zeal being enflamed herewith, caused him to set forth some propositions against indulgences, which so enraged Tecelius, that wheresoever he came, he declaimed against Luther, and set forth contrary positions; and, not content therewith, he burned openly Luther's propositions, and the sermon which he wrote about indulgences. This caused the students at Wittenberg to burn his positions also.

In 1518, Andrew Bodenstein, from his native place called Caralostadius, with many other divines of Wittenberg, defended Luther's doctrine by their writings. Also the elector of Saxony, of his own accord, without intreaty, took upon him the patronage of Luther. Amongst the friars Luther disputed out of Paul's Epistles concerning justification by faith without works. Bucer being present, and taking notes of this disputation, wrote thus of it to Beatus Rhenanus: His sweetness in answering (saith he) was admirable; his patience in hearing was incomparable: you might have seen the acuteness of St. Paul in resolving doubts; so that he brought them all into admiration of him, by reason of his short and pithy answers, and those taken out of the store-house of God's holy scriptures. In his letters to Jodocus, a divine of Isenach, who had been his master, he thus expresseth himself: The whole university of Wittenberg, except one Licentiat, are of my mind, concerning the doctrine of faith and works, as is also the duke of Saxony: the bishop of Brandenburg (who is my ordinary) and many prelates, and the more ingenious citizens, say, with one mouth, that they never knew Christ and the gospel before.

At last the emperor sent for him, and withal sent him a safe conduct, requiring his repair to Worms within twenty-one days; but many of his friends dissuaded him from going; to whom he answered, That these discouragements were cast into his way by Satan, who knew, that by

<sup>a</sup> See Vitringa on the Revelation, upon the three days and a half.

<sup>b</sup> And about an hundred years after his martyrdom.

his profession of the truth in so illustrious a place, his kingdom would be shaken; and therefore, if he knew that there were as many devils in Worms, as tiles on the houses, yet would he go thither. Accordingly he went to Worms: whereupon some persuaded the emperor to deal with him, as the council of Constance had dealt with John Huss; but the emperor said, that the public faith was not to be violated. The next day Luther appeared before the emperor, and a frequent assembly of the princes; at which time, Eccius, a lawyer, at the command of the emperor, made a speech; in the end whereof, he asked him, whether he would recant and retract his works? To which Luther answered, Of my books (saith he) some tend to faith and piety; to these my adversaries give an ample testimony: others are against the pope and his doctrine; should I revoke these, I should confirm his tyranny: others are against private men who defend his cause; in these, I confess, I have been too vehement; yet I cannot revoke them, unless I will set open a gap to the impudence of many. But Eccius told him, that the emperor was not satisfied with this answer, but required his recantation. To which Luther answered, I beseech you, give me leave to maintain the peace of my own conscience, which, if I should consent to you, I cannot do: for unless my adversaries can convince me by sound arguments taken out of the holy scriptures, I cannot satisfy my conscience; for I can plainly prove, that both popes and councils have often erred grievously; and therefore it would be an ungodly thing for me to assent to them, and to depart from the holy scriptures, which are plain, and only cannot err. And so the assembly was dismissed at that time.

A few days after, the bishop of Trevers appointed Luther to come unto him, with whom also some other of the princes were assembled; at that time they used many arguments to draw him to a recantation, and concluded, that they perceived, if he refused, the emperor's purpose was to banish him out of the bounds of the empire; and therefore they exhorted him seriously to think upon the same. Luther answered, that he was very thankful to them, that so great princes would take so much pains for his sake, who was so mean and unworthy a person; yet he told them, that he would rather lose his life than depart from the manifest truth of the word of God, seeing it was better to obey God than man. Then was he commanded to withdraw: and there came to him one Vacus, a lawyer, who persuaded him to submit his writings to the judgment of Caesar and the princes: to whom he answered, that he would not decline the judgment of Caesar, and the orders of the empire, if they would be guided by the word of God; which (saith he) makes so plain for me, that unless they convince me of an error, I cannot depart from mine opinion. Shortly after the emperor sent to him to depart home, giving him twenty-one days for his return, commanding him, neither by word nor writ to declare any thing to the people by the way. And after his departure the emperor pronounced sentence of banishment against him. This sentence being published, Prince Frederick appointed certain noblemen, whom he most confided in, to convey him to a secret place, thereby to avoid the danger, who accordingly conveyed him privately to Wartsburg, which he called his Patmos, where he continued ten months, and wrote divers useful treatises.

In 1522, Luther wrote to Melancton to provide him a lodging at Wittenberg; for (saith he) the translation of the Bible will urge me to return. For having translated much of the Bible into Dutch in his Patmos, it was necessary for him to confer with learned men, and to have their assistance about the same. In his absence, Justus Jonas, Carlostad, Phil. Melancton, Ampsdorfius, and others, had removed private mass, images, auricular confession, prayer to saints, &c.

Melancton knowing the rage of the Papists, and Caesar's threats to subvert the gospel, was much troubled, and gave himself wholly up to grief, sighs, and tears; whereupon Luther wrote to him: "In private conflicts I am weak, and you are strong; but in public conflicts, you are found weak, and I stronger; because I am assured that our cause is just. If we fall, Christ, the Lord and ruler of the world falleth with us; and suppose he fall, *Mallem ruere cum Christo, quam regnare cum Caesare*, I had rather fall with Christ than stand with Caesar: I extremely dislike your excessive cares, with which you say, that you are almost consumed: that these reign so much in your heart, it is not from the greatness of the danger, but the greatness of your incredulity. If the cause be bad, let us give it up, and flee back; if it be good, why do we make God a liar, who hath given us so great promises? saying, Cast thy care upon the Lord; be of good comfort, I have overcome the world. A man would fetch such sentences as these upon his knees from Rome to Jerusalem. If Christ be the conqueror of the world, why should we fear it, as if it could overcome us? Be courageous and chearful, solicitous for nothing: the Lord is at hand to help us." And, in another place, when king Henry the Eighth of England had written bitterly against him: "Let the Henries, the bishops, the Turk, and the devil himself, do what they can, we are children of the kingdom, worshipping and waiting for that Saviour, whom they, and such as they, spit upon and crucify."

In 1523, a diet was held at Noremberg, in the absence of Caesar, wherein the edict of Worms was made null. Of this the pope's legat complained to the princes, saying, That Luther was not punished according to the emperor's edict; to which the princes answered, That the court of Rome neglected reformation; that Germany was so far enlightened by the sermons and writings of Luther, that if they should go about to put the edict in execution, great tumults would arise, and the people would be ready to think that they went about to oppress the truth, and to put out the light of the gospel, that so they might the better defend those manifest vices which could be no longer concealed.

He used to be very frequent in prayer. Vitus Theodorus thus writeth of him: no day passeth wherein Luther spendeth not three hours at least in prayer. Once it fell out (saith he) that I heard him; what a spirit, what a confidence was in his very expression! With such a reverence he sued for any thing, as one begging of God, and yet with such hope and assurance, as if he spake with a loving father or friend.

The day before his death, he dined and supped with his friends, discoursing of divers matters, and amongst the rest, gave his opinion, that in heaven we shall know one another. After supper the pain in his breast

increasing, he went aside and prayed; then went to bed and slept; but, about mid-night, being awakened with the pain, and perceiving that his life was at an end, he said, I pray God to preserve the doctrine of his gospel amongst us; for the pope and council of Trent have grievous things in hand: after which he thus prayed, O heavenly Father, my gracious God, and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, thou God of all consolation, I give thee hearty thanks, that thou hast revealed unto me thy son Jesus Christ, whom I believe, whom I profess, whom I love, whom I glorify, whom the pope, and the rout of the wicked, persecute and dishonour: I beseech thee, Lord Jesus Christ, receive my soul! O my heavenly Father, though I be taken out of this life, and must lay down this frail body; yet I certainly know that I shall live with thee eternally, and that I cannot be taken out of thy hands: "God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him might not perish, but have everlasting life." Lord, I render up my spirit into thy hands, and come to thee: and again, Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit; thou, O God of truth, hast redeemed me! When he was dying, Justus Jonas and Coelius said to him, O Reverend Father, do you die in the constant confession of that doctrine of Christ, which you have hitherto preached? to which he answered, YEA; which was the last word he spoke.

He was always constant in the known truth, from the confession of which he could never be moved, either by promises or threats. He used to say, Three things make a divine, meditation, prayer, temptation; and that three things were to be done by a minister: 1. To read the Bible over and over. 2. To pray earnestly. 3. Always to be a learner; and that they were the best preachers, who spake, as to babes in Christ, in an ordinary strain, popularly and most plainly. He said, that in the cause of God, he was content *totius mundi odium et impetum sustinere*, to undergo the hatred and violence of the whole world. As he was mighty in prayer, so, in his sermons, God gave him such a gift, that when he preached, his hearers thought every one his own temptations were noted and touched. Some of his friends asking him the cause of this, Mine own manifold temptations and experiences, said he, are the cause of it. Wellerus also, a disciple of Luther's, recordeth, that he oft heard him say, that he had been frequently assaulted and vexed with all kind of temptations, except to the sin of covetousness.

He would by no means endure that any should be called after his name; for, said he, the doctrine which I teach is none of mine, neither did I die for any man; nor would Paul suffer this, 1 Cor. i. 13. We are Christians, and profess the doctrine of Christ. He died 1546.

2. MYCONIUS. While he was yet in a monastery, he read privately Luther's books, which the other friars took very heinously, and threatened him for it. Afterwards, being called to be a preacher at Vinaria, he at first mixed some Popish errors with the truth; but, by the illumination of God's spirit, he at last began to preach against Popery, and to hold forth the truth clearly in Thuringia, which spread so swiftly in one month's space, and was so greedily imbraced, not only through Saxony, but through many other countries, as if angels had been the carriers of

it. At Dusseldorp he preached the gospel sincerely and purely, though to the hazard of his life; and, at Cullen, he maintained a public disputation with the friars, which was afterwards printed. With the like constancy and faithfulness, he preached the doctrine of the gospel in Brunswick, in Cella of Saxony, and in other parts of Westphalia. Also in divers public conventions at Smalcald, Francfort, and Noremberg, his counsel being asked, with much courage and zeal he handled the affairs of religion, seeking to promote the glory of God, and the profit and welfare of the church.

In 1528, Henry the Eighth of England fell out with the pope, for not divorcing him from his wife Katharine of Spain, sister to Charles the Fifth, by reason of whose greatness the pope durst not do it: whereupon the king of England sent over to the German princes (especially to the duke of Saxony) to confederate against the pope, and to join with them in an agreement about religion; upon which occasion Myconius was sent over into England. But, coming thither, he discovered the king's hypocrisy about religion, not only by the six articles about that time established, but also by his imprisoning of Latimer, and cutting off the lord Cromwel's head, and burning of Mr. Barnes, &c. and by his seizing upon all the abbey-lands: whereupon he left England, and being come home, in 1538, he was called by Henry of Saxony to visit and reform the churches of Misnia, together with Luther, Jonas, Cruciger, &c.

In 1541, he fell into a consumption, whereof he wrote to Luther, that he was sick, not to death, but to life: which gloss upon the text pleased Luther very well, who wrote back to him, "I pray Christ, our Lord, our Salvation, and our Health, that I may not live to see thee and some others of our colleagues die and go to heaven, and leave me here alone. I pray God, that I may first lay down this dry exhausted and unprofitable tabernacle. Farewel, and God forbid I should hear of thy death whilst I live." A while after Myconius recovered, according to this prayer, tho' his disease seemed to be desperate, and outlived it six years, even till after Luther's death. Upon which Justus Jonas, speaking of Luther, says, *Iste vir potuit quod voluit*, "That man could have of God what he pleased." Myconius was a man of singular piety, of solid learning, of an excellent judgment, of great zeal, accompanied with admirable candour and gravity. He died 1546.

3. ZELLIUS. He was the first that preached the truth in the church of Strasburg, to whom, after a good while, Symphorianus, an ancient pastor of St. Martin's Church, joined himself, who formerly had been very loose in his carriage; and therefore the people did the more admire this great change in him: and some of his former acquaintance, led by his example, shook off Popery, and embraced the truth: these two were rather popular preachers than learned; yet Zellius was a man of singular piety: and, not long after, Anthonius Firnius, minister of St. Thomas' Church, joined himself to them. Also, in the year 1523, there came thither Martin Bucer, Capito and Gaspar Hedio, learned and eminent men, who more vigorously carried on the work of reformation in

Strasburg. Zellius continued a faithful and painful pastor in that church about twenty-six years. He died 1548.

4. BUGENHAGIUS. He was severe and bold in reproof, and an earnest defender of the truth against errors. He joined with Luther in the translation of the Bible; which being finished, every year, upon that day, he invited his friends, and made a feast, which he called the feast of the translation of the Bible. He attended his charge with great fidelity and extraordinary pains. In the 1537, Christian, king of Denmark, sent for him to reform religion, and to erect schools in his dominions; in consequence of which, he is said to have appointed some thousands of ministers in Denmark and Norway. He died 1558.

5. MELANCTON. In 1518, he was sent for from Tubinge, by Frederick, duke of Saxony, to the university of Wittenberg, to teach the Greek tongue. About which time Erasmus wrote thus of him, "Philip Melancton is a most learned and excellent Grecian: he is a youth and stripling, if ye consider his age, but one of us, if ye look upon his variety of knowledge almost in all books. He is very exquisite in the learning of both the tongues. I pray Christ this young man may live; he will soon eclipse Erasmus." He came to Wittenberg, when he was but twenty-two years old: there he began to expound Paul's Epistle to Titus out of Greek, to the great admiration of his hearers, who flocked exceedingly to his lectures. And Luther also was greatly taken with them, as he professeth in a letter to Spalatinus.

When Melancton was first himself converted, he thought it impossible for his hearers to withstand the evidence of the truth of the gospel. But, after he had been some time a preacher, he complained that old Adam was too hard for young Melancton. He used to say, that there were three labours very difficult, *Regentis, Docentis, Parturientis*; of magistrates, of ministers, and of women in travail. He died 1560.

6. BRENTIUS. When Luther's books came abroad, Brentius, by reading of them was brought to the knowledge of the truth, which he willingly embraced: and, being desirous to propagate it to others, he began to read upon Matthew; first, to some friends of his own college: but his auditors increasing out of other colleges, he was forced to read in the public schools. Afterwards he was called to be pastor at Hale, where his doctrine did so please the senate, that tho' he was but twenty-three years old, they chose him to that place; and he carried himself in it with such holiness of life, integrity of manners, and diligence in his calling, that none could condemn his youth. And the Lord so blessed his labours, that many were converted to the truth; yea, amongst the very Popish priests, some were converted, others left their places for shame, and went elsewhere. He used much wisdom and modesty in his sermons; and when, in the beginning of his preaching there, the priests railed exceedingly upon him, and his doctrine, and the people expected that he would answer them accordingly, he, contrariwise, went on in teaching the fundamental points of religion; and, as he had occasion, confuted their errors, without bitterness, from clear scripture argu-



ments, whereby, in time, he so wrought upon them, that he brought them to a sight of their errors, and to a detestation of their idolatry. The pastor of Stutgard dying, Brentius was chosen in his room; in which place he continued all his life, and carried himself with much piety, prudence and diligence, always maintaining love and concord with his colleagues. He died 1570.

7. BUCHOLTZER. He had an excellent sweetness and dexterity in preaching, and was of a sound judgment and holy life. His sermons were so piercing, that he never preached, but he wrought wonderfully upon the affections of his hearers. If any were cast down under a sense of sin and wrath, he exceedingly comforted them. If any were troubled with temptations and afflictions, he raised them up. He had a lively voice, lively eye, lively hands; and such were all his gestures; his ministry was so grateful, that his hearers were never weary, nor thought his sermons too long. He was very self-denied, in so much as that excellent lady Katharine of Brandenburg used to say, that whereas all the rest of her courtiers and family were always asking something of her, Bucholtzer never asked any thing; yea, he refused gifts when they were offered him, preferring the fruit of his ministry before the reward of it. He was so humble, that when his friends blamed him for living in so obscure a place, whilst he taught school, he told them that he preferred it to a kingdom. He could never endure to hear himself commended; and if his friends in their letters had written any thing to his praise, he could not read it with patience. His candor was such, that he never spake or wrote any thing but from his heart. He never read or heard any thing from others but he put a candid construction on it. His care in his public ministry was to avoid those questions that gender strife, and to instruct his hearers how to live a good life, and die a comfortable death. In his sickness he caused himself to be carried to church, where he preached his last sermon, about the blessed departure of believers out of this life; which he performed with such excellent words and soul-ravishing affections, that the hearers said, "Bucholtzer had wont to excell our other preachers; but now he hath excelled himself." He died 1584.

## C H A P. II.

*Some Instances of those in Switzerland, viz. 1. Zuinglius. 2. Oecolampadius. 3. Musculus. 4. Calvin. 5. Farellus. 6. Bullinger.*

[ From CLARK'S Lives. ]

1. **ZUINGLIUS.** He was born in Switzerland of godly parents, and by them brought up in learning. He especially addicted himself to the study of the Bible; and finding his defect in the knowledge of the tongues, he learned Greek, wrote out Paul's Epistles, and got them by heart. And reading in Peter, "That no scripture is of private interpretation," he betook himself by earnest prayer to God for the Spirit of Truth to be his teacher; and, lest he should be misled by a false spirit, he compared scripture with scripture, and expounded obscure texts by those which were more clear,

After a while he was chosen to a place called Our Lord's Hermitage, by Theobaldus Guolzeeggus, the baron thereof, to which place there was a great resort of people from all countries, who came on pilgrimage thither, which much moved him to embrace that call, that he might have opportunity to disperse the knowledge of the truth into several parts. About this time one of the ministers dying at Zurick, they much desired Zuinglius to succeed him; and he, coming accidentally to that place, was chosen pastor there in 1519. and began to preach unto them the history of Christ out of Matthew. Presently after there came one Sampson, a Franciscan friar, and a preacher of indulgences, who was sent by the pope into Switzerland to get money: Zuinglius strongly opposed himself against him, shewing him to be an impostor. Zuinglius also caused the pope to be admonished by his commissary, not to excommunicate Luther; for that he foresaw the Germans would despise both him and his excommunication, which accordingly came to pass.

In 1520, the senate of Zurick, by the counsel of Zuinglius, commanded the preachers of their jurisdiction freely to teach whatsoever might be proved by the authority of the prophets and apostles, passing by the inventions of men.

In 1522, the bishop wrote to the college of canons in Zurick, exhorting them to take heed to themselves; for that pope Leo, and the emperor, by their proclamations, had condemned those doctrines: he put them in mind therefore to obey those decrees, and not to innovate any thing in religion, till those whom it concerned had by common council set down somewhat. Hereupon Zuinglius wrote back to the bishop, that he understood by whose instigation he did these things, but he wished him not to follow their counsel; for (saith he) the truth is invincible, and will not be resisted. And afterwards, some others joining with him, they wrote to the bishop, entreating him to decree nothing against the doctrine of the gospel, and that he would no longer endure the filthy and infamous life of the priests. About this time Luther's books coming abroad, though Zuinglius himself abstained from reading of them, yet he persuaded his people to buy, and read them; which he did, that they might see the agreement that was in their doctrine, being both taught by the same spirit: there also he studied Hebrew, and got the senate to erect a school for Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; and, associating to himself Leo-Judae, he got such skill in the Hebrew, that he began to explain Isaiah and Jeremiah. Shortly after there came to Zurick Franciscus Lambertus, and disputed with Zuinglius about the intercession of the saints, and the sacrifice of the mass; but, being nonplussed, he left his error, and gave praise to God. Zuinglius began also to publish his writings about this time, and pope Adrian wrote to him with great promises to oblige him to the Papal-see, but all in vain.

He began to preach at Glarona in the year 1516, against many of the Popish errors and abuses before the name of Luther was so much as heard of in those parts. His doctrine and judgment were sound: his study of piety, and of reforming religion from Popish superstitions is seen in his works. In his sermons he was very methodical, teaching the truth with great perspicuity: he was very sharp in reproving vices, especially

the oppression of the poor, prodigality, and the pensions of the Switzers. He used to say, that it was a wicked warfare, and nothing more hateful to God, than for the hire of foreign princes to spill blood: when he thundred most against sin, lest the innocent should be affrighted, he used to say, "Honest man, be not affrighted at these things; I speak not to thee; therefore care not for it." He died 1531.

2. OECOLAMPADIUS. His parents, having no other child, gave all their estate for the maintenance of a minister in their own town, and chose this their son to be the first that should undertake that charge. In 1522, Sir Francis Sickengen sent for him; concerning which himself thus writeth: "Because (saith he) Sir Francis Sickengen, captain of the emperor's army, hath sent for me to instruct his family, or rather to feed it with spiritual sermons, being long since instructed, I thought it my duty to endeavour, that the law of God should be made familiar to them, whereby they might grow in the true and sincere study of Christianity: whereupon I daily read the gospel, and expounded it to those that were present, familiarly exhorting them to the study of piety: and whereas they had been accustomed to hear sermons only upon the sabbaths, and to have masses all the week after, I so prevailed that masses were laid aside, and some parts of the Epistles and Gospels were read and expounded every day to them." Shortly after, the senate of Basil chose him to be a professor of divinity in that city (though the Popish party sought by all means to hinder it) where he restored church discipline. And presently after, being sent for to Ulm, together with Blaurerus and Bucer, he carried on the work of reformation there.

At Marpurg (by the invitation of the Landgrave of Hesse) there was a disputation for three days between Luther, Jonas, and Melancton, on the one part, and Oecolampadius, Zuinglius, and others, on the other part, about the controversy concerning Christ's presence in the sacrament; but the sweating sickness breaking out there, put an end to it; yet they agreed about all other fundamentals in religion, and parted in a brotherly manner. Oecolampadius, returning to Basil, spent the remainder of his days in preaching, reading, writing, publishing of books, visiting the sick, &c.

In the year 1531, and of his age forty-nine, he fell sick (about the same time that Zuinglius was so unhappily slain, the grief of whose death much aggravated his weakness) yet intermitted he not his labours, till he was forced to keep his bed; and then he spent his time in divine meditations, and comforting his friends: and, sending for the ministers of the churches to him, he spake to this purpose: "O my brethren, the Lord is come, he is come; he is now calling me away: I desired to speak with you, to encourage you to continue faithful followers of Christ, to persevere in purity of doctrine, and in lives conformable to the word of God; Christ will take care for the defence of his church." A certain friend coming to him, Oecolampadius asked him what news? His friend answered, None: but (saith he) I'll tell you some news; I shall presently be with my Lord Christ. In the morning he prayed earnestly with the words of David, in the fifty-first Psalm, and presently

after said, O Christ, save me! And so he fell asleep in the Lord, in the year 1531.

3. MUSCULUS. He laboured in the work of the gospel at several places, particularly at Bern. Being often told by an old man, *Si vis fieri bonus concionator, da operam ut sis bonus Biblicus*; If you will be a good preacher, study to be well acquainted with the scripture; he betook himself night and day to reading and meditation upon the Bible. About the year 1518, Luther's books began to come abroad into the world, and Musculus having some of them sent him, read them with much seriousness and delight; and God thereby revealing the truth to him, he became a zealous maintainer of it, not only in the monastery, by conference and disputations, but in his public sermons also; so that he was commonly called the Lutheran monk: and, whereas Luther was charged by some with heresy, he stoutly defended him, saying, It may be Luther may err in some things, which is common to the nature of man; yet he is not therefore to be accounted an heretic. And his labours proved not fruitless; for (through God's blessing upon them) he converted many of that fraternity, who afterwards left their abbey, and became zealous professors of the truth unto death.

Divers others also abroad were converted by him; and amongst them a certain nobleman, called Reinhard of Rotenburgh, who was captain of the castle at Lutzelsteine, and protector of that college. Musculus was a man of much account with the Palatine, by whom he was protected from many dangers and snares that were laid for him, especially by the bishop, and some old monks that were obdurate in wickedness; and therefore more opposite to the truth. He was often in great peril of his life, and yet by special providences preserved: so that, perceiving in that place, he could neither enjoy safety nor freedom in the service of God, as he desired, he resolved to leave the monastery, and to go elsewhere; which resolutions he communicated to some of his friends. But, in the mean time, the prior died, and he by common consent of all, was chosen to succeed him. Musculus looked upon this as a design of the devil by these baits of honour, pleasure and profit, to withdraw him from his zealous purposes of propagating the truth, and to tie him to that kind of life, that he was resolved against: he therefore refused the offer; and leaving the monastery, preached the gospel in several places, tho' sometimes in great poverty. He died 1563.

4. CALVIN. He was born in France, and laboured in the work of the gospel at Geneva. Returning out of Italy, (into whose borders, he used to say he went, that he might return again) he settled his affairs, and taking along with him his only brother, Anthony Calvin, he intended to go to Basil or Strasborough; but all other ways being stopped, by reason of wars, he went to Geneva, without any purpose of staying there. A little before, the gospel of Christ had been very providentially brought into that city by the labour and industry of two excellent men, William Farell of the Delphinat, sometime a scholar of Faber Stapulensis; and Peter Viret, a Bernate, whose labours God afterwards wonderfully blessed and prospered. Calvin hearing of these worthy men (as the manner is amongst the godly) went to visit them, to whom

Mr. Farell, (being a man endowed with an heroical spirit) spake with great vehemency, and charged him to stay with them at Geneva, and to help them in the work of God. Calvin being moved with his earnest protestations, submitted to the judgment of the presbytery and of the magistrates, by whose suffrages, together with the consent of the people he was chosen professor of divinity. His ordinary labours in that office were these: every other sabbath he preached twice; Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday he read his divinity lectures. Every Thursday he assisted in the consistory for the exercise of ecclesiastical discipline. On Fridays he read a lecture for the clearing of some hard places of scripture; besides which, he wrote many commentaries upon the scriptures; answered many adversaries to the truth; wrote many letters to sundry places, of advice, and direction, in weighty affairs; so that we have cause to wonder how it was possible for one man to undergo so many businesses. He made very much use of Farell and Viret, and yet himself contributed much more to them. And truly their familiarity, as it was much envied by the wicked, so it was very grateful to all good men. And it was a very pleasant sight to behold these three men, so famous in the church, and all agreeing in the work of the Lord, and yet so excelling in several gifts of the Spirit. Farell exceeded in a certain greatness of mind, whose thundering sermons could not be heard without trembling, and whose ardent prayers would lift a man up into heaven. Viret did so excell in sweet eloquence, that he chained his hearers to his lips; Calvin, how many words he spake, with so many grave and pithy sentences he filled the minds of his hearers: so that (saith Mr. Beza) I often thought that the gifts of these three men meeting in one, would make up a compleat pastor. Besides the forementioned labours of Calvin, he had also many foreign businesses; for God so blessed his ministry, that from all parts of the Christian world he was sought to, partly for advice in matters of religion, and partly to hear him preach: so that at the same time there was an Italian church, an English church, and a Spanish church, besides the church of Geneva, and that city seemed too little to entertain all that came to it for his sake.

When he was indisposed, his colleagues admonished and earnestly entreated him, that he would abstain from dictating, but especially from writing: but he answered, what? would you have me idle when my Lord comes? before his death, among other things in his speech to the syndicks and aldermen of Geneva, he had these words, “of mine own accord, I acknowledge that I am much indebted to you, for that ye have patiently born with my too much vehemency sometimes; which sin also I trust God that he hath forgiven me. But as touching the doctrine that you have heard from me, I take God to witness that I have not rashly and uncertainly, but purely and sincerely taught the word of God intrusted unto me. When he understood by letters from Farell to Viret, that he who was now an old man of eighty years old and sickly, was yet determined to come from Neocom to visit him, and was now onward upon his journey, he wrote thus to him to stay him: “Farewell my best and sincerest brother, and seeing God will have you to outlive me in this world, live mindful of our friendship, which as it

hath been profitable for the church of God here, so the fruit thereof carrieth for us in heaven. I would not have you weary yourself for my sake. I hardly draw my breath; and I expect daily when it will wholly fail me. It is enough that I live and die to Christ, who is gain to his, both in life and death. Again farewell, May 11. 1564." Yet for all this letter the good old man came to Geneva, and having fully conferred with Mr. Calvin, returned back to Neocom. The rest of his days, even till his departure, Calvin spent almost in perpetual prayer, with his eyes fixed upon heaven. The day after his death there was a great weeping and wailing all over the city; and when he was carried out, the senators, pastors, and professors of the school, and almost the whole city followed the corps, not without abundance of tears.

He was a man of an incredible and most ready memory, in the midst of numberless distractions, and of a most exact judgment. He was very regardless of preferment, even when it was often offered: he eat little meat, and took very little sleep. He had a certain sweetness mix'd with his gravity. Discreet and mild he was in bearing with mens infirmities; yet would he severely without dissimulation reprove their vices, which freedom he always used from a child: such a preacher he was, that he drew England, Spain, and Italy to him, filling Geneva with strangers. Such a voluminous writer, that (as it was said of St. Augustine) he wrote more than another can well read. His writings were so eagerly received, that as most rare and precious pieces they were forthwith translated into all languages. What shall I speak of his indefatigable industry, even beyond the power of nature, which being paralleled with our loitring, I fear will exceed all credit? and may be a true object of admiration, how his lean, worn, spent, and weary body could possibly hold out. He read every week in the year three divinity lectures, and every other week over and above he preached every day, so that (as Erasmus saith of Chrysostome) I do not know whether more to admire the indefatigableness of the man, or his hearers. Yea, some have reckoned up that his lectures were yearly one hundred eighty six, his sermons two hundred eighty six, besides Thursday he sat in the presbytery. Every Friday when the ministers met in conference to expound hard texts, he made as good as a lecture. Yea, besides there was scarce a day, wherein he spent not some part either by word or writing, in answering the questions and doubts of sundry pastors, and churches that sought unto him for advice and counsel: over and above which there was no year passed wherein came not forth from him some great volume or other in folio, so that in few years (besides many golden tractates, and sundry exquisite answers, which upon short warning he made to principal adversaries) his huge explications upon the five books of Moses, Joshua, Job, Psalms, all the prophets, and almost the whole New Testament, came forth into the world, fuller of pithy sententious matter than of paper. These things considered, what breathing time could he find for idleness, or loose thoughts? in his last grievous sickness, he could scarce be compelled by his friends to pretermitt his daily task of preaching, and reading his divinity lectures, and at home, when he could not go abroad, he rather wearied others with continual dicta-

ting to them, than himself. Nothing was more frequent in his mouth than this, "Of all things an idle life is most irksome to me." Yea, such conscience did he make of mispending a minute, that he was loth to detain the ministers that came to visit him from their public exercises. He died 1562.

5. FARELLUS. In 1527, he went to a certain town called Elin, where he preached the gospel, and was admonished by Occolampadius to mingle prudence with his zeal. In 1528, he went to Aquileia amongst the Bernates, where he preached Christ, and undauntedly opposed Antichrist; disputing also with divers at Bern, whereupon ensued a wonderful change in ecclesiastical affairs. In 1528, he with Viret went to Geneva, where they planted the church, and propagated the gospel, and many of the citizens embraced it; yet at first not so much out of love to the truth, as out of hatred to the Popish tyranny. <sup>a</sup> Long he had not been there before he was drawn into the bishops court, which two of the Sindics much disliked, the rather because Farell promised them that he would prove all his doctrine out of the holy scriptures; so that they accompanied him into the bishops court, that they might see all things to proceed in judgment lawfully: but it fell out otherways: for the judge of the court would by no means endure a disputation, saying, if that be suffered, all our mystery would be destroyed; and withal railing upon Farell, he said, thou most wicked devil, why camest thou to this city to trouble us? I am not (answered Farell) as you call me, but I preach Jesus Christ who was crucified for our sins, and rose again, and he that believeth in his name shall be saved: this is the sum of my errand: I am a debtor unto all that are ready to hear, and obey the gospel, desiring this only, that the obedience of faith may flourish every where; and I came into this city to see if there were any that would lend me the hearing, and I will render an account of my faith and hope every where; and will confirm my doctrine with my blood if need be. Then cryed out one of the court in Latin; he hath blasphemed, what need we any more witnesses? he is guilty of death. Hurl him into the Rhone: hurl him into the Rhone. 'Tis better this one Lutheran should be put to death, than that further troubles should be raised. Farell answered; do not utter the words of Cajaphas, but of God. Then one struck him on the mouth with his fist, and he was commanded to stand aside as if they would consult, and in the interim he was shot at with a gun by the vicar's servant, but it hit him not, God defending his servant. And though one of the Sindics favoured him, yet now the other shrunk from him, so that the bishops council prevailed that he should be driven out of the city. And thus being accompanied with some citizens, he, and his partner Anthony Salner were expelled the city, but God turned it to the great good of others, for they sowed the seed of the word in the neighbouring country, by the side of the lake Lemain, viz. at Orba and Grançon. Neither yet (through God's power and goodness) was the work interrupted at Geneva: for just at the same time came a young man of the Delphinat, called Anthony Frumentius, who entering into the city taught a public school, and together

<sup>a</sup> See More's Dialogues, Dialog. 4. p. 83.

with the rudiments of grammar, he most happily laid the foundation of Christian religion in the hearts and minds of his scholars, which were not a few. In 1541, Farell went to Metis, and preached in the church-yard of the Dominicans; the friers, when they could not otherways hinder him, rang their bells: but he having a strong voice, did so strain it, that he went on audibly to the end of his sermon. The day after there came about three thousand persons together to hear the word of God; but some that favoured the gospel, intreated Mr. Farell so long to forbear, as till he might preach without a tumult. Then was he questioned by the magistrates, by what authority, or by whose request he preached. To which he answered, by the command of Christ, and at the request of his members: gravely discoursing both of his own authority, and of the excellency of the gospel; telling the magistrate what his duty was in reference thereunto. But shortly after, by the command of the Emperor, the citizens of Metis were forbidden to hear any man preach who was not licensed by the bishop, and some others. Whereupon Mr. Farell went from thence to Neocom, where he wholly employed himself in the service of the church, performing the office of a faithful pastor to extreme old age, with admirable zeal and diligence. This was that Farell who (discouraged by no difficulties, deterred with no threatnings, reproaches, or stripes) gained to Christ multitudes in Montbelgard, Aquileia, Laufanna, Geneva, and Neocom. There was in him, besides piety, learning, innocency of life, and exemplary modesty, a certain singular presence of mind, sharp wit, and vehemency of speech, so that he rather seemed to thunder than speak; and lastly such admirable fervency in his prayers, that he seemed to carry his hearers into heaven with him. He died 1565.

6. BULLINGER. When he was studying divinity, he observed, that, whereas the schoolmen quoted the fathers, the fathers they quoted the scriptures. Hereupon he betook himself to the reading of the scriptures, especially of the New Testament, with Jerom, and some other commentators upon it; by which at last, through God's mercy, he began to abhor the Popish errors.

In 1529, he was called to his native place of Bremogart, where God so prospered his ministry, that, presently after his coming, the magistrates banished Popery, and set out a severe decree against adultery and drunkenness; and being chosen pastor of that place, he preached every sabbath in the afternoon, and the three days following in the morning; besides every day, at the time of evening prayers, he expounded a part of the New Testament.

In 1571, by reason of the extreme hard Winter, there was a very great dearth, in which Bullinger, and the other ministers, obtained of the senate, that there should be frequent prayer in public, and that provision should be made for the poor, which was done accordingly.

In 1574, he fell into a grievous disease, which much tormented him for some weeks; but it pleased God to give him ease: whereupon he exercised his public ministry again. The year after he relapsed into his disease, and though the pain was almost intolerable, yet he never brake forth either in word or gesture into the least impatience, but prayed



the more fervently; and when he had any case, he used to discourse pleasantly with his friends, saying, "If the Lord will make any further use of me, and my ministry in his church, I will chearfully obey him; but if he please (as I much desire) to take me out of this miserable life, I shall exceedingly rejoice to go to my Saviour Christ. Socrates was glad when his death approached, because, as he thought, he would go to Homer, Hesiod, and other learned men, whom he thought he should meet with in the other world: how much more do I joy, who am sure that I shall see my Saviour Christ, the saints, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and all the holy men who have lived from the beginning of the world? These, I say, when I am sure to see, and to partake of their joys, why should I not willingly die, to enjoy their perpetual society and glory?" He died 1575.

## C H A P. III.

*Some Instances of those in England and Scotland, viz.* 1. *Hamilton.* 2. *Wishart.* 3. *Frith.* 4. *Bilney.* 5. *Tindal.* 6. *Rogers.* 7. *Saunders.* 8. *Hooper.* 9. *Taylor.* 10. *Bradford.* 11. *Ridley.* 12. *Latimer.* 13. *Philpot.* 14. *Cranmer.* 15. *Juel.* 16. *Knox.* 17. *Deering.* 18. *Gilpin.* 19. *Fox.* 20. *Greenham.* 21. *Rolleck.* 22. *Perkins.* 23. *Cartwright.*

[ From CLARK's Martyrology, pag. 257. and KNOX's History, Book i. ]

1. **P**ATRICK HAMILTON, in Scotland, was brother's son to James Hamilton, earl of Arran, and sister's son to John Stuart, duke of Albany, which in providence was subservient to raise more attention to his doctrine, holy life, and sufferings. Having travelled into Germany, he became acquainted at Wittenberg with those eminent servants of Christ, Martin Luther, and Philip Melancton, whereby he greatly increased in godly knowledge and learning; from thence he went to the university of Marburg, which was then newly erected by Philip Landgrave of Hesse, where he was intimate with other learned men, especially with Francis Lambert, by whose instigation he was the first that there publicly set up conclusions to be disputed of concerning faith and good works. By reason of his learning and integrity of life, he was had in admiration by many: but the zeal of God's glory did so eat him up, that he could not rest till he returned into his own country, where the bright beams of the true light, which by God's grace were planted in his heart, began most abundantly to break forth, as well in public as in secret.

In process of time, the fame of his doctrine troubled the clergy, and came to the ears of James Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrews, who grew impatient, that by this means the kingdom of darkness was disturbed; and therefore he so laboured with Patrick Hamilton, that he got him to St. Andrews, where, after divers days conference, he had his freedom and liberty, the bishop seeming to approve his doctrine, acknowledging, that in many things there needed a reformation in the church; but, withal, fearing that their kingdom should be endamaged,

they laboured with the king, who was then young, and much led by them, to go on pilgrimage to St. Dothellè in Ross, that so by reason of his absence no intercession might be made to him, for the saving the life of this innocent servant of Jesus Christ, who not suspecting the malice that lodged in their hearts, remained as a lamb amongst wolves.

The king being gone, upon a night, Mr. Hamilton was seized by the bishop's officers, and carried to the castle, and the morrow after he was brought forth unto judgment, and was condemned to be burnt for the testimony of God's truth; the articles for which he suffered, were about pilgrimages, purgatory, prayer to saints; and for the dead, &c. And that his condemnation might have the greater authority, they caused it to be subscribed by all those of esteem that were there present; and, to make their number great, they took the subscription of the very children who were of the nobility. Immediately after dinner, the fire was prepared, and he was led to execution; yet most men thought it was only to terrify him, and to cause him to recant. But God, for his own glory, the good of his servants, and for the manifestation of their brutal tyranny, had otherwise decreed: for he so strengthened him, that neither the love of life, nor fear of this cruel death, could once move him to swerve from the truth which he had professed.

At the place of execution he gave to his servant, that had long attended him, his gown, coat, cap, and his other garments, saying, After this, of me, thou canst receive no commodity, except the example of my death, which I pray thee to bear in mind; for, though it be bitter to the flesh, and fearful before men, yet it is the entrance into eternal life, which none shall possess who deny Jesus Christ before this wicked generation: and so, being tied to the stake in the midst of coals and timber, they set fire to some powder, which with the blast scorched his left hand, and the side of his face, but neither killed him, nor kindled the wood and coals, till they ran to the castle for more powder, and more combustible matter; which being at last kindled, with a loud voice he cried, Lord Jesus receive my spirit. How long shall darkness overwhelm this realm? and how long wilt thou suffer the tyranny of these men? The fire was slow, and therefore put him to the greater torment. But that which most grieved him, was the clamour of some wicked men set on by the friars, who continually cried, Turn thou heretic; call upon our lady; say *salve regina*, &c. to whom he answered, Depart from me, and trouble me not, thou messenger of Satan; and speaking to one Campbell, a friar, that was the ringleader, who still roared on him with great vehemence, he said to him, Wicked man, thou knowest the contrary, and hast confessed the contrary to me; I appeal thee before the tribunal seat of Jesus Christ. After which words he resigned up his spirit unto God, in the year of Christ 1527; and, within a few days after, the said friar died in a phrensy, and as one that despaired.

[ FROM KNOX'S HISTORY, Book i. ]

WHEN those cruel wolves had (as they supposed) clean devoured the prey, they found themselves in worse case than before; for then, within St. Andrews, yea, almost within the whole realm, (who heard of

that fact) there was none found who began not to enquire, wherefore Mr. Patrick Hamilton was burnt; and when his articles were rehearsed, question was holden, if such articles were necessary to be believed, under the pain of damnation? And so, within short space, many began to call in doubt, that which before they held for a certain verity, inso-much that the university of St. Andrews and St. Leonard's college, principally by the labours of Mr. Gavin Logy, the novices of the abbey, and the sub-prior, began to smell somewhat of the verity, and to espy the vanity of the received superstition; yea, within few years after, began both black and gray friars publickly to preach against the pride and idle life of bishops, and against the abuses of the whole ecclesiastical estate. Amongst whom was one called William Arithe, who, in a sermon preached in Dundee, spake somewhat more liberally against the licentious life of the bishops, than they could well bear. The bishop of Brechin having his parasites in the town, buffeted the friar, and called him heretic. The friar passed to St. Andrews, and did communicate the heads of his sermon to Mr. John Mair, whose word then was holden as an oracle, in matters of religion; and being assured of him, that such doctrine might well be defended, and that he would defend it, for it contained no heresy, there was a day appointed to the said friar, to make repetition of the same sermon; and advertisement was given to all such as were offended at the former to be present. And so, in the parish church of St. Andrews, upon the day appointed, appeared the said friar, and had, amongst his auditors, Mr. John Mair, Mr. George Lockhart, the abbot of Cambuskenerh, Mr. Patrick Hepburn, prior of St. Andrews, with all the doctors and masters of the universities. Shortly after this, new consultation was taken there, that some should be burnt; for men began liberally to speak. A merry gentleman, named John Lindsay, familiar to James Beton, standing by, when consultation was had, said, My lord, if ye burn any more, except ye follow my counsel, ye will utterly destroy yourselves; if ye will burn them, let them be burnt in hollow cellars; for the smoke of Mr. Patrick Hamilton hath infected as many as it blew upon.

[ FROM CLARK'S Martyrology, pag. 258. ]

IN the year 1534, the archbishop of St. Andrews convened before him David Straton, a gentleman, and Mr. Norman Gourlay: the first of these had disobliged the bishop of Murray, in the matter of the tythes, but had nothing of religion in him; but when he was summoned to answer for heresy, it troubled him exceedingly, and then he began to frequent the company of such as were godly, and there appeared a wonderful change in him; so that, whereas before he despised the word of God, now all his delight was in hearing of it read to him; and he was a vehement exhorter of all men to peace and concord, and contempt of the world. He much frequented the company of the laird of Dun, (Erfikine) whom God, in those days, had marvellously illuminated; hearing that text read (for he could not read himself,) "He that denieth me before men, or is ashamed of me in the midst of this wicked generation, I will deny him before my Father and his holy angels." At those

words, being suddenly as one revived, he fell upon his knees, and steadfastly lifting up his eyes and hands to heaven, at length he burst forth into these words, " Lord, I have been wicked, and justice mayest thou withdraw thy grace from me ; but, Lord, for thy mercy's sake, let me never deny thee nor thy truth for fear of death, or any corporal pain." Being afterwards, together with Mr. Norman, brought to judgment in Holy-rood-house, the king himself being present, much means were used to draw this David Straton to make a recantation ; but he persevered in his constancy, still denying that he had offended ; and so they were both condemned to the fire, and in the year 1534, they were first hanged, and afterwards burnt.

Not long after the burning of these two holy men, there was one dean Thomas Forret, who used to preach every Lord's day to his parishioners, out of the Epistles and Gospels, as they fell in order : this was counted a great novelty ; for none used to preach but the friars ; and therefore they, envying him, accused him to the bishop of Dunkeld for an heretic, and one that shewed the mysteries of scripture to the vulgar people. The bishop, instigated by the complaint of the friars, called the said dean Thomas before him, to whom he said, My joy, dean Thomas, I love you well ; and therefore I must counsel you how to govern yourself : the dean thanked him ; and then he proceeded, I am informed that you preach the Epistle and Gospel every Sunday to your people, and that you take not your dues from them ; which is very prejudicial to the churchmen ; and therefore dean Thomas, I would have you take your dues, or else 'tis too much to preach every Sunday ; for, by so doing, you make the people think that we should do so also : 'tis enough for you, when you find a good Epistle or Gospel, to set forth and preach the liberty of holy church, and let the rest alone. Thomas answered, My Lord, I presume, none of my parishioners complain for my not taking my dues ; and whereas you say 'tis too much to preach every Sunday, I think it is too little, and wish that your lordship would do the like. Nay, nay, dean Thomas, said the bishop, Let that be ; for we are not ordained to preach : then said Thomas, Whereas you bid me preach when I meet with a good Epistle and Gospel, I have read them all over, and I know no bad ones amongst them ; but when your lordship shews me such, I will pass by them ; then said the bishop, I thank God I never knew what the Old and New Testament was ; and, dean Thomas, I will know nothing but my portuise and pontifical. Go your ways, and let all these fancies be ; for, if you persevere herein, you will repent when it is too late. I trust, said Thomas, my cause is good and just in the presence of God ; and therefore I care not what follows thereupon ; and so he went his way : but, shortly after, he was summoned to appear before the cardinal, by whom he was condemned and burnt for a chief heretic, and teacher of heresy. But, notwithstanding all their bloody tyranny, the knowledge of God did wonderfully increase in Scotland, partly by reading, partly by brotherly conference, which in those dangerous days was much used to the comfort of many, which so enraged the Popish party, that, in 1538, there were burnt in one fire

four persons of good quality. The year after, there were apprehended Jeremy Ruffel, a man of a meek and quiet nature, and Alexander Kennedy, of about eighteen years old; these two poor servants of Jesus Christ being brought before the archbishop, and his associates, to judgment, Kennedy at first was faint, and would fain have recanted; but when all place of repentance was denied him, the Spirit of God (which seasonably comes in with comfort) began to refresh him; yea, the inward comfort began to burst forth, as well in his visage, as in tongue and words: for, with a cheerful countenance and joyful voice, falling on his knees, he said, "O eternal God, how wonderful is that love and mercy that thou bearest unto mankind, and to me a vile calf, and miserable wretch above all others! for even now, when I would have denied thee, and thy Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, my only Saviour, and so have cast myself into everlasting damnation, thou, by thine own hand, hast pulled me from the very bottom of hell, and made me to feel that heavenly comfort which takes from me that ungodly fear wherewith before I was oppressed: now, I defy death, do with me what you please; I praise God, I am ready." Then did they rail upon him and Jeremy, who also said unto them, This is your hour and power of darkness; now sit ye as judges, and we stand wrongfully accused, and more wrongfully to be condemned; but the day will come when our innocency will appear, and ye shall see your own blindness, to your everlasting confusion. Go forward, and fulfil the measure of your iniquity. Shortly after they were condemned to die; and as they went to execution, Jeremy comforted Kennedy, saying to him, "Brother, fear not; greater is he that is in us, than he that is in the world; the pain that we are to suffer is short, and shall be light, but our joy and consolation shall never have an end. Let us therefore strive to enter into our Master and Saviour's joy by the same straight way which he hath taken before us. Death cannot hurt us, for it is already destroyed by him for whose sake we now suffer." And thus passing cheerfully on, they constantly triumphed over death and Satan, in the midst of the flaming fire, where they gave up their spirits to God.

In the year 1543, Cardinal Beton, coming to Edinburgh, caused many godly persons to be called before him; and, when he could prove nothing else against them, he caused four men to be hanged, upon suspicion that they had eaten a goose upon a Friday; and a woman, with her child sucking on her breast, to be drowned, for refusing to pray to the virgin Mary. Many others he caused to be banished, others to be imprison'd at St. Johnstoun; amongst whom was one John Rogers, a godly and learned man, that had fruitfully preached Christ Jesus, to the comfort of many in Angus and Mearns, whom he caused to be murdered in prison, and then thrown over the wall, giving it out, that, by attempting to escape, he had broken his neck.

[ From Knox's Hist. ]

YET the same year 1543, The commissioners of Burghs, and a part of the nobility required of the parliament, that it might be enacted, That it should be lawful for every man, to use the benefit of the trans-

lation which then they had of the Old and New Testament, together with the benefit of other treatises containing wholesome doctrine, until such time as the prelates and other churchmen should give and set forth unto them a translation more correct. The clergy hereto long repugned; but in the end, convinced by reasons, and by multitudes of voices, they also condescended. And so by act of parliament it was made free to all men and women to read the scriptures in their own vulgar tongue; and so were all acts made to the contrary abolished. This was no small victory of Christ Jesus, fighting against the conjured enemies of his veritie; no small comfort to such as before were holden in such bondage, that they durst not have read the Lord's prayer, the ten commandments, nor the articles of their faith in the vulgar tongue, but they should have been accused of Heresie. Then might have been seen the Bible lying almost upon every gentleman's table. The New Testament was born about in many mens hands. We grant that some (alas!) profaned that blessed word; for some that perchance had never read ten sentences in it, had it most common in their hand, they would chop their familiars on the cheek with it, and say, this hath lain under my bed feet these ten years. Others would glory, O how oft have I been in danger for this book, how secretly have I stolen from my wife at midnight to read upon it. And this was done we say of many to make court, and curry favour thereby: for all men esteemed the governor to have been one of the most fervent Protestants that was in Europe. Albeit we say that many abused that liberty, granted of God, yet thereby did the knowledge of God wondrously encrease, and God gave his holy Spirit to simple men in great abundance. Then were set forth works in our own tongue, besides those that came from England, that did disclose the pride, the craft, the tyranny, and abuses of that Roman antichrist.

[ FROM CLARK'S Martyrology, pag. 260. ]

2. WISHART. He first preached in Ross, and then in Dundee, where, with great admiration of all that heard him, he expounded the Epistle to the Romans, 'till, at the instigation of the Cardinal, one Robert Mill, a principal man there, and formerly a professor of religion, inhibited him from preaching, requiring him, that he should trouble their town no more, for he would not suffer it; and this was spoken to him in the public place: whereupon he mused a space with his eyes bent unto Heaven, and then looking sorrowfully upon the speaker and people, he said: "God is my witness that I never intended your trouble, but your comfort; yea, your trouble is more dolorous to me, than it is to yourselves; but I am assured, that, to refuse God's word, and to chase me from you, his messenger, shall not preserve you from trouble, but shall bring you into it: for God shall send you ministers that shall neither fear burning nor banishment. I have offered you the word of salvation; with the hazard of my life I have remained amongst you: now ye yourselves refuse me, and I must leave my innocency to be declared by my God: if it be long prosperous with you, I am not led by the spirit of truth; but if unlook'd for trouble come upon you, acknowledge the cause, and turn to God, who is gracious and merciful; but if you

turn not at the first warning, he will visit you with fire and sword." Then went he into the West-country, where he made offers of God's word, which was gladly received by many, 'till the Bishop of Glasgöw, by the instigation of the Cardinal, came with his train to the town of Ayr-to resist Wishart. The earl of Glencairn, and some other gentlemen hearing of it, came thither also with their retinue, and when they were all come together, the bishop would needs have the church himself to preach in; some opposed, but Wishart said, let him alone, his sermon will not do much hurt, let us go to the market-cross; and so they did, where Wishart had such a sermon, that his very enemies were confounded. After that Wishart remained with the gentlemen in Kyle, preaching sometimes in one place, sometimes in another; but coming to Mauchlin, he was by force kept out of the church. Some would have broken-in, but he said to one of them, brother, Jesus Christ is as mighty in the fields as in the church, and himself often preached in the desert, at the sea-side, and other places: 'tis the word of peace God sends by me, the blood of none shall be shed this day for the preaching of it; and so going into the fields, he stood upon a bank, where he continued in preaching to the people above three hours; and God wrought so wonderfully by that sermon, that one of the wickedest men in all the country, the laird of Sheld, was converted by it, and his eyes ran down with such abundance of tears, that all men wondered at it. Presently news was brought to Wishart that the plague was broke out in Dundee, which began within four days after he was prohibited from preaching there, and raged so extremely, that 'tis almost beyond credit how many died in twenty four hours space; this being related to him, notwithstanding the importunity of his friends, he would needs go thither, saying, they are now in trouble and need comfort; perhaps this hand of God will make them now to magnify and reverence the word of God, which before, they lightly esteemed. Coming to Dundee, the joy of the faithful was exceeding great, and without delay, he signified that the next day he would preach; and because most of the inhabitants were either sick, or employed about the sick, he chose the East-gate for the place of his preaching, so that the whole were within, and the sick without the gate: his text was Psal. 107. 'He sent his word and healed them, &c.' wherein he treated of the profit and comfort of God's word, the punishment that comes by the contempt of it, the readiness of God's mercy to such as truly turn to him, and the happiness of those whom God takes from this misery, &c. By which sermon, he so raised up the hearts of those that heard him, that they regarded not death, but judged them more happy that should then depart, rather than such as should remain behind; considering that they knew not whither they should have such a comforter with them. He spared not to visit them that lay in the greatest extremity, and to comfort them; he provided all things necessary for such as could take food, the town being very bountiful to them, through his instigation. But whilst he was thus busying himself for the comfort of the afflicted, the devil stirred up the Cardinal, who corrupted a desperate Popish-priest, called, John Weighton, to slay him. And on a day, the sermon being ended and the people departed, sus-

pecting no danger, the priest stood waiting at the bottom of the stairs, with a naked dagger in his hand under his gown; but Mr. Wishart, being of a sharp piercing eye, seeing the priest as he came down, said to him, My friend, what would you have? and withal, clapping his hand upon the dagger, took it from him; the priest herewith being terrified, fell down upon his knees, confessed his intention, and craved pardon; a noise being hereupon raised, and it coming to the ears of those who were sick, they cried, Deliver the traitor to us, or we will take him by force; and so they burst in at the gate: but Wishart taking him in his arms, said, Whosoever hurts him, shall hurt me; for he hath done me no hurt, but much good, by teaching me more heedfulness for the time to come: and so he appeased them, and saved the priest's life. Afterwards he preached in divers other places, the people much flocking to hear him.

In Feb. 1546, Mr. Wishart was sent for by cardinal Beton, to give an account of his seditious and heretical doctrine, as they called it; the cardinal called all his retinue to come armed to the place of their sitting, which was the abby church, whither when Mr. Wishart was brought, there was a poor man lying at the door, that asked his alms, to whom he flung his purse; when he came before the cardinal, there was a dean appointed to preach; whose sermon being ended, Wishart was put up into the pulpit to hear his charge: and one Lawder, a priest, stood over against him, and read a scrawl full of bitter accusations and curses, so that the ignorant people thought that the earth would have opened and swallowed up Wishart quick: but he stood with great patience without moving, or once changing his countenance: the priest having ended his curses, spit at Mr. Wishart's face, saying, what answerest thou? thou runagate, traitor, thief, &c. then did Mr. Wishart fall upon his knees, making his prayer unto God; after which he said, many and horrible sayings unto me a Christian man, many words abominable for to hear, have ye spoken here this day, which not only to teach, but even to think, I ever thought it a great abomination, &c. then did he give them an account of his doctrine, answering to every article as far as they would give him leave to speak; but they, without having any regard to his sober and godly answers, presently condemned him to be burnt. After which sentence, he falling upon his knees, said, O immortal God, how long wilt thou suffer the ungodly to exercise their fury upon thy servants, which do further thy word in this world, whereas they on the contrary seek to destroy the truth, whereby thou hast revealed thyself to the world. O Lord, we know certainly that thy true servants must needs suffer, for thy names sake, persecutions, afflictions, and troubles; yet we desire that thou wouldst preserve and defend thy church which thou hast chosen before the foundations of the world, and give thy people grace to hear thy word, and to be thy true servants in this present life. Then were the common people put out, the bishops not desiring that they should hear the innocent man speak, and so they sent him again to the castle, till the fire should be made ready; in the castle came two friars to him, requiring him to make his confession to them, to whom he said, I will make no confession to you,



but fetch me that man who preached even now, and I will speak with him; then was the sub-prior brought, with whom he conferred a pretty while, till the sub-prior wept, who going to the cardinal, told him that he came not to intercede for Mr. Wihart's life, but to make known his innocency to all men; at which words the cardinal was very angry, saying: we know long ago what you were. The captain of the castle with some friends, coming to Mr. Wihart, asked him if he would break his fast with them: yea, said he, very willingly, for I know you be honest men: in the mean time he desired them to hear him a little; and so he discoursed to them about the Lord's supper, his suffering and death for us, exhorting them to love one another, laying aside all rancour and malice as becomes the members of Jesus Christ, who continually intercedes for us to his Father. Afterwards he gave thanks, and blessing the bread and wine, he took the bread and brake it, giving it to every one, saying, eat this; remember that Christ died for us, and feed on it spiritually; so taking the cup, he bade them remember that Christ's blood was shed for them, &c. then he gave thanks and prayed for them, and so retired into his chamber. Presently came two executioners to him from the cardinal, one put upon him a black linnen coat, the other brought him bags of powder, which they tied about several parts of his body, and so they brought him forth to the place of execution; over against which place, the castle windows were hung with rich hangings, and velvet cushions laid for the cardinal and prelates, who from thence fed their eyes with the torments of this innocent man: the cardinal fearing lest Wihart should be rescued by his friends, caused all the ordnance in the castle to be bent against the place of his execution, and commanded the gunners to stand ready all the time of his burning; then were his hands bound behind his back, and so he was carried forth; in the way some beggars met him, asking his alms for God's sake: to whom he said, my hands are bound wherewith I was wont to give you alms, but the merciful Lord, who of his bounty and abundant grace feeds all men, vouchsafe to give you necessities both for your bodies and souls: then two friars met him, perswading him to pray to our lady to mediate for him; to whom he meekly said, cease, tempt me not, I entreat you: and so with a rope about his neck, and a chain about his middle, he was led to the fire: where falling upon his knees, he thrice repeated; O thou Saviour of the world have mercy upon me; Father of heaven, I commend my spirit into thy holy hands: then turning to the people, he said: Christian brethren and sisters, I beseech you be not offended at the word of God for the torments which you see prepared for me; but I exhort you that you love the word of God for your salvation, and suffer patiently, and with a comfortable heart, for the words sake, which is your undoubted salvation and everlasting comfort: I pray you also shew my brethren and sisters which have often heard me, that they cease not to learn the word of God which I taught them, according to the measure of grace given to me, for no persecution or trouble in this world whatsoever; and shew them that the doctrine was no old wives fables, but the truth of God; for if I had taught mens doctrine, I had had greater thanks from men: but for the word

of God's sake I now suffer, not sorrowfully, but with a glad heart and mind: for this cause I was sent into the world that I should suffer this fire for Christ's sake: behold my face: you shall not see me change my countenance: I fear not the fire; and if persecution come to you for the word's sake, I pray you fear not them that can kill the body, and have no power to hurt the soul: then he prayed for them who accused him, saying, I beseech thee, Father of heaven, forgive them that have of ignorance, or of an evil mind, forged lies of me: I forgive them with all my heart; I beseech Christ to forgive them that have condemned me this day ignorantly: then turning to the people again, he said, I beseech you brethren, exhort your prelates to learn the word of God, that they may be ashamed to do evil, and learn to do good, or else there shall come upon them the wrath of God which they shall not eschew: then the executioner upon his knees, said, Sir, I pray you forgive me, for I am not the cause of your death; and he calling him to him, kissed his cheeks, saying, lo here is a token that I forgive thee; my heart, do thine office; and so he was tied to the stake, and the fire kindled. The captain of the castle coming near him, bade him be of good courage, and to beg for him the pardon of his sin; to whom Mr. Withart said, this fire torments my body, but no whit abates my spirit: then looking towards the cardinal, he said, he who in such state from that high place, feeds his eyes with my torments, shall be hanged out at the same window to be seen with as much ignominy, as he now leans there with pride; and so his breath being stopped, he was consumed by the fire. Which words were very remarkably fulfilled; for after the cardinal was slain, the provost raising the town, came to the castle-gates, crying, what have you done with my lord cardinal? where is my lord cardinal? to whom they within answered, return to your houses, for he hath received his reward, and will trouble the world no more: but they still cried, we will never depart till we see him. Then did the Lesslies hang him out at that window to show that he was dead; and so the people departed. Mr. Withart suffered martyrdom 1546.

[ FROM CLARK'S LIVES. ]

2. FRITH. The books that were written by this blessed martyr were many, and much sought after in the reigns of king Edward the sixth and queen Elizabeth, for the instruction and comfort of the godly. He much helped Tindal in the translation of the New Testament. He suffered martyrdom with great courage and a most forgiving spirit, in 1531.

4. BILNEY. He was educated at Cambridge. Being desired to preach at a poor cure belonging to Trinity-hall, he was the instrument of converting many of his fellows to the knowledge of the gospel, and amongst others Hugh Latimer. Afterwards he went into many places, teaching and preaching, and sharply reproving the pomp and insolence of the clergy: Whereupon cardinal Woolsey caused him to be apprehended in 1527.

During his imprisonment, he wrote to Tonstal, bishop of London, several letters, in one of which he says, "These priests and friars are

the physicians upon whom the woman, vexed twelve years with a bloody issue, spent all that she had, and found no help, but was still worse and worse, till at last she came to Christ, and was healed by him. Oh the mighty power of the Most-high! which I also a miserable sinner have often tasted and felt: whereas, before I had spent all that I had upon these ignorant physicians, so that I had little strength left in me, less money, and least wit and understanding: but, at last, I heard speak of Jesus, even then when the New Testament was translated by Erasmus, which, when I understood to be eloquently done, I bought it, being led thereto rather by the elegant Latin, than the word of God, (for at that time I knew not what it meant, and looking into it, by God's special providence, I met with those words of the apostle, "This is a true saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners, whereof I am the chief." O most sweet and comfortable sentence to my soul! This one sentence, through God's instruction and inward working, did so exhilarate my heart, which before was wounded with the guilt of my sins, and almost in despair, that immediately I found marvellous comfort and quietness in my soul, so that my bruised bones did leap for joy. After this the scripture began to be more sweet unto me than the honey and the honey-comb: whereby I learned that all my travels, fastings, watchings, redemption of masses and pardons, without faith in Christ, were but, as St. Augustine calls them, an hasty and swift running out of the right way, and as fig leaves which could not cover Adam's nakedness. Neither could I ever obtain quietness and rest, or be eased of the sharp stings and bitings of my sins, till I was taught of God that lesson, John iii. 14, 15. "As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have eternal life." As soon as (according to the measure of grace given unto me by God) I began to taste and relish this heavenly lesson, which none can teach but God only, I desired the Lord to encrease my faith; and, at last, desired nothing more than that I being so comforted by him, might be enabled by his Holy Spirit and grace from above, to teach the wicked his ways, which are all mercy and truth, that so sinners might be converted to him by me. I did with my whole power teach, that all men should first acknowledge their sins, and condemn them, and afterwards hunger and thirst for that righteousness which is by faith in Christ; for these things I have been attached, and am now cast into prison."

Notwithstanding all this, the poor man was prevailed upon to recant. But after his recantation, he fell into such terrors of conscience, that he was near the point of utter despair; and, returning to Cambridge, he continued under such terrors, that his friends were fain to be with him night and day, endeavouring to comfort him, but all in vain. This continued a whole year, during which time he was in such anguish, that nothing did him good, neither eating nor drinking; yea, he thought that all the word of God was against him, and founded his condemnation. But, in 1531, he began, through God's mercy, to feel some comfort, being resolved to lay down his life for the truth, which before he had renounced: whereupon, taking his leave of his friends,

he went into Norfolk, preaching first in private to confirm the brethren, afterwards in the fields, confessing his fact, and entreating all to beware by him, and never to trust in their fleshly friends in the cause of religion. At Norwich he was apprehended, and by the bishop cast into prison, whither Dr. Cole and Dr. Stoakes were sent to dispute with him; but Bilney's doctrine and good life so prevailed with Cole, that he was somewhat reclaimed, and brought to favour the gospel. During his latter imprisonment they used many means to have withdrawn him from his steadfastness, which not prevailing, he at last was condemned to death. The day before his execution, some friends finding him eating heartily, with much cheerfulness, and a quiet mind, said, That they were glad to see him at that time so heartily to refresh himself: O, said he, I imitate those who having a ruinous house to dwell in, yet bestow cost as long as they may to hold it up. Discoursing further with them for their edification, some put him in mind of the heat of the fire, yet told him withal, that the comforts of God's Spirit should cool it to his everlasting refreshing; whereupon he putting his finger into the flame of the candle (as also he did at divers other times) I feel, said he, by experience, that fire is hot, yet I am persuaded, by God's holy word, after short pain, will be joy unspeakable, alledging that text, Isa. xliii. 1, 2. The next morning, the officers fetching him to execution, a certain friend entreated him to be constant, and to take his death patiently; to whom he said, I am sailing with the mariner through a boisterous sea, but shortly shall be in the haven, &c. help me with your prayers. By the way, as he went, he gave much alms, and at the place of execution, he spake to the people, confessing his faith, by rehearsing the articles of the creed; and afterwards prayed privately, with earnest elevation of his eyes and hands to heaven. Being tied to the stake, the friars desired him to declare his charity to them, by assuring the people that they were not the causers of his death; for, said they, they think that we have procured it, and thereupon will withdraw their charitable alms from us; whereupon he said, I pray you, good people, be never the worse to these men for my sake; for they were not the authors of my death. The fire being kindled, the wind drove away the flame from him, so that he was the longer a burning; holding up his hands, crying sometimes Jesus, sometimes Credo: at last he yielded up his spirit to God in 1531.

5. TINDAL. He was born about the borders of Wales, and educated in the university of Oxford, where he grew up in the knowledge of the tongues and the liberal arts, but above all of the scriptures, to which his mind was singularly addicted; insomuch as, being in Magdalen-hall, he read privately to some fellows and students some parts of divinity, instructing them in the scriptures. His life also was so blameless, that he was much loved and esteemed. Being in company with one who was reputed a learned doctor, and disputing with him, he drove him to that issue, that the doctor burst out into these blasphemous words, We had better be without God's laws than the pope's. Mr. Tindal hearing this, full of godly zeal, replied, I defy the pope and all his laws; and, if God spare my life, ere many years, I will cause a boy that drives the plough to know more of the scriptures than you do. Being de-

sirons, for the good of his country, to translate the New Testament into English, he found that there was no place for him to do it in England; and therefore, being assisted by Humphry Munmouth, a godly citizen, and other good men, he went into Germany; where this good man being entiained with a tender care of and zeal for his country, refused no travel nor pains, if by any means possible he might reduce his brethren and countrymen of England to the same taste and understanding of God's holy word and truth which the Lord had vouchsafed to him. And, conferring with John Frith, he thought in his mind, that no way could more conduce thereunto, than if the scriptures were translated into their vulgar language, that so the people might see the plain text before them; for he well perceived that one great cause of error, was, because the knowledge of the scriptures was hidden from the people. Upon these considerations, he there set upon this work; and having translated the New Testament in 1527, he set upon the Old, and finished the five books of Moses, with sundry most learned and godly Prologues prefixed before every one of them. The like also he did upon the New Testament. Besides divers other godly Treatises which he wrote there; which being published, and sent over into England, became exceeding profitable to the whole English nation.

At his first going over into Germany, he went into Saxony, and had much conference with Luther, and other learned men in those quarters: and then returning into the Netherlands, made his greatest abode at Antwerp: he wrote also divers other books.

These books being sent over and dispersed in England, it cannot be imagined what a door of light they opened to the eyes of all the nation, which for a long time had been shut up in darkness. These godly books, but especially his translation of the New Testament coming abroad, as they brought singular profit to the godly; so the ungodly clergy, disdain and envying that the people should be wiser than they, and fearing, perhaps, lest by the shining beams of the truth, their hypocrisy and works of darkness should be unmasked, they began to make a great stir: but, especially, the devil envying the progress of the gospel, sought by all means to hinder the blessed labours of this worthy man: for, when he had finished his translation of Deuteronomy, intending to print it at Hamburg, he sailed thitherward. But, by the way, upon the coast of Holland, he suffered shipwreck, by which he lost all his books and writings, and so was compelled to begin all again, to his great hindrance and doubling of his labours; yet (through God's mercy) he was not discouraged: but, taking the opportunity of another ship, he went to Hamburg, where he met with Mr. Coverdale, who assisted him in the translation of the five books of Moses, the sweating sickness being in that town all the while, which was in 1529. And during their employment in that work, they were entertained by a religious widow, Margaret Van Emerson.

When his English Testament came abroad, Satan's and the pope's instruments raged exceedingly, some saying that there were a thousand heresies in it; others, that it was impossible to translate the scriptures into English; others, that it was not lawful for the lay-people to have

it in their own language, &c. and at last the bishops and priests procured of king Henry the Eighth a proclamation, prohibiting the buying or reading of it in 1527.

Yet, not satisfied herewith, they suborned one Henry Philips to go over to Antwerp to betray him; who, when he came thither, insinuated himself into Mr. Tindal's company, and pretended great friendship to him: and having learned where his abode was, he went to Brussels, and there prevailed so far, that he brought with him the emperor's attorney to Antwerp, and, pretending to visit Mr. Tindal, he betrayed him to two catchpoles, who presently carried him to the attorney, who, after examination, sent him to prison in the castle of Filford, eighteen miles off, and withal they seized upon all his writings, and what else he had at his lodging.

The English merchants at Antwerp, who loved Tindal very well, did what they could to procure his release; also letters were sent by the lord Cromwel, and others out of England, in his behalf: but Philips so belaboured himself, that all their endeavours came to nothing; and Tindal was at last brought to his answer; and, after much reasoning, although he deserved not death, yet they condemned him to die.

When he was brought to the place of execution, whilst he was tying to the stake, he cried with a fervent and loud voice, Lord, open the king of England's eyes. And so he was first strangled, and then burnt.

The power of his doctrine, and the sincerity of his life, was such, that during his imprisonment (which was about an year and an half) he was the instrument of converting the keeper and his daughter, and some others of his household. Philips, who betrayed him, long enjoyed not the price of innocent blood, but died in a miserable manner.

The emperor's attorney, that prosecuted him, left this testimony of him, that he was *vir doctus, pius et bonus*, a learned, pious and godly man. While Mr. Tindal was prisoner in the castle, there was much writing, and great disputations betwixt him and them of the university of Louvain (which was but nine or ten miles from thence) so that they had all enough of him, not knowing how to answer the authorities and testimonies of scripture, on which he grounded his doctrine.

Concerning his translation of the New Testament, which was so vilified by his adversaries, he thus writes in an Epistle to John Frith: I call God to record against the day we shall appear before our Lord Jesus, to give up reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one syllable of God's word against my conscience, nor would do it for all that is in the earth, whether honour, pleasure or profit, &c. He suffered 1536.

6. ROGERS. He was educated at the university of Cambridge, where he profited very much in good learning, and from thence was chosen by the merchants to be their chaplain at Antwerp; to whom he preached many years, and there, falling into acquaintance with William Tindal, and Miles Coverdal (who were fled thither from the persecution in England) he, by their means, profited much in the knowledge of Jesus Christ, and joined with them in that painful and profitable work of translating the Bible into English, and being much enlightened thereby in the saving knowledge of Jesus Christ, he cast off the heavy yoke of Ro-

pery, perceiving it to be impure, and filthy idolatry. In king Edward's time, he was sent for home by bishop Ridley, and was made a prebend of Paul's, and the dean chose him to read a divinity-lecture in that church, in which place he preached faithfully 'till queen Mary's days; and in the beginning of her reign, in a sermon at Paul's cross, he exhorted the people constantly to adhere to that doctrine which they had been taught, and to beware of pestilent Popery, idolatry, and superstition; for which he was called before the lords of the council, where he made a stout and godly answer, yet withal carried himself so prudently, that for that time he was dismissed: but after the queen's proclamation against true preaching came forth, he was again called (the bishops thirsting for his blood) and committed prisoner to his own house, whence he might have cleaped, and had many motives, as, his wife and ten children, his friends in Germany, where he could not want preferment, &c. but being once called to answer in Christ's cause, he would not depart, though to the hazard of his life. At length he was again carried before the lords of the council, where the lord chancellor taunted, reviled, and checked him, not suffering him to speak his mind, and so remanded him to prison; whereupon he wrote thus: "I was compelled to leave off what I would have most gladly spoken, and therefore I desire the most hearty and unfeigned prayers of all Christ's true members, that the Lord God of all consolation will now be my comfort and strength, buckler, and shield; as also of all my brethren who are in the same case and distress: that I and you all may despise all manner of threats, and cruelty, and even the bitter burning fire, and the dreadful dart of death, and stick like true soldiers to our dear and loving Captain, Christ, our only Redeemer, and Saviour, and the only true Head of the church, that doth all in us all; that we do not traiterously run out of his tents, or rather out of the plain field from him in the heat of the battle: but that we may persevere in the fight (if he please not otherwise to deliver us) 'till we be most cruelly slain of his enemies. For this I most heartily, and even with tears most instantly, and earnestly desire you all to pray; and if I die, to be good to my poor, and most honest wife, being a poor stranger, and to all my little souls, her, and my children, &c."

Feb. 4th, 1555, he was warned suddenly by the keeper's wife of Newgate to prepare himself for the fire, who then being found asleep, could scarce be awaked with much jogging; at length being awaked and raised, he was bid to make haste: if it be so, said he, I need not tie my points. Then he was carried to Smithfield, where scarce being permitted to speak to the people, he briefly exhorted them to perseverance in that truth which he had taught them, which also he was now ready to seal with his blood. Then was a pardon proffered to him to recant, but he utterly refused it. His wife, with nine small children, and the tenth sucking at her breast, came to him, but this sorrowful sight nothing moved him, but in the flames he washed his hands, and with wonderful patience took his death, all the people exceedingly rejoicing at his constancy, and praising God for it. He was the first martyr in queen Mary's days. He suffered 1555.

7. LAURENCE SAUNDERS. He was frequent, and very fervent

in prayer, and when assaulted by temptations, he still found much support and comfort in prayer, whereby he gained such experience, that he became a great comforter of others with the same consolations which himself had found in God. In the beginning of king Edward's reign, he began to preach (being first ordained a minister) and that with such general approbation, that he was chosen to read a divinity-lecture at Fotheringay, where, by his doctrine and life he edified many, and drew many ignorant persons to God, and stopped the mouth of the adversaries. Being imprisoned in queen Mary's reign, in a letter to his wife he thus writes: "I am chearful, and I hope I shall be chearful maugre all the devils of hell; riches I have none to endow you with, but that treasure of tasting how sweet Christ is to the hungry conscience, (whereof, I do thank my Christ, I do feel part) that I do bequeath unto you, and to the rest of my beloved in Christ." Being brought again to examination, and life being promised if he would recant, he answered, I love my life and liberty, if I could enjoy them without the hurt of my own conscience; but, by God's grace, I will abide the greatest extremity that man can do against me, rather than do any thing against my own conscience: and when Gardener threatened him with death, he said, Welcome be it, whatsoever the will of the Lord be, either life or death; and I tell you truly, I have learned to die: but I exhort you to beware of shedding innocent blood; truly it will cry aloud against you. Being excommunicated, degraded and condemned, he was sent to Coventry to be burned. When he came near the place of execution, he went chearfully to the stake, kissing it, and saying, Welcome the cross of Christ, welcome everlasting life. The fire, by his cruel enemies, was made of green wood, and other smothering matter, which could not burn, whereby he was put to grievous torments; but the grace and plentiful consolation of Christ, which never forsakes his servants, gave him admirable strength and patience, so that in all, he stood quietly, and at last sweetly slept in the Lord.

During his imprisonment he wrote many excellent letters, and after his condemnation, in a letter to his wife and friends, he thus writes: "Oh what worthy thanks can be given to our gracious God for his unmeasurable mercies poured upon us! and I, most unworthy wretch, cannot but bewail my great ingratitude towards so gracious a God, and loving Father: I beseech you all, as for my other many sins, so especially for my sin of unthankfulness, crave pardon for me in your earnest prayers. To number God's mercies in particular, were to number the drops of water in the sea, the sands on the shore, or the stars in heaven. O my dear wife and friends, rejoice with me, I say, rejoice with thanksgiving, for this my present promotion, in that I am honoured to magnify my Lord, not only in my life, by my slow mouth, and uncircumcised lips, bearing witness to the truth, but also by my blood to seal the same to the glory of my God, and confirming of his true church: I profess to you, that as yet the comfort of my sweet Christ doth drive from me the fear of death. But if my dear husband Christ, do, for my trial, leave me a little to myself, alas! I know in what case I shall then be; but, if he do, yet I know he will not be long, nor far



absent from me; though he stand behind the wall, yet he will peep in at a crevice. He is a tender-hearted Joseph; though he speak roughly to his brethren, and threaten bondage to his best beloved Benjamin, yet can he not contain himself from weeping upon us, and with us, from falling on our necks, and sweetly killing us. Such, such a brother is our Christ unto all his; wherefore hasten to go unto him, as Jacob did with his sons and family, leaving their country and acquaintance; yea, this our Joseph hath obtained for us, that Pharaoh, the infidel, shall provide us chariots, whereby with ease we may be carried to him. Our very adversaries do help us to our everlasting bliss, by their speedy dispatch, blessed be our God! Fear not bug-bears which ly in the way; fear rather the everlasting fire, &c. My dear wife and fellow-heirs of the everlasting kingdom, always remember the Lord. Rejoice in hope; be patient in tribulation; continue instant in prayer; and pray for us appointed for the slaughter, that we may be unto our heavenly Father a fat offering, and an acceptable sacrifice, &c. Farewel all in Christ, in hope to be joined with you in everlasting joy. Amen, Amen, Amen, Pray, pray."

Dr. Pendleton, and this Mr. Saunders, meeting together in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, and speaking of the persecution that was like to ensue, about which Mr. Saunders shewed much weakness, and many fears, Pendleton said to him, What man? there is much more cause for me to fear, than for you; for as much as I have a big and fat body, yet will I see the utmost drop of this grease of mine molten away, and the last gobbet of this flesh of mine consumed to ashes, before I will forsake Jesus Christ, and his truth which I have professed: yet not long after, upon trial, poor feeble, faint-hearted Saunders, by the power and goodness of God, sealed the truth with his blood; whereas proud heart-ed Pendleton played the apostate, and turned Papist. Saunders suffered 1555.

8. HOOPER. He preached twice, but at least once every day. The people so flock'd to him, that the churches could not contain them. In his doctrine and ministry he was earnest, and zealous. In the scriptures perfect, and ready; and in pains indefatigable. In this pains taking he continued to his lifes end, neither did his labour break him, nor promotion change him. Being called to preach before king Edward, he made him first bishop of Glocester, where he was bishop two years, then of Worcester, where he carried himself so uprightly, and inoffensively, that his enemies had nothing to say against him: he used to go about from town to town, and from village to village, to preach unto the people: he governed his house so, that in every corner of it there was some smell of virtue, good example, honest conversation, and reading of the scriptures.

In the beginning of queen Mary's days, he was sent for by a pursivant to London: and though he had opportunity, and was perswaded by his friends to fly, yet he refused, saying, Once I did fly, but now being called to this place, and vocation, I am resolved to stay, and to live, and die with my sheep.

When he came to London he was railed upon by Gardiner, and com-

mitted to prison: afterwards also at his examination, they called him beast, hypocrite, &c. which he bore without answering again: Six days he lay close prisoner in Newgate, none being suffered to come to him, during which time, Bonner, Harpsfield, and divers others came to him, leaving no means untried to reduce him to their antichristian church, sometimes making many great proffers and promises to him of worldly riches, and promotion, other sometimes using grievous threatnings to affright him: but they found him always the same man, stedfast, and unmoveable. February the 4th, at night, his keeper gave him some inkling that he should be sent to Gloucester to be burned, which he rejoiced very much at, lifting up his eyes, and hands to heaven, and praising God for sending him among this people, over whom he had been pastor, there to confirm with his blood the truth that before he had taught unto them, not doubting but the Lord would give him strength to perform it to his glory: and immediately he sent for his boots, spurs, and cloak, that he might be ready to ride when they should call for him. The day following he was delivered to some of the queen's guard, who conveyed him to Gloucester, and when he came near the city, much people met him, who cried, and bewailed his condition exceedingly. The night before his death, he did eat his meat quietly, and slept soundly: after his first sleep, he spent the rest of the night in prayer. The next day Sir Anthony Kingston coming to him, told him that life was sweet, and death bitter; to which he answered, the death to come is more bitter, and the life to come is more sweet: I am come hither to end this life, and suffer death, because I will not gainsay the former truth that I have taught unto you. Also a blind boy coming to him, after he had examined him in the grounds of religion, he said, Ah, poor boy! God hath taken from thee thy outward sight, but hath given thee another sight much more precious, having endued thy soul with the eye of knowledge and faith: God give thee grace continually to pray unto him, that thou lose not that sight; for then shouldest thou be blind both in body and soul.

Being delivered to the sheriff, he said to him, My request to you, Mr. Sheriff, is only that there may be a quick fire, shortly to make an end of me; and, in the mean time, I will be as obedient to you as you can desire: If you think I do amiss in any thing, hold up your finger, and I have done: I might have had my life, with much worldly gain; but I am willing to offer up my life for the truth, and I trust to die a faithful servant to God, and a true subject to the queen. When he saw the sheriff's men with so many weapons, he said, This is more than needs; if you had willed me, I would have gone alone to the stake, and have troubled none of you all. As he went to the stake he was forbid to speak to the people. He looked cheerfully, and with a more ruddy countenance than ordinary. Being come to the place of execution, he prayed about half an hour, whereof this was a part: Lord, (said he) I am hell, but thou art heaven: I am a swill and a sink of sin, but thou art a gracious and merciful Redeemer: have mercy therefore upon me, most miserable and wretched offender, after thy great mercy, and according to thine inestimable goodness: Thou art

ascended into heaven; receive wretched me to be partaker of thy joys, where thou sittest in equal glory with thy Father; for well knowest thou, Lord, wherefore I am come hither to suffer, and why the wicked do persecute thy poor servant; not for my sins and transgressions committed against thee, but because I will not allow of their wicked doings; to the contaminating of thy blood, and to the denial of the knowledge of thy truth, wherewith it did please thee, by thy Holy Spirit, to instruct me: with as much diligence as a poor wretch might (being there-to called) I have set forth thy glory.

Thou well seest, O Lord my God, what terrible torments, and cruel pains are prepared for thy poor creature: even such, Lord, as without thy strength none is able patiently to bear: but that which is impossible with man, is possible with thee: therefore strengthen me, of thy goodness, that, in the fire, I break not the rules of patience; or else allwage the terror of the pains, as shall seem fittest to thy glory. Having a box with a pardon, set before him, he cried, If you love my soul, away with it, If you love my soul, away with it. Three irons being prepared to fasten him to the stake, he only put an iron hoop about his middle, bidding them take away the rest, saying, I doubt not but God will give me strength to abide the extremity of the fire without binding. When reeds were cast to him, he embraced and kissed them, putting them under his arms, where he had bags of gun-powder also. When fire was first put to him, the faggots being green, and the wind blowing away the flame, he was but scorched; more faggots being laid to him, the fire was so supprest, that his nether parts were burned, his upper parts being scarce touched: he prayed mildly, as one that felt no pain, O Jesus, son of David, have mercy upon me, and receive my soul! and wiping his eyes with his hands, he said, For God's love let me have more fire. A third fire being kindled, it burned more violently; yet he was alive a great while in it; the last words which he uttered, being, Lord Jesus, have mercy on me! Lord Jesus, receive my spirit! And so he slept in the Lord in the year 1555.

9. ROWLAND TAYLOR. He was rector in Hadley in Suffolk, where Mr. Thomas Bilney had formerly been a preacher of the word; and in which place there were few, either men or women, that were not well learned in the holy scriptures, many having read over the whole Bible, and being able to say a great part of Paul's Epistles by heart.

Here this Dr. Taylor preached constantly on sabbaths, and at other times when he could get the people together. So soon as he was called to this place, he left the family of Dr. Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, with whom he had formerly lived, and, like a good shepherd, constantly abode with his flock, and gave himself wholly to the study of the sacred scriptures, most faithfully endeavouring to fulfil the precept of Christ to Peter, "Lovest thou me? feed my sheep." His life also and conversation was very exemplary, and full of holiness: he was meek and humble, yet would stoutly rebuke sin in the greatest. He was very mild, void of all rancour and malice, and forgiving to his enemies. To the poor, blind, lame, sick, bed-ridden, or those that had many children, he was a father, causing the parishioners to make good provision for them, besides

what of his own bounty he gave them. He brought up his own children in the fear of God, and good learning: and thus he continued as a good shepherd amongst his flock, feeding, governing, and leading them all the days of king Edward the Sixth.

But, in queen Mary's reign, his friends earnestly entreated him to fly, telling him, that he could neither expect justice nor favour, but imprisonment, and cruel death: to whom he answered, I know my cause to be so good and righteous, and the truth so strong upon my side, that I will, by God's grace, appear before them, and, to their beads, resist their false doings: for I believe that I shall never be able to do so good service as now, and that I shall never have so glorious a calling, nor so great mercy of God proffered me as I have now; wherefore pray for me, and I doubt not but God will give me strength, and his Holy Spirit, that all my adversaries shall be ashamed of their doings; then said his friends, Mr. Doctor, we think it not best so to do; you have sufficiently done your duty, and born witness to the truth, both in your sermons, and in resisting the Popish priests; therefore, seeing our Saviour Christ bids, when we are persecuted in one city, to fly to another; we think that, by flying at this time, you should do best, reserving yourself for better times. O! said Dr. Taylor, I am now old, and have already lived too long to see these terrible and wicked days: you may do as your consciences serve you, but I am resolved not to fly: God shall hereafter raise up teachers, who shall with much more diligence and fruit teach than I have done; for God will not forsake his church, tho' for a time he trieth and correcteth us, and that not without just cause.

His friends seeing his constancy and resolution, with weeping eyes, commended him to God; and so preparing himself, he went immediately to London, and presented himself to Stephen Gardiner, lord chancellor of England, who railed upon him, calling him knave, traitor, heretic, asking him if he knew him not? &c. to whom he answered, Yea, I know you, and all your greatness; yet you are but a mortal man; and if I should be afraid of your lordly looks, why fear ye not God, the Lord of us all? How dare you, for shame, look any Christian in the face, seeing you have forsaken the truth, denied our Saviour Christ, and his word, and done contrary to your own oath and writing?

In prison he spent his time in prayer, reading the scripture, preaching to the prisoners, and to others that resorted to him; and it pleased God, that he found in that prison, holy Bradford, whom he began to exhort to faith, strength, and patience, and to persevere constantly unto the end. Mr. Bradford hearing this, thanked God who had provided him so comfortable a prison-fellow; and so they both together praised God, and continued in prayer, reading, and exhorting one another; inasmuch as Dr. Taylor told his friends, that God had provided graciously for him, to send him to that prison, where he found such an angel of God to be in his company, to comfort him.

He was divers times examined of his faith, and witnessed a good confession before his adversaries; for which at last he was condemned to die. When his sentence was read, he told them, that God, the right-

teous Judge, would require his blood at their hands; and that the proudest of them all should repent their receiving again of Antichrist, and their tyranny against the Rock of Christ. He also thus wrote to his friends. God be praised, since my condemnation I was never afraid to die; God's will be done; if I shrink from God's truth, I am sure of another manner of death than had judge Hales<sup>a</sup>. But, God be praised, even from the bottom of my heart, I am unmoveably settled upon the rock, nothing doubting, but that my dear God will perform and finish the work he hath begun in me, and others. To him be all honour both now, and ever, through Christ our only Saviour, Amen. When he came within two miles of Hadley, he desired to alight; and, being down, he leaped, and fetched a frik or two, saying, God be praised, I am now almost at home, and have not past two miles to go over, and I am even at my Father's house. At Hadley town's end, a poor man, with his five children, met him, crying, O dear father, and good shepherd, God help and succour thee, as thou hast many a time succoured me and my poor children. The streets were full of people weeping and bewailing their loss, saying, ah! good God! there goes our good shepherd from us, that hath so faithfully taught, so fatherly cared for us, and so godly governed us. Oh, merciful God! what shall we poor scattered lambs do? what shall become of this most wicked world? Good Lord! strengthen him, and comfort him; to whom he said, I have preached unto you God's word and truth; and I am now come to seal it with my blood.

Coming to the place of execution, he was not suffered to speak to the people, who much lamented his death; yet he was cheerful, saying, Thanks be to God, I am even at home; and when he had prayed and made himself ready, he went to the stake, and kissed it. The fire being kindled, he held up his hands, calling upon God, and saying, Merciful Father of heaven; for Jesus Christ, my Saviour's sake, receive my soul into thy hands, and so stood still without moving, till one with an halbert struck out his brains. He died 1555.

10. BRADFORD. He was born at Manchester, and by his parents brought up in learning: and afterwards he served Sir John Harrington, a man much employed under Henry the Eighth, and Edward the Sixth; in which place, he had opportunity of much advantaging himself; for, his master found him so active, and fit for his employments, that, above all others, he made most use of his faithful service: and thus he continued with him for some years: but God intending him for other employment, having given up a just account to his master, with his good approbation, he went to Cambridge, where, by his diligence in study, he profited so much in knowledge, and so pleased all by his godly and blameless conversation, that, after one year's abode in the university, he was chosen fellow into Pembroke-hall. Bucer falling into acquaintance with him, highly prized it, and persuaded him to enter into the ministry, which he modestly excused for want of learning; to whom Bucer said, If thou have not fine Manchet, yet give the people barley-bread, or such as thou hast.

<sup>a</sup> See Fox's Martyrology.

Being thus persuaded into the ministry, bishop Ridley made him a prebend in St. Paul's, where he continued three years faithfully preaching Christ crucified, and pithily impugning errors and heresies, and persuading to a godly life.

In the beginning of queen Mary's reign, Bourn, bishop of Bath, made a seditious sermon at Paul's Cross, which so moved the people to indignation, that they were ready to pull him out of the pulpit; whereupon Bourn required Bradford, (who was behind him) to stand in his place, and to quiet the people, which accordingly he did; whom, when the people saw, they cried, Bradford, Bradford, God save thy life, Bradford. Bourn not yet thinking himself safe, requested Bradford to convey him into the school-master's house, which accordingly he did, going at his back, and sheltering him from the people: whereupon one said to him, Ah! Bradford, Bradford, thou savest him that will help to burn thee. In the afternoon, Bradford preached at Bow-church, and sharply rebuked the people for their seditious carriage: yet, within three days after, he was cited before the council, and charged with sedition for this act, and by them was sent prisoner, first to the tower: then to the king's Bench in Southwark, and after his condemnation, he was sent to the counter: in which places, for the time that he remained prisoner, he preached twice a day, unless sickness hindered, and often administered the sacrament: preaching, reading, and prayer, was his whole life: he ate but one meal a day, and that a spare one too: and his continual study was upon his knees. In the midst of dinner, he used to meditate with his hat on his eyes, from which flowed plenty of tears dropping on his trencher. He was in such credit with his keeper in Southwark, that, in an evening, he would give him leave, upon his bare word, to go into London, to visit a sick person; and he was so mindful of his promise, that he used to return to prison again rather before his hour. He was of person somewhat tall and slender, and of a faint sanguine colour. He slept not above four hours in the night; and, till sleep came, his book went not out of his hand. His recreation was honest company, and Christian discourse, a little after dinner; and so to prayer and his book again. He counted that hour ill spent wherein he did not some good, either with his pen, study, or exhorting others. He was no niggard of his purse, but would liberally communicate to his fellow-prisoners. Once a week he visited the thieves on the other side the prison, giving them godly exhortations, and distributing some money amongst them. An intimate friend of his asked him, if he should procure his liberty, what he would do, and whither he would go? to whom he answered, that he cared not whether he were delivered out of prison or not; but, if he should, that then he would marry, and abide secretly in England, and teach the people as the time would suffer him. He was had in great reverence and admiration of all good men; so that many who knew him not but by fame only, much lamented his death; yea many Papists wished heartily that he might live. Nor was there any prisoner with him, but received some profit by him. The day before he was carried to Newgate the keeper's wife came running into his chamber, saying, O Mr. Bradford, I bring you heavy news; for to-

morrow you must be burned; your chain is now a buying, and presently you must go to Newgate; with that Mr. Bradford put off his cap, lift up his eyes to heaven, and said, I thank God for it, I have look'd for this a long time; it comes not now to me suddenly, but as a thing waited for every day and hour: the Lord make me worthy thereof. He spent the rest of the evening in prayers, well watered with tears, whereby he ravished the minds of the hearers. The morning before he was to be burned, as he was putting on a clean shirt, in which he was to suffer, he made such a prayer of the wedding garment, that some present were in such great admiration, that their eyes were as thoroughly occupied on looking on him, as their ears were attentive to hear his prayer. At his departing out of his chamber he prayed earnestly, and gave money to every servant and officer in the house, exhorting them to fear and serve God continually, labouring to eschew all manner of evil. Then, turning to the wall, he prayed vehemently, that his words might not be spoken to them in vain, but that the Lord would work effectually in them for his Christ's sake. The prisoners, with weeping tears, took their farewell of him.

Whilst he was a prisoner, he was oft examin'd before the bishops, and proffer'd life if he would recant, but he answered, life with God's displeasure is worse than death; and death in his favour is true life. When he came into Smithfield, (where another young man was to suffer with him) he fell flat on his face and prayed; then taking a faggot in his hand, he kissed it, and the stake also, then putting off his raiment, he stood by the stake, and lifting up his hands and eyes to Heaven, said, O England, England, repent of thy sins, repent of thy sins: beware of idolatry, beware of false antichrists, take heed they do not deceive thee; and turning his head to the young man, he said, be of good comfort, brother, for we shall have a merry supper with the Lord this night; and then embracing the reeds, he said: Strait is the way, and narrow is the gate that leadeth to eternal salvation, and few there be that find it; and so he slept in the Lord. He was very charitable, in so much as in a hard time he sold his rings, and jewels to relieve those that were in want. He was so humble from the sense of his corruptions, that he subscribed some of his letters out of prison thus, the most miserable, hard-hearted, unthankful sinner, John Bradford; a very painted hypocrite, John Bradford, Miserrimus Peccator John Bradford; the sinful John Bradford. He suffered martyrdom in the year 1555.

11. RIDLEY. He was called by Cranmer to be vicar of Herne in East-Kent, where he was a painful preacher; at which time it pleased God to reveal to him the true doctrine concerning the Lord's-Supper: and among others to convert by his ministry the lady Phines, who proved an eminent instrument of God's glory. He was made bishop of Rochester, and (in Edward the sixth's days) he was removed to be bishop of London; in which places he took so great pains in preaching, that he was dearly beloved of his flock, to whom also he was singularly exemplary in his life; so that his very enemies had nothing to say against him.

To his sermons multitudes of people resorted. His manner was dai-

ly to read a lecture to his family at prayer time, giving to every one that could read, a New-Testament, and hiring them with money to learn chapters by heart, being marvellous careful that his family might give an example of godliness and virtue to others. He was first converted by reading Bertram's book of the sacrament, and much confirmed by conference with Cranmer and Martyr.

In the beginning of queen Mary's days, he was imprisoned with the first, in the Tower, and from thence he was sent to Oxford with Cranmer and Latimer, and there kept in the common goal; 'till at length, being severed from his brethren, he was committed to the custody of one Irish, with whom he remained 'till the day of his death.

Writing to Latimer, in prison, he saith: I pray you, good father, let me hear something more from you to encourage me, for except the Lord assist me in this service, I shall play but the part of a white-liver'd knight; but he can make a coward in his cause to fight like a man. In a letter to Mr. Bradford, he saith: As far as London is from Oxford, yet thence we have received both meat, and money, and shirts, not only from our acquaintance, but from some strangers also: I know for whose sake they do it. And again, Ever since I heard of our dear brother Rogers his stout confession and departure, (blessed be God for it) I never felt any lumpish heaviness in my heart, as sometimes I did before. And again, Sir, blessed be God, notwithstanding our hard restraint, and the evil reports raised of us, we rejoice in God, and all our care is, and shall be (by God's grace) to please and serve him, from whom we expect, after these momentary miseries, to have eternal joy and perpetual felicity with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; and as yet never a learned man, scholar or other, hath visited us since our coming to Bocardo, which now may be called the college of Quondams, for we be no fewer than three, and I dare say every one well contented with his portion, which is our heavenly Father's good and gracious gift. Farewell, we shall, by the grace of God, one day meet and be joyful together; which day assuredly approacheth: the Lord grant it may shortly come.

The night before he suffered, he caused his beard to be shaven, and his feet washed, and bade his hostess and the rest that were at table to the wedding; he asked his brother also whether his sister could find in her heart to be present at it? yea, said he, I dare say with all her heart. His hostess (mistress Irish) weeping, he said, O mistress Irish, I see now that you love me not; for, in that you weep, it appears you will not be at my marriage, nor are therewith content: I see you are not so much my friend as I thought; but quiet yourself, tho' my breakfast be somewhat sharp and painful, yet I am sure my supper will be pleasant and sweet.

His brother offering to watch with him, he refused it, saying, I intend to go to bed, and sleep as quietly as ever I did in my life. In the morning he came forth well dressed, and looking behind him, he spied Mr. Latimer coming after; to whom he said, O be you there? yea, said Latimer, have after as fast as I can follow.

Coming to the stake, he lift up his hands and eyes stedfastly to heaven, and espying Mr. Latimer, he ran with a cheerful countenance to-



him, embraced and kissed him, and comforted him, saying, Be of good cheer, brother, for God will either assuage the fury of the flame, or give us strength to abide it. So he went to the stake, kneeled by it, and kissed it, and prayed earnestly; and being about to speak to the people, some ran to him and stopped his mouth with their hands: afterwards being stripped, he stood upon a stone by the stake, saying, "O heavenly Father, I give thee hearty thanks, for that thou hast called me to be a professor of thee even unto death; I beseech thee, Lord God, to have mercy upon this realm of England, and deliver it from all its enemies."

As a smith was knocking in the staple which held the chain, he said to him, Good fellow, knock it in hard, for the flesh will have his course. Then his brother brought a bag of gun-powder, and would have tied it about his neck; Ridley asked what it was? his brother answered, gun-powder: then, said he, I take it as being sent of God, therefore I will receive it as sent from him. And when he saw the flame coming up to him, he cried with a loud voice, *In manus tuas*, &c. Into thy hands, Lord, I commend my spirit, Lord, receive my soul: but the fire being kept down by the wood, he desired them, for Christ's sake, to let the fire to come up to him; which his brother-in-law misunderstanding, still heaped on faggots, whereby his nether parts were burned before his upper parts were touched; at last his upper parts fell down into the fire also, and so he slept in the Lord.

In a letter which he wrote to his friends, he hath this passage: "I warn you, my friends, that ye be not astonished at the manner of my dissolution, for I assure you, I think it the greatest honour that ever I was called to in all my life; and therefore I thank the Lord God heartily for it, that it hath pleased him of his great mercy to call me to this high honour, to suffer death willingly for his sake, and for his cause: wherefore all you that be my true lovers and friends, rejoice, and rejoice with me again, and render with me hearty thanks to God our heavenly Father, that for his Son's sake, my Saviour and Redeemer Christ, he hath vouchsafed to call me, being else without his gracious goodness, in myself a sinful and vile wretch, to call me (I say) to this high dignity of his true prophets, faithful apostles, and of his holy and chosen martyrs, to die; and to spend this temporal life in the defence and maintenance of his everlasting truth."

Whilst he was master of Pembroke-hall, he used to walk much in the orchard, where he learned, without book, almost all Paul's epistles, and the epistles of James, Peter, John and Jude, concerning which himself said: Though in time I did forget much of them again, yet the sweet smell thereof, I trust, I shall carry with me into heaven, and the profit thereof I have felt in all my life-time hitherto. He suffered 1555.

12. LATIMER, He was so zealous in his Popish religion, and therefore so scrupulous, that being a priest, and using to say mass, he was so servile an observer of the Romish decrees, that he thought he had never sufficiently mixed his massing wine with water, and that he never should be damned if once he were a professed friar. He used to carry the cross before the procession. Mr. Thomas Bilney, seeing Mr. Latimer to have a zeal in his way, (although without knowledge) was struck with

a brotherly pity towards him, thinking by what means he might best win this ignorantly zealous brother to the true knowledge of Christ, and thereupon going to his study, he desired him to hear him make a confession of his faith, which Latimer consenting to, was so touched thereby, that he gave over school divinity, and studied more orthodox divines. So that, whereas he was before an enemy, and almost a persecutor of Christ, he was now a zealous seeker after him, changing his old manner of bawling and railing, into diligent conferring with Mr. Bilyney and others. Being thus won to Christ, he was not satisfied with his own conversion, but pitying the misery of others, he became a powerful publick preacher; and an instructor of many in private also: whereupon the devil raised up many doctors and flars against him, and the bishop of Ely forbade him to preach, in the year 1529. But by the means of Dr. Butts the king's physician, a favourer of good men, he was chosen into the number of those who laboured in the cause of the king's supremacy, whereupon he went to the court, and lodged in Dr. But's chamber, preaching many times in London. At last being weary of the court, by the lord Cromwell's means he had a charge given him at West Kingstone, near Sarum, where with much diligence he instructed his flock, and preached zealously many times abroad in the country. Whereupon some Popish priests drew up articles against him; and he was much molested by the bishop of London, and Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, by whom he was cited to appear before them. These men detained him for a long space from his cure at home, calling him three times before them every week, which much troubled him, seeing they would neither preach themselves, nor suffer him to do his duty: hereupon he wrote to the archbishop, expostulating with him, for so detaining him from his charge, and that for no just cause, but only for preaching the truth against sundry abuses which were crept into the church. Yet the king rescued him out of their hands, and at the request of the lord Cromwell made him bishop of Worcester. In which place he busily employed himself in instructing his flock, and giving them a good example by his holy life. He spent all his time in study, teaching, preaching, exhorting, visiting, correcting, and reforming to the utmost of his power. Yet neither there was he quiet; for one of great place accused him to the king for preaching sedition, but the king rested satisfied with his answer. At new-years tide, the bishops used to present the king with a new-years gift, and bishop Latimer, amongst the rest, presented him with the New Testament, wrapped up in a napkin, with this posie about it, *fornicatores et adulteros judicabit Dominus*: whoremongers and adulterers God will judge. But the six articles coming out, and he seeing that he could not retain his office with a good conscience, of his own accord he resigned his bishoprick.

In the beginning of queen Mary's reign, he was sent for by a pursivant, whereof he had notice six hours before he came to his house, yet instead of flying, he prepared himself for his journey. And when the pursivant came, he said to him; My friend, you are welcome, I go as willingly to London to give an account of my faith as ever I went to any place in the world; and I doubt not as God hath honoured me for

merly to preach his word before two excellent princes, so he will enable me to bear witness to the truth before the third, either to her eternal comfort or discomfort. The pursivant having delivered his letter, told him that he was not commanded to stay for him, and so immediately departed: his adversaries hoping that he would have fled; but Latimer hastened after to London, and as he rode through Smithfield, he said, that Smithfield had groaned for him a long time. Coming before the council, after many mocks and scorns, he was sent to the Tower, and at last from thence he was carried to Oxford, with Cranmer and Ridley, where they spent their time in brotherly conference, fervent prayer, and fruitful writing; yea, many times he continued so long in fervent prayer, that he was not able to get up without help. Three things he more especially prayed for. 1. That as God had appointed him to be a preacher of his word, so he would be pleased to give him grace to stand to his doctrine, that he might give his heart's blood for the same. 2dly, That God of his mercy would restore his gospel to England once again, which he often repeated, and that with so much ardour, as though he had seen God before him, and spoken to him face to face. 3dly, That the Lord would preserve queen Elizabeth, and make her a comfort to this comfortless realm of England. The Lord most graciously answering all those his requests. At last he was condemned, and with Dr. Ridley was carried to be burned. When he came to the stake, he lift up his eyes with an amiable and comfortable countenance, saying, *fidelis est Deus*, &c. God is faithful, who will not suffer us to be tempted above that which we are able, &c. When the fire was brought, he said to Dr. Ridley, be of good comfort, brother, and play the man, we shall this day light such a candle by God's grace in England, as I trust, shall never be put out. When he was stripped into the shroud, he seemed a very comely person to all that were present: and whereas in his cloaths, he appeared a withered and crooked silly old man, he now stood bold upright, as comely a father as one might behold. As he was burning, the blood ran out of his heart in such abundance, as if all the blood in his body had been gathered hither, to the great astonishment of the beholders, according to his former request, that he might be so happy as to shed his heart's blood for the truth. When the fire was first kindled, he cried, O Father of heaven receive my soul! and so embracing the flame, having stroaked his face with his hands, and bathed them a little in the fire, he soon died, with very little pain or none at all.

In a letter to king Henry the eighth, he thus concludes; Wherefore, gracious king, remember yourself, have pity upon your soul, and think that the day is even at hand, when you shall give an account for your office, and of the blood that hath been shed with your sword: in the which day that your grace may stand stedfast, and may have your *quietus est* sealed with the blood of our Saviour Christ, which will only serve at that day, is my daily prayer, &c. He suffered 1555.

13. PHILPOT. He was a knight's son, born in Hampshire. In 1553, (which was the first year of queen Mary) a convocation was assembled, wherein Dr. Weston was prolocutor, in the beginning whereof a disputation was begun between the Papists and Protestants; in which Mr. Phil-

pot was so earnest, that Dr. Weston commanded him to hold his peace, whereto he replied, You perceive that I have stuff enough for you, whereby I am able to withstand your false positions; and therefore you command me to silence. If you will not give place (said the prolocutor) I will send you to prison. This is not (replied Mr. Philpot) according to your promise made at first in this house, nor yet according to your brag made at Paul's Cross, when you said, that men should be answered in this disputation to whatsoever they could say; and now, of a dozen of arguments that I have, you will not suffer me to prosecute one: but I see that a sort of you here, who hitherto have lurked in corners, and dissembled with God and man, are now gathered together to suppress the sincere truth of God's word, and to set forth your false devices, which, by the sacred scriptures, you are not able to maintain. Six days after came a mandate from the queen to break up the disputation; whereupon Dr. Weston, who all along had used many unseemly checks and taunts to the Protestants, thus concluded: It is not the queen's pleasure that we should spend any longer time here, and we are all well enough; for you have the word, and we have the sword. And shortly after Mr. Philpot was cast into prison, where he lay a year and a half before he was examined. Then he was sent for by Dr. Storie, and, after some captious questions proposed to him, he was committed prisoner to the bishop of London's Cole-house; there he found a godly minister of Essex, who, desiring to speak with him, did greatly lament his infirmity; for, through extremity of imprisonment, he had yielded to the bishop of London, and was set at liberty; whereupon he felt such an hell in his conscience, that he could scarce refrain from destroying himself; and could have no peace, till going to the bishop's register, and desiring to see his recantation, he tore it in pieces; whereupon the bishop sending for him, buffeted him, plucked off a great part of his beard, and sent him to this Cole-house, where Mr. Philpot found him very joyful under the cross. Philpot being afterwards sent for to the bishop, after some discourse (saith he) I was carried to my Lord's Cole-house again, where I, with my six fellow-prisoners, do rouse together in the straw as cheerfully, we thank God, as others do in their beds of down. A few days after he was called before Bonner, with the bishops of Bath, Worcester, and Gloucester; at which conference the bishop of Worcester said, Before we begin to speak to him, 'tis best that he call to God for grace, and to pray that God would open his heart, that he may conceive the truth. Hereupon Mr. Philpot, kneeling down, said, "Almighty God, who art the giver of all wisdom and understanding, I beseech thee, of thine infinite goodness and mercy in Jesus Christ, to give me (most vile sinner in thy sight) the spirit of wisdom to speak, and make answer in thy cause, that it may be to the contentation of the bearers before whom I stand, also to my better understanding, if I be deceived in any thing." Nay, my Lord of Worcester (said Bonner) you did not well to exhort him to make any prayer; for this is the thing they have a singular pride in, that they can often make their vain prayers, in which they glory much: for, in this point, they are like to certain arrant heretics, of which Pliny speaks, that they daily sung *antelucanos*

*hymnos*, praises to God before the dawning of the day. Then said Mr. Philpot, My Lord God make me, and all you here present, such heretics as they were; for they were godly Christians, with whom the tyrants of the world were offended for their Christian practices and well-doing. But all their conference proved to no purpose; for the bishops would not dispute, and Mr. Philpot would not take their words without scripture and arguments, so he was returned to his Cole-house again. After sundry other examinations, he was, by the bishop, set in the stocks, in a house alone, of which he writes: God be praised, that he thought me worthy to suffer any thing for his name's sake: better it is to sit in the stocks in this world, than to sit in the stocks of a damned conscience.

Being sent to Newgate, he spake to the people, as he went, saying, Ah! good people, blessed be God for this day. Having notice given him over-night, that the next day he should be burned, he said, I am ready, God grant me strength, and a joyful resurrection; and so he went to his chamber, pouring out his spirit unto the Lord in prayer, and giving him most hearty thanks for accounting him worthy to suffer for his truth. Coming into Smithfield, he kneeled down, saying, I will pay my vows in thee, O Smithfield! he kissed the stake, saying, shall I disdain to suffer at this stake, when my Lord and Saviour refused not to suffer a most vile death for me? When the fire was kindled, with much meekness and comfort, he resigned up his spirit unto God.

In a letter to John Carelesse, then prisoner in the King's-bench, he writes: Indeed, my dear Carelesse, I am in this world in hell, and in the shadow of death; but he that for my deserts hath brought me down into hell, shall shortly lift me up into heaven, where I shall look continually for your coming, and others of my faithful brethren in the King's-bench. And though I tell you, that I am in hell, in the judgment of the world, yet assuredly I feel, in the same, the consolation of heaven, I praise God: and this loathsome and horrible prison is as pleasant to me as the walks in the garden of the King's-bench.

In another letter he writes thus, The world wondereth how we can be merry in such extreme miseries, but our God is omnipotent, who turneth misery into felicity: believe me, there is no such joy in the world as the people of Christ have under the cross: I speak by experience, therefore believe me, and fear nothing that the world can do unto you; for, when they imprison our bodies, they set our souls at liberty with God; when they cast us down, they lift us up; yea, when they kill us, they do then send us to everlasting life; and what greater glory can there be, than to be made conformable to our head, Christ, which is done by afflictions? O good God! what am I, upon whom thou shouldst bestow so great a mercy? This is the day which the Lord hath made, let us rejoice and be glad in it; this is the way, though it be but narrow, which is full of the peace of God, and leadeth to eternal bliss. Oh how my heart leapeth for joy, that I am so near the apprehension thereof! God forgive my unthankfulness and unworthiness of so great glory. I have so much joy, that though I be in a place of darkness and mourning, yet I cannot lament; yea, in all the days of my life, I was

never so merry, the name of the Lord be praised for ever, and ever; and the Lord pardon my unthankfulness. Our enemies do fret, foam, and gnash their teeth, that we, under this grievous affliction can be so merry. Pray instantly, that this joy may never be taken from us; for it passeth all the delights of this world. This is the peace of God, which passeth all understanding. This peace, the more his chosen be afflicted, the more they feel; and therefore cannot faint neither for fire nor water." He suffered 1555.

14. GRANMER. He was born of a very antient family in Nottinghamshire. He was very charitable and gentle, so prone to forgive, and forget wrongs, that it grew into a proverb, "Do my lord of Canterbury a shrewd turn, and he will be your friend as long as you live." He stoutly opposed the six bloody articles, and yet with such humility and modesty, that the king could not be offended with him for it. He was so free from passion, that he never mis-called the meanest of his servants. He was not only just in paying all men, so that when he was cast into prison, he owed no man a farthing, but he relieved many that were in want.

The chief weight of reforming religion in England lay upon his hands, so that for sixteen years together, his house was never empty of learned men to assist in deciding ecclesiastical controversies. His charity to the poor was very great, for whom he provided lodgings, being sick, lame, wounded, &c. and appointed an almoner, physician, and chirurgeon to attend them.

His enemies from time to time endeavoured by all means to have brought him into the displeasure of the king; yet it pleased God so to over-rule the king's heart, that he would never be alienated from him; which favour the king continued to him so long as he lived: and in king Edward the sixth's days, he continued in his place, and much helped forward the work of reformation. But in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, he was a principal man whom she maligned; and therefore she appointed commissioners to examine him, who commanded him to bring to them an inventory of all his goods, which they seized upon; and shortly after, he was sent prisoner to the Tower, for treason, as was pretended.

Before he was committed to the Tower, some of his friends persuaded him to fly, and to reserve himself for better times; but he answered stoutly, if I were accused of theft, murder, or any other wickedness, perhaps I could more easily be persuaded to fly, but now I see that I must be questioned not for my faithfulness towards men, but for my faith towards God, and concerning the truth of the holy scriptures against papists, and therefore I will rather lose my life in the defence of the truth, than, by flying out of the kingdom, to desert such a cause.

He was kept in prison almost three years; and the doctors of Oxford laboured by many subtil tricks to draw him to a recantation, removing him to the dean's house of Christ-church, where he had dainty fare, recreations, and what else might entice him from Christ to the world; they promised him life, the queen's favour, his former dignity, and what

not, if he would but with his hands subscribe to a few words by way of recantation, which, if he refused, there was no hope of pardon. With many such provocations and flatteries, they at last prevailed with him to subscribe it. After which he had neither inward quietness in his own conscience, nor any outward help from his adversaries: for the queen being glad of his recantation, yet presently resolved his death, appointed the time (when he least expected it) and the persons that should see it performed. He had no notice of his death, 'till the very morning a little before he was to suffer. At which time there was a great concourse of people, some expecting that he should make his public recantation at his death, others hoping better of him.

From prison he was brought to St. Mary's church, where doctor Cole (by the queen's order) preached, and in his sermon affirmed, that God was so incensed for the slaughter of Sir Thomas More and doctor Fisher, bishop of Rochester (who were beheaded in the reign of king Henry the eighth) that he could not be appeased by any other means but by the sacrificing of Cranmer. During his sermon, Cranmer was set on a stage before him; which sad spectacle affected many, to see him, who had lived in so great honour and favour, to stand there in a ragged gown, ill-favoured cloaths, an old cap, and exposed to the contempt of all men.

Cole, in his sermon, shewed for what Cranmer was condemned, encouraged him to take his death patiently, and rejoiced in his conversion to popery; but that joy lasted not long. The sermon being ended,<sup>a</sup> doctor Cranmer entreated the people to pray for him, that God would pardon his sins, especially his recantation, which most of all troubled his conscience, and which he said was contrary to the truth which he thought in his heart, and was written for fear of death, and upon the hope of life. And, said he, that hand of mine which hath written contrary to my heart, shall first be punished. At these words, the doctors began to rage and foam, and caused him to be pulled down from the stage, and his mouth to be stopped, that he should not speak to the people.

The place appointed for his martyrdom was the same where Ridley and Latimer had before suffered; and when he was brought to it, he kneeled down and prayed; and so put off his cloaths. When the fire was kindled and came near him, he stretched out his right hand which had subscribed, holding it so stedfast and immoveable in the fire (saying that once he wiped his face with it) that all might see his hand burned before his body was touched. When the fire came to his body, he endured it patiently, standing stedfast always in one place, moving no more than the stake which he was bound to: so long as he could speak, he repeated, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit;" and so, in the flames, he gave up the ghost in 1556.

15. JUEL. He was born at Buden in Devonshire, when he was a student his life was such, that the dean of the college, tho' a Papist, said to him, "I shou'd love thee Juel, if thou wert not a Zuinglian: in thy faith I hold thee a heretick; but surely in thy life thou art an angel;

<sup>a</sup> See his prayer in Fox's Martyrology.

thou art very good and honest, but a Lutheran." About the beginning of queen Mary's reign, the Popish party of that college prevailing, they expelled him the house for his religion: after which he tarried a while at Broadgates-hall, where the fame of his learning drew many scholars to him, and he was chosen to be orator to the university. There he stayed so long, till the adversaries caught him, urging him to subscribe, with dreadful threatnings if he did not comply. Now was he brought into such straits, that consulting with flesh and blood, he set his name to the paper, whereby he approved some articles of Popery. This much obscured the glory of his after sufferings, and nothing promoted his safety; for snares being laid for him, he had certainly been caught, had he not, by God's special providence, gone that very night that he was sought for accidentally a wrong way to London; and so by going out of the way he found safety; but afterwards he repented of this public subscription, by public confession, and contrition.

As he travelled on foot in a snowy night towards London, he was found in the way by Mr. Latimer's servant starved with cold, and faint with weariness, lying on the ground, panting, and labouring for life, by whose means he was preserved; yet when he came to London he found no safety, looking every hour to be delivered up to that cruel butcher Bonner, whereupon he fled from his native country, and wandering beyond sea, was disappointed of all his friends, and means to procure him so much as a night's lodging; yet through God's mercy he came at last to Franckfort, where presently after he made an excellent sermon, and in the end of it, openly confessed his fall in these words, "It was my abject, and cowardly mind, and faint heart that made my weak hand commit this wickedness," which confession was mixed with hearty sighs, and tears, and concluded with earnest supplication, first, to almighty God whom he had offended, and then to his church which he had scandalized; and there was none in that congregation but ever after embraced him as a dear brother, yea, as an angel of God.

From thence he was often invited by kind letters from Martyr to Strasburg, whither at last he went, and where he found many divines and gentlemen who had fled from England, having left their estates, honours, kindred, and friends for the testimony of the gospel of Christ. These English exiles were for a while maintained by the charity of some Londoners, till Gardiner having notice of it, by imprisoning and impoverishing their benefactors, stopped the current of their bounty; yet, in this extremity, the Lord raised up Christopher, prince of Wirtemberg, bountifully to relieve them. Many eminent persons of the reformed churches were also very kind to them. Juel took much pains in composing the differences among his brethren arising from various opinions concerning ceremonies and church-discipline; and those who groaned most under the burden of affliction, he persuaded to patience under the cross of Christ, shutting up all with that sweet sentence, often repeated by him, *Haec non durabunt aetatem*, These miseries will not endure an age. Soon after it pleased God to set queen Elizabeth on the throne of England; in the beginning of whose reign the exiles returned home, and Juel amongst the rest,



Then was he made bishop of Salisbury, tho' with reluctancy, looking upon it as a great burthen. In that office he took much pains, both by preaching and governing, and was very careful to provide faithful pastors, and reform abuses. Besides his publick employments, he read much and wrote much; scarce any year of his bishopric passed, where-in he published not some work. He had a great memory, which by art was raised to a prodigious pitch, for he could readily repeat any thing he had penned after once reading it. Many barbarous and hard names out of a calendar, after once or twice reading at most, and short meditation, he could repeat both forwards and backwards without hesitation. And Sir Francis Bacon reading to him the last clauses of ten lines in Erasmus' paraphrase in a confused and dismember'd manner, he sitting silent a while, on a sudden rehearsed all these broken parcels of sentences the right way and the contrary without stumbling.

All his talents he willingly spent in the service of Christ. Nay he wou'd not be perswaded to give over his labours, when he was grown weak. As he was going to preach at Lacock in Wiltshire, a friend meeting him admonished him to return home for his health's sake, telling him that it was better the people should want one sermon, than be wholly deprived of such a preacher. To whom he replied, "That it best became a bishop to die preaching," alluding to that of Vespasian, *oportet imperatorem stantem mori*: and thinking, probably, upon that of his master, Blessed is that servant whom his Lord when he comes shall find so doing. His text at Lacock, was, 'Walk in the Spirit;' and presently after sermon, his disease growing more and more upon him, he was forced to take his bed. In the beginning of his sickness he made his will, and gave most of his estate to his servants, to scholars, and to the poor of Sarum. The Saturday following, calling all his household about him, he expounded the Lord's Prayer. Wherein he said, It hath always been my desire that I might glorify God, and honour his name by sacrificing my life, unto the death for the defence of his truth: but seeing God hath not granted my desire, yet I rejoyce that my body is exhausted, and worn away in the labours of my holy calling, and now that my hour is at hand, I earnestly desire you to pray for me, and to help me with the ardency of your affections, when you perceive me, through the infirmity of the flesh, to languish in my prayers: hitherto I have taught you, but now the time is come wherein I may, and desire to be taught, and strengthened by every one of you.

Then he desired them to sing the 71st Psalm, himself also joining as well as he could, sometimes also interpreting some words of particular application to himself, and in the end he said, Lord, now let thy servant depart in peace, break off all delays; Lord receive my spirit. Then one standing by, prayed with tears, that if the Lord pleased, he would restore him to his former health; Juel overhearing him, seemed to be offended, and said, I have not lived so, that I am ashamed to live any longer, neither do I fear to die, because we have a merciful Lord. A crown of righteousness is laid up for me; Christ is my righteousness. Father, let thy will be done; thy will, I say, and not mine, which is imperfect and depraved: this day quickly let me see the Lord Jesus: and so, after

a few fervent inward prayers, his soul returned to him that gave it, in 1571.

16. KNOX. He was born in Lothian in Scotland, and studied philosophy and school-divinity at St. Andrews. Afterwards he betook himself to the earnest study of the holy scriptures, by which being, through God's mercy, informed of the truth, he willingly embraced, and truly professed it, and imparted it to others. But the bishops and friars could by no means endure that light which discovered their darkness; and therefore presently raised up a persecution against him, especially cardinal Beaton, who caused him to be apprehended, and cast into prison, purposing to have sacrificed him in the flames; but it pleased God, by a special providence, that he was delivered; upon which he presently fled to Berwick to the English, where he preached the truth of the gospel with great fruit, and defended it against the Popish party; so that his fame spread abroad exceedingly. He preached also at Newcastle, London, and some other places.

King Edward being dead, the persecution raised by queen Mary made him leave England, and go to Franckfort, where, for a time, he preached the gospel to an English congregation: but, meeting with opposition there, both from Papists and others, he went to Geneva, where also he preached to an English congregation, and was very intimate with Calvin, continuing there some years.

In 1559, and of his age 54, the nobility of Scotland, with some others, beginning the reformation of religion, sent for him home. Many of the gentlemen of the country, after they had heard his doctrine, desired also to be made partakers of the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and (through God's mercy) his ministry made such an impression upon their hearts, that they presently refused all society with idolatry, and bent themselves to the uttermost of their power to maintain the truths of Christ. This so vexed the friars, that from all quarters they flocked to their bishops to complain of Knox, so that he was summoned to appear in the Black-friars church of Edinburgh the fifteenth of May following, and accordingly he appeared; thither came also John Erskin of Dun, with divers other gentlemen, which the bishops taking notice of, durst not proceed against him: insomuch that Knox the same day, that he should have appeared before them, preached in Edinburgh to a greater audience than ever he had before. The place where he preached was in the bishop of Dunkeld's great lodging, in which place he preached ten days together, both forenoon and afternoon. Then did the earl of Glencairn solicit the earl Marshall to hear Knox, which he with his counsellor Drummond did, and so liked his doctrine, that he willed Mr. Knox to write to the queen regent somewhat that might move her to hear the word of God. This Knox was willing to do, and wrote that which was afterwards printed, called, a letter to the queen dowager, which was delivered by the earl of Glencairn into her own hands.

Whilst Knox was thus occupied in Scotland, there came a letter from the English congregation which was settled at Geneva in 1555, requiring him, in the name of God, that, as he was their chosen pastor, so he should repair to them for their comfort.

Upon this he took his leave in every congregation, where, before he had preached, exhorting them to fervent prayer, frequent reading of the scriptures, and mutual conference, till God should give them greater liberty.

Shortly after he passed over into France, and from thence went to Geneva; whereupon the bishops of Scotland summoned him; and, for non-appearance, condemned him, and burnt his effigies at the cross of Edinburgh. From which unjust sentence, when Mr. Knox heard of it, he made an appeal, which he directed to the nobility and commons of Scotland.

March the 10th, 1556, certain of the nobility of Scotland, sent this ensuing letter to Mr. Knox at Geneva, "Dearly beloved in the Lord, the faithful that are of your acquaintance in these parts (thanks be to God) are stedfast in the belief wherein you left them, and have a godly thirst and desire, from day to day, to enjoy your presence again; and, if God so move your heart, and give you life, we desire you, in the name of the Lord, that you return to us again into this place, where you shall find all faithful that you left behind you; who will not only be glad to hear your doctrine, but ready to jeopard their estates for the setting forth of the glory of God, as he will permit them. And albeit the magistrates of this country be as yet in the state you left them; yet, at the writing hereof we have no experience of any more cruelty used than was before; but rather believe that God will augment his flock, because we see daily the friars (enemies to Christ's gospel) in less estimation both with the queen's grace, and the rest of the nobility of the realm. This in few words is the mind of the faithful here present, and of others absent. The rest of our minds this faithful messenger will shew you, when he comes to you: Fare ye well in the Lord." Subscribed GLENCAIRN, ERSKINE, ARGYLE, JAMES STUART.

Knox, upon the receipt of this letter, advised with Calvin, and other ministers, who, upon mature deliberation, told him that he could not refuse this call, unless he would shew himself rebellious against God; and unmerciful to his country: whereupon he returned answer, That he would come to them so soon as he could settle the affairs of that dear flock that was committed to his charge.

After his arrival, being to preach at St. Andrews, the bishop presently raised a hundred spearmen, and went thither on the Saturday; whereas, the Lords had none but their servants; and, at the same time, the queen, and her Frenchmen, lay at Faulkland, not far from St. Andrews: The bishop sent word to the Lords, that if John Knox offered to preach the next day, he should be saluted with a dozen of calivers, whereof the most part should light on his nose. The Lords, after long deliberation, sent for Knox, to hear his opinion herein; yet, withal, advised him to forbear for his own safety, and not to preach that day in contempt of the bishop; to which Knox answered, "God is my witness, that I never preached Christ Jesus in contempt of any man, neither do I now intend to present myself in that place, with respect to my own commodity, or for the hurt of any creature: but, to forbear preaching to-morrow, except I be violently withholden, I can-

not, out of conscience, consent to it: for, in this town and church, God was pleased first to call me to the honour and office of a preacher, from which I was driven by the tyranny of the French, and procurement of the bishop, as ye all know well enough. How long I continued prisoner, what torments I sustained in the French Gallies, and what were the sobbs of my heart is now no time to relate: this only I cannot conceal, which many heard me speak when my body was far from Scotland, that I certainly hoped to preach in St. Andrews before I departed this life. And therefore, my Lords, (saith he) seeing God, above the expectation of many, hath brought me to this place where first I was called to the office of a preacher, and from which I was most unjustly removed: I beseech your honours not to hinder me from presenting myself to my brethren: and, as for the fear of danger that may come to me thereby, let no man be solicitous; for my life is in the custody of him whose glory I seek; and therefore I cannot so fear their boasts and tyranny, as thereby to be deterred from doing my duty when God of his mercy offereth me such an occasion; I desire the hand and weapon of no man to defend me, only I crave audience; which, if it be denied me here at this time, I must seek farther where I may have it."

Upon this speech the Lords were fully content that he should supply the place, which accordingly he did without interruption; and his sermons so wrought upon the magistrates and people, that, presently after sermon, they removed all the monuments of superstition and idolatry out of that church.

After some time, through Divine Mercy, the party who were for the reformation prevailed, gospel ministers were placed in several places, and Knox was settled at Edinburgh, where he preached many excellent sermons.

At last, his body and voice growing weak, and finding his end approaching, he importuned the council of the city to provide themselves of one to succeed him. Mr. Lawson, professor at Aberdeen, was the man pitched upon, at whose admission Mr. Knox, though very weak, would needs preach, which he did with great fervency. A day or two before his death, he sent for Mr. Lindsay, Mr. Lawson, and the elders and deacons of the church, to whom he said, "The time is approaching, which I have long thirsted for, wherein I shall be released from all my cares, and be with my Saviour Christ for ever. And now, God is my witness, whom I have served with my spirit in the gospel of his Son, that I have taught nothing but the true and sincere word of God; and that the end that I proposed in my ministry, was, to instruct the ignorant, to confirm the weak, to comfort their consciences who were humbled under the sense of their sins, and borne down with the threatenings of God's judgments. I am not ignorant that many have, and do blame my too great rigour and severity; but God knoweth, that, in my heart, I never hated those against whom I thundred God's judgments; I did only hate their sins, and laboured according to my power to gain them to Christ. That I did forbear none of what condition soever, I did it out of the fear of my God, who hath placed me in the function of his ministry, and I know will bring me to an account. Now,

brethren, for yourselves, I have no more to say, but to warn you to take heed to the flock over which God hath placed you overseers, which he hath redeemed by the blood of his only begotten Son. And you, Mr. Lawfon, fight a good fight, do the work of the Lord with courage, and with a willing mind, and God from heaven bless you, and the church whereof you have the charge; against it (so long as it continues in the doctrine of the truth) the gates of hell shall not prevail."

The next day Mr. Knox gave orders for the making of his coffin, continuing all the day (as he did also through all his sickness) in fervent prayer, crying, Come, Lord Jesus, sweet Jesus, into thy hands I commend my spirit! Being asked, whether his pains were great? he answered, That he did not esteem that a pain which would be to him the end of all troubles, and the beginning of eternal joys. Oft, after some deep meditation, he used to say, Oh serve the Lord in fear, and death shall not be troublesome to you: blessed is the death of those that have part in the death of Jesus.

He was a man not less learned than endued with virtue, a constant preacher of the truth, and a valiant defender of the same through his whole life. His zeal, learning, and courage did notably appear in this example: In 1550, he was called before Tunstall, bishop of Durham, and his doctors, to give an account of his opinion about the mass, where, preaching before them, he did so sharply tax their idolatries, and blasphemies, and by such solid arguments confute the same, that his adversaries were silenced, and had not wherewithal to reply against him. Men of all ranks were present at his burial. The earl of Morton, when the corps was put into the ground, spoke to this purpose: "Here lies the body of him who never feared the face of man." He died 1572.

17. DEERING. He was born in Kent, and preached in London. Having worn out himself with his labours in the work of the Lord, he fell sick, and perceiving his approaching death, he said, in the presence of his friends that came to visit him, "The good Lord pardon my great negligence, that (whilst I had time) I used not his precious gifts to the advancement of his glory, as I might have done; yet I bless God withal, that I have not abused these gifts to ambition and vain studies."

When he had lain still a while, a friend said unto him, that he hoped his mind was employed in holy meditation whilst he lay so silent: to whom he answered, poor wretch, and miserable man that I am! the least of all saints, and the greatest of sinners; yet by the eye of faith I believe in, and look upon Christ my saviour: yet a little while, and we shall see our hope; we shall quickly receive the end of our hope, which we have so much looked for. Afflictions, diseases, sickness, and grief, are nothing but part of that portion which God hath allotted to us in this world. It is not enough to begin for a little while, except we persevere in the fear of the Lord, all the days of our lives; for in a moment we shall be taken away. Take heed therefore that you do not make a past-time of, nor dis-esteem the word of God: blessed are they that whilst they have tongues use them to God's glory. When he drew near to his end, being set up in his bed, some of his friends requested him to speak something to them that might be for

their edification, and comfort. Whereupon, the sun shining in his face, he took occasion from thence to say thus unto them; "There is but one sun in the world, and there is but one righteousness. If I were equal in righteousness to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, yet had I reason to confess myself a sinner, and that I could expect no salvation but in the righteousness of Jesus Christ: and as for my death, I bless God I feel so much inward joy and comfort in my soul, that if I were put to my choice, whether to die or live, I would a thousand times rather choose death than life, if it may stand with the holy will of God." And accordingly, shortly after, he slept in the Lord 1576.

18. GILPIN. He was born at Kentmire in Westmorland of an ancient and honourable family. At first he was not fully instructed in the true religion, but held disputations against Hooper, afterwards bishop of Worcester; as also against Peter Martyr, who was then divinity-lecturer at Oxford; upon the occasion of which dispute, that he might defend his cause the better, he examined the scriptures, and ancient fathers; but by how much the more he studied to defend his cause, the less confidence he began to have therein; and so whilst he was searching zealously for the truth, he began to discern his own errors. Peter Martyr used to say, That he cared not for his other adversaries, but (saith he) I am troubled for Gilpin; for he doth, and speaketh all things with an upright heart; and therefore he often prayed, 'That God would be pleased at last to convert to the truth the heart of Gilpin, being so inclinable to honesty: and the Lord answered his prayer; for, presently after, Gilpin resolved more earnestly to apply himself, both by study, and prayer to search out the truth: and it pleased God accordingly to reveal it unto him; as also, the many errors in Popery, and the necessity of separating from that apostatical church.

In the mean while Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, being his uncle, resolved to send him beyond sea, to visit the churches in foreign parts, and to allow him means for his travels. Whilst he was resolving upon his journey, he had a parsonage given him, which Tunstall persuaded him to keep, to maintain him in his travels; but he, sending for a friend whom he knew to be learned, and religious, resign'd his parsonage to him: for which, when it came to the knowledge of Tunstall, he chid him sharply, and told him, that he would die a beggar; but he excused it, saying, that he could not keep it with the peace of his conscience. But (said the bishop) thou shalt have a dispensation. To whom Gilpin answered, That he feared when he came to stand before Christ's tribunal, it would not serve his turn to plead a dispensation. &c. When he came beyond sea, he went to Lovain, Antwerp, and Paris. And after a while, Tunstall sent again to persuade him to accept of a parsonage, which he would confer upon him: to whom he wrote back, that he had discussed the question with all the learned, especially with the prophets and best writers since Christ's time, so that he was fully resolved, not to burthen his conscience by accepting a charge which he could not take care of, &c.

He returned into England, after three years, in queen Mary's reign, and beheld (to his great grief) the church oppressed with blood and fire;

and being placed by Tunstall in the rectory of Essington, he began sharply to tax the vices which then reigned in the church, and propounded the doctrine of salvation plainly, and soundly, which procured him many enemies, especially of the clergy, who accused him often to the bishop for an heretick: but Tunstall could not endure to shed blood, and therefore dealt mildly with him. At a certain time the bishop's chaplains discoursed with him about Luther, and the sacrament of the altar whom he answered so judiciously, that the bishop hearing their discourse, said to his chaplains, Let him alone, for he hath more learning than you all. The arch-deaconry of Durham, being annexed to the parsonage of Essington, Mr. Gilpin for a time supplied both places, but after a while he wrote to the bishop, desiring that he might have his good will to resign one of them, which the bishop was very angry at, saying, I told thee thou wouldst die a beggar. Not long after the bishop conferred upon him, instead of them, the rectory of Houghton, which was a great parish. He took great care to perform the duties of the ministry amongst his people; and seeing the miserable condition of many places in those parts, where the tythes being impropriated, the souls of the people were starved. He preached often abroad also: and once a year he took a journey into Northumberland, and Tindale, usually about Christmas, because of the opportunity of so many holy days; where he preached to those barbarous people, and distributed money to the poor. Sometimes he was forced to lodge in the snow all night in that journey, at which times he made his man to trot his horses up and down, whilst he bestirred himself that he might not perish with the cold. Once as he returned home, a husbandman, as he was ploughing, had a horse in his team, that fell down and died, for which he made great moan; whereupon Mr. Gilpin caused his man to alight and take off his saddle and bridle, and so to carry them to the next town, and gave his horse to this husbandman. And when by chance he met with any naked poor people, he would pull off some of his own clothes and give to them.

In the town of Houghton, there was a street of poor people, for whose relief, every Thursday, he caused a great pot of meat to be boiled, and distributed amongst them; yea, his charity was such, that he was commonly called, *The FATHER of the Poor*. Yet had he many enemies, who often accused him to bishop Tunstall, but he abhorring to shed blood, was still a defence to him. At last they accused him to Bonner, who sent a messenger to apprehend him, whereof he had notice before-hand, and therefore prepared himself for martyrdom, commanding his steward to provide him a long garment to go to the stake in; but it pleased God, by the sudden death of queen Mary, he was freed from this danger.

In the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign, Mr. Gilpin was exceedingly studious to do all the good that possibly he could; he erected a grammar-school, allowing maintenance for a master and usher, divers of the scholars he also instructed himself, so that in that school were bred many that were exceedingly profitable to the church afterwards; for there was great resort to it, some of which he tabled in his own house, others in the town, yea, upon many poor men's sons he bestowed both meat,

drink, apparel, and teaching. Out of this school were sent daily many to the universities, to divers of which he allowed maintenance; whereby he became well known, and the earl of Bedford much esteemed him, and procured of the queen the bishoprick of Carlisle for him, and sent him his conge d'elire: but Mr. Gilpin returned it back with many thanks, alledging his own insufficiency for the discharge of so great a place. Not long after also he was much importuned to take upon him the provost's place of Queen's-colledge in Oxford, but he refused it.

He was much given unto hospitality, insomuch as William Cecil lord Burleigh returning out of Scotland, drawn with the fame of Mr. Gilpin, came to Houghton, where he was entertained with all due respect; and when he had well observed Mr. Gilpin, and the diligence of his servants, he said at his parting, That he had heard much of Mr. Gilpin, but what he had seen and tried was much more than the report. And when he took his leave of Mr. Gilpin, he requested him, if he had any occasion of suit at the court, that he would make use of him to intercede for him.

He still continued his yearly visit to Northumberland and Tindale, where he was greatly esteemed by the rudest people. Being once amongst them, one had stolen his horses; whereupon hue and cry was sent abroad for Mr. Gilpin's horses: the fellow that had stolen them, hearing they were Mr. Gilpin's, fell a-trembling, and presently carried them back again, humbly craving pardon, and the benediction of father Gilpin; protesting that he feared that he should be thrust into hell, if he should do him any wrong.

Also being to preach at a town called Rothbury, there was a deadly feud between the inhabitants, so that the men of both sides never met at church without bloodshed; and therefore when one party came, the other used to stay away: but Mr. Gilpin being in the pulpit, both parties came to church, one party going into the chancel, and the other into the body of the church, armed with swords and javelins; Mr. Gilpin though somewhat moved with this uncouth spectacle, yet went on in his sermon; but when their weapons began to make a clashing sound, and the one side drew near to the other, he came down from the pulpit, and stepping to the ring-leaders of either faction, laboured to establish a peace, and when he could not prevail in that, yet he got a promise from them to continue the peace whilst he was in the church, and afterwards, whilst he was in those quarters; and so going up again, he spent the rest of the time in disgracing that barbarous and bloody custom. At another time, coming to a church in those parts, before the people assembled, and walking up and down, he spied a glove hanging up in the church; whereupon he enquired of the sexton the meaning of it, who told him that it was a glove of one of the parish, who had hung it up as a challenge to his enemy, with whom he would fight hand to hand, or with any that durst take it down. Mr. Gilpin requested the sexton to take it down; who replied, that he durst not. Then said Mr. Gilpin, Bring me a staff, and I will take it down; which accordingly he did, and put it into his bosom, and in his sermon he took occasion to reprove these inhuman challenges, and reprov'd him in particu-



lar that had hung up the glove; shewing them that he had taken it down, and that such practices were unbecoming Christians, and therefore he persuaded them to peace and mutual charity amongst themselves. After sermon he distributed money among the poor, and as his manner was, visited the prisoners, gave them money, and preached to them, and brought many of them to repentance, and for some that were condemned to die, he procured pardon, and saved their lives.

Not long after, a rebellion was raised in the North by the earls of Northumberland and Cumberland, which Mr. Gilpin having intelligence of, resolved to retire himself from his house for a time: and making a speech to the master and scholars to demean themselves quietly and peaceably in his absence, he went to Oxford, 'till the queen's army, commanded by the earl of Suffex, had dissipated the rebels; but before that army came, the rebels having seized upon Durham, some of them flew out as far as Houghton, and finding Mr. Gilpin's barns full of corn, young cattle fatted, and many things provided for hospitality, they made spoil of all; the chiefest of which plunderers was a knave whom Mr. Gilpin had saved from the gallows. But when those rebels were overthrown, Mr. Gilpin returned home, and begged the lives of many of the simpler sort, whom he knew to be drawn into that rebellion through ignorance.

After the death of bishop Pilkington, who was Mr. Gilpin's faithful friend, there succeeded in the bishoprick of Durham, one Richard Barnes, who was offended with him upon some false suggestions which came thus about: Mr. Gilpin's custom was sometimes to go to Oxford, and once as he was upon his way, he espied a youth before him sometimes walking and sometimes running. Mr. Gilpin demanded of him what he was, and whence he came, and whither he was going; he answered, That he came out of Wales, and was bound for Oxford to be a scholar. Mr. Gilpin thereupon examined him, and finding him a prompt scholar in the Latin, and that he had a smattering in the Greek, asked him if he would go with him, and he would provide for him; the youth was contented: whereupon he took him with him to Oxford, and afterwards to Houghton, where he profited exceedingly both in Greek and Hebrew. Mr. Gilpin at last sent him to Cambridge; and this was that famous Hugh Broughton, who afterwards requited evil for good, by stirring up the bishop of Durham against Mr. Gilpin.

Now the bishop sent to Mr. Gilpin to preach at a visitation, appointing him time and place; but it fell out to be just at that time, when Mr. Gilpin was going his northern journey into Tindale, &c. whereupon he sent his man to the bishop, desiring him to appoint some other to preach the visitation sermon, for that he might have many to do that service, but none would go amongst the borderers if he did it not. When his man had delivered this message to the bishop, the bishop held his peace; which being related to Mr. Gilpin, he said, silence argues consent, and so went on in his journey. But so soon as the bishop heard of it, he suspended him, which Mr. Gilpin at his return much wondred at. Shortly after, the bishop sent to him, to warn him to meet him, and the rest of the clergy at Chester, whither Mr. Gilpin went: and

when the bishop and the clergy were all met in the church, he said to Mr. Gilpin, Sir, I must have you preach to day; Mr. Gilpin desired to be excused, because he was unprovided, and for that he was suspended. But (saith the bishop) I free you from that suspension. Yet Mr. Gilpin replied, that he durst not go up into the pulpit unprovided. You are never unprovided (saith the bishop) you have such an habit of preaching, and commanded him to go into the pulpit forthwith. After a little pause, Mr. Gilpin went up, and began his sermon; and tho' he saw some extraordinarily prepared to write his sermon, yet he proceeded in his application to reprove the enormities in that diocese.

And now (saith he) reverend father, my speech must be directed unto you: God hath exalted you, and will require an account of your government; a reformation of what is amiss in the church, is required at your hands, neither can you henceforth plead ignorance, for behold I bring these things to your knowledge this day, and therefore what evils you shall either do yourself, or suffer by your connivance hereafter, you make your own, &c. His friends hearing him thunder out these things, much feared what would become of him: and after sermon, some of them told him with tears, That now the bishop had that advantage against him, which he had long looked for, to whom he answered, Be not afraid, the Lord God over-ruleth all, and if God may be glorified, and his truth propagated, God's will be done concerning me. After they had dined together, (all men expecting the issue of this business) Mr. Gilpin went to take his leave of the bishop. Nay, (said the bishop) I will bring you home, and so went along with him to his house, and walking there together in a parlour, the bishop took him by the hand, saying, Father Gilpin, I acknowledge you are fitter to be bishop of Durham, than myself to be parson of your church; I ask forgiveness for errors past; forgive me father: I know you have hatched up some chickens that now seek to pick out your eyes; but be sure, so long as I am bishop of Durham, no man shall injure you. Mr. Gilpin and his friends much rejoiced that God had so over-ruled things; that that which was purposed for his disgrace, should turn to his greater credit. His body being quite worn out with pains-taking, and feeling before-hand the approach of death, he commanded the poor to be called together, unto whom he made a speech, and took his leave of them. He did the like also to others, made many exhortations to the scholars, to his servants, and to divers others; and so at the last, he fell asleep in the Lord, in the year 1583.

19. FOX. He was born at Boston in Lincolnshire. When he was at the university, beside his daily studies, he many times in the dead of the night, chose a solitary grove to walk in for his meditations; and in them he suffered many combats and wrestlings, yea many heavy sighs, with tears, and prayers he poured out to almighty God in them. But hereupon grew suspicion of him that he began to dislike the Popish religion, and snares were laid for him; and at last being examined, he was by the college convicted, condemned for an heretick, and expelled the house.

As he one day sat in Paul's church, spent with long fasting, his

countenance thin, and his eyes hollow, after the ghastly manner of dying men, every one shunning a spectacle of so much horror, there came one to him whom he had never seen before, and thrust an untold sum of money into his hand, bidding him be of good cheer, and to accept that small gift in good part from his countryman, which common courtesy had enforced him to offer, and that he should go and make much of himself; for that within a few days new hopes were at hand, and a more certain condition of livelihood. Mr. Fox could never learn who this was; but three days after, the dutchess of Richmond sent for him to live in her house, and to be tutor to the earl of Surrey's children, now under her care. In that family, he continued the remainder of king Henry's reign, and all king Edward's, till the beginning of queen Mary's; when a storm of persecution arising, Fox was sheltered from it by the duke, his scholar. But when he saw all sorts of men troubled for religion's sake, so that there was nothing but flight, slaughters, and gibbets, and that Gardiner bishop of Winchester was his enemy; he began to think of some speedy way for his departure: which, so soon as the duke knew, he dissuaded him from it; affirming, that it was neither agreeable to honour nor modesty, for him to suffer his tutor, so well deserving at his hands, to be taken from him. He told him, that in flying, no kind of misery would be wanting; banishment, poverty, contempt, &c. and that, though these were less evils than death, yet was it not come to such extremity, neither would he suffer that it should; saying, That he had yet wealth, and favour, and friends, and the fortune of his house; and if the mischance prevailed further, that himself would partake of the danger, and make the destruction common: that he remembered with what instructions he had fortified his younger years; neither had he with more attention hearkened thereto, than he would with constancy put them in practice. Yet, when the duke afterward perceived, that he could no longer shelter him from the malice of Winchester, he provided all things necessary for his departure, sending to Ipswich to hire a bark, and whilst all things were making ready, he sent him to a farm-house of one of his servants, with his wife, the companion of his travels, then big with child, who yet would not be persuaded to stay behind him. He had in this bark scarce weighed anchor, when suddenly a rough wind troubled the sea, with so great violence, that the stoutest mariners began to tremble; then followed a dark night, with such hail and rain, that hindered the seamen's work, and took away all possibility of steering any longer by the compass: yet the next day towards evening, with much difficulty they arrived again in the same haven from whence they set out. In the mean time, a pursivant, with a warrant from the bishop of Winchester, had searched the farm, and pursued him to Ipswich; but finding the bark already gone, was returned toward London. This Mr. Fox being informed of, as soon as he came to shore; he presently took horse, as if he would have left the town; but the same night returning, he bargained with the master of the ship, with the first wind to set sail again; and the pilot loosed in the night's silence, as soon as the tide turned, though the sea was rough, and the winds blustering: and two

days after (through the mercy of God) landed him safely at Newport haven. And after some few days refreshing himself at Newport, and those that were with him, they went to Antwerp, and from thence to Basil, which was a common refuge to many English in those times; many of which maintained themselves by overseeing the press. To these Mr. Fox joined himself; and having in his youth been accustomed to hardship, he was able to suffer want, sit up late, and fare hardly. And during his abode there, notwithstanding he was so full of employment, yet he began his history of the acts and monuments of the church, which afterward he completed in his own country. First, he wrote it in Latin, and sent it to Basil to be printed, where it was much esteemed; and afterwards wrote it in English, for the unlearned.<sup>a</sup>

When queen Elizabeth came to the throne, he returned into England with his wife, and two children; and instead of seeking preferment by his great friends, and own deserts, he lived retiredly in his study, prosecuting his work begun at Basil, of writing the Acts and Monuments. The Papists, foreseeing how much this work would tend to their disparagement, and disadvantage, charged the author with falsehood, and feigned some cavils against him, to lessen his credit and authority; which he, by heaping together testimonies for the confirmation of what he had writ, endeavoured to take away. This elaborate work, with vast pains, he finished in eleven years, never using the help of any other man, but writing and searching all the records himself. But by these excessive pains, leaving no time free from study, nor affording to himself seasonably what nature required, he was brought to that pass, that his natural vigour being spent, neither his friends, nor kindred, could by sight remember, or know him. Yea, it caused in him withered leanness of body, yet would he by no means be persuaded to lessen his accustomed labours. From this time he was much spoken of for a good historian; but, shortly after, his other excellent endowments began to appear. He was very charitable, and had an excellent ability in comforting afflicted consciences, so that there resorted to him noblemen, strangers, citizens, and others also, seeking salves to their wounded consciences. He preached often abroad, and went to visit such as could not come to him, and what spare time he had, he bestowed it in prayer, and study; and for his vehement prayers, mingled with groans, he made use of the night's silence for the greater secrecy. There was in him a deliberate, and resolved contempt of all earthly things, especially of pleasures, and for this end, he declined the friendship of illustrious and noble persons. The money which rich men sometimes offered him, he accepted, but returned it back to the poor. He never denied any one who asked for Jesus' sake. And one asking him whether he knew a certain poor man whom he used to relieve; yea, said he, I remember him well. I tell you, I forget lords and ladies to remember such. As he was going along London streets, a woman of his acquaintance met him, and as they discoursed together, she pulled out a bible, telling him, she was going

<sup>a</sup> See an abridgement of this vast work, in the second, third, fourth and fifth volumes of Mr. Wesley's Christian Library.

to hear a sermon; upon which he said to her, if you will be advised by me, go home again. But said she, when shall I then go to church? he answered, when you tell no body of it. He died 1587.

20. GREENHAM. His constant course was to preach twice on the Lord's day, and before the evening sermon to catechise the young people of the parish. His manner also was to preach on Mondays, Tuesdays, and Wednesdays; and on Thursdays to catechise the youth, and again on Fridays to preach to his people; and, that on these week days the people might have the better opportunity to attend upon his ministry, his course was to be in the pulpit in the morning so soon as he could well see. He was so earnest and took such extraordinary pains in his preaching, that his shirt would usually be as wet with sweating as if it had been drenched in water; so that he was forced, so soon as he came out of the pulpit, to shift himself; and this wonderful and excessive pains he took all his time. Twice a day he prayed in his family, and after sermon he used to call his servants together, and examined them of what they heard, and what they remembered. And besides all these his publick labours, he studied very hard, rising every day, both winter and summer, at four of the clock in the morning. He was very eminent for his charity to the poor. His charity to souls was no less exemplary. For having great experience, and an excellent faculty to relieve and comfort distressed consciences, he was sought to far and near, by such as groaned under spiritual afflictions and temptations, all whom he entertained in a friendly and familiar manner without respecting the person of the rich more than of the poor; and the Lord was pleased so far to bless his labours, that, by his knowledge and experience many were restored to joy and comfort, out of unspeakable terrors of conscience. If the Lord had not soon translated him out of this sinful and miserable world, there was none more fit nor willing to have laid down a method to be observed in this so little known art. Many pious and learned friends of his, perceiving his abilities and inclinations this way, did labour much to excite and encourage him in those studies, for such reasons as these. First, That he might hereby the better train up some young men in the like studies, communicating his knowledge and experience to them. Secondly, That he might leave to posterity a commentary of such particular maladies as God had made him instrumental in the cure of, together with the means by him used for effecting of the same. And rules of direction might be framed, partly by his own observation, partly by conference with other learned and experienced persons, whereby in that, and the age following, that art might be brought into some form and method, to the publick good and benefit of many, not only for the fruitful curing, but also for the healthful preventing of such maladies. To such as complained to him, that they were troubled with blasphemous thoughts, his counsel was, that they should not fear them, but abhor them. And when some poor Christians were miserably afflicted with fears that they had committed that unpardonable sin against the Holy Ghost, he used to tell them, that if they would not have committed it, it was certain that they had not fallen into it. He

was a special instrument under God, to encourage and train up many pious and learned young men, in the service of Christ, in the work of the ministry, and to restrain and reduce not a few from errors and schism.

Having continued at Dry-Drayton, about the space of twenty, or one and twenty years he left it, and went from thence to London, about the year 1588. The causes of his removal were, partly the untractableness and unteachableness of that people, amongst whom he had taken such exceeding great pains. For besides his publick preaching and catechising, his manner was to walk out into the fields, and to confer with his neighbours as they were at plough. And partly, he did it upon supposal that he might do far more good in a more public place, by comforting afflicted consciences, wherein the Lord had given him an admirable dexterity. He died 1591.

21. ROLLOCK. He was born in Scotland, and was in such reputation for learning and prudence, that the university at Edinburgh was put under his care immediately after its erection. The young students, who flocked thither from all parts of the kingdom, he instructed in the arts, and governed with severity mixed with clemency, and so educated them in religion, that God blessed his labours accordingly among them; for, indeed he laboured in this above all things, that his scholars should have the marks of true holiness appearing in them. Neither did God frustrate his expectations; for, by his exhortations and divinity-lectures, he so far prevailed even with the looser sort of youths, that he soon brought them into very good order. Every morning, calling the students together, he prayed fervently with them, and one day in the week, expounded some portion of scripture to them, from whence he raised doctrines, exhortations, and comminations, not painted with human eloquence, but grave and weighty, such as might most work upon the minds and hearts of young men. And this he did, not that he wanted true eloquence, but because he despised affected speech in holy things. By these kind of lectures he did more restrain and reform the young men, than by his discipline, and indeed it brought great profit both to master and scholars. Yet, after every lecture, he took notice which of them had committed any faults that week, whom he would so reprove, and lay the wrath of God before their eyes, and withal affect them with shame, that he much reformed them thereby. Yea, such as would neither have been reformed with words nor stripes from others, were so wrought upon by his applying the threatenings of God's wrath, and opening the sweet promises of mercy to them, that usually they broke out into sighs and tears. He took also extraordinary pains to fit such for the work of the ministry as were designed to it; so that the church received very much benefit from thence, having so many able pastors sent forth into it. How much trouble, care, and pains he bestowed in these employments is hardly to be conceived; for he spent the whole day, except dinner-time, either in the contemplation of the chiefest points of religion, or in searching out the sense of hard places of scripture, or in confuting the errors of the Romanists. Besides this, he preached every Lord's day in the church, and that with such fervency,

and evident demonstration of the spirit<sup>a</sup>, that he was the instrument of converting very many unto God. He wrote also commentaries upon the scriptures, which being printed, and going abroad into other countries, Beza meeting with that upon the Romans and Ephesians, wrote to a friend concerning them, that he had gotten a treasure of incomparable value, and that he had not met with the like before for brevity, elegance, and judiciousness: whereupon he thus concludes, I pray God to preserve the author, and daily to encrease his gifts in him, especially in these times wherein the vineyard of the Lord hath so few labourers.

Two noblemen, Patrick Galloway, and David Lindsay, coming to visit him in his sickness, he professed to them the hearty love which he had always born to the king; withal requesting them, from him, to go to him, and to entreat him, in his name, to take care of religion, and to persevere in it to the end, as hitherto he had done, not suffering himself to be diverted from it, either under the hope of enlarging his dominions, or by any other subtil devices of wicked men; and that he would reverence and esteem the pastors of the church as it was meet: for (saith he) that ministry of Christ, though in the judgment of man it seem low and base, yet at length it shall shine with great glory.

When the pastors of Edinburgh came to him, he gave them an excellent exhortation; and perceiving his death approach, he made such a divine and heavenly speech as astonished the hearers. When the physicians were preparing physic for him, he said! *Tu Deus medeberis mihi*; Thou Lord wilt heal me: then he prayed fervently that God would pardon his sins for Christ's sake; professing that all other things, how great soever they seemed to others, yet he accounted them all but dung and dross in comparison of the excellency of Christ's cross; praying further, that he might have an happy departure, and enjoy God's presence, which he had often breathed after, saying, I have hitherto seen but darkly in the glass of thy word; O Lord, grant that I may eternally enjoy thy countenance, which I have so much desired and longed for. He died 1598.

22. PERKINS. He was born at Marston in Warwickshire, and brought up at school, from which he went to Cambridge, where he profited much in his studies. He was very wild in his youth, but the Lord in mercy was pleased to reclaim him, that he might be an eminent instrument of good in his church.

When he first entered into the ministry, being moved with pity to-

<sup>a</sup> Mr. White on the Power of Godliness quoted in Prince's Christian History, N<sup>o</sup> 28. says, "A precious holy man told me of a woman that was six years in desertion; and by God's providence hearing Mr. Rollock preach, she of a sudden fell down, overwhelmed with joy, crying out, "O, he is come, whom my soul loveth!" and so was carried home for dead; and for divers days after she was filled with exceeding joys, and had such pious and singularly ravishing expressions, so fluently coming from her, that

many came to hear the rare manifestations of God's grace in her; and amongst the rest that went to hear, there was one that could write short-hand, who yet a great while stood so amazed at her expressions, that he could not write; at last, recovering himself, he wrote a whole sheet of paper; which this minister read, and told me, that of all the expressions that ever he read in the book of martyrs, or elsewhere, he never read any so high, as the lowest of them."

wards their souls, he prevailed with the jaylor to bring the prisoners (fettered as they were) to the shire-house hard by the prison, where he preached every Lords-day to them; and it pleased God so to prosper and succeed his labours amongst them, that he was the happy instrument of converting many of them unto God. This his practice being once known, many resorted to that place out of the neighbour-parishes to hear him: so that from thence he was chosen to St. Andrews parish in Cambridge, where he preached all his life after.

When he was catechist in Christ's-colledge, in expounding the commandments, he applied them so home to the conscience, as was able to make his hearers hearts fall down, and their hairs almost to stand upright. But in his old age he was more mild, often professing, that to preach mercy was the proper office of the ministers of the gospel. His manner was to go with the prisoners to the place of execution, when they were condemned, and his labours this way were sometimes crowned with remarkable success. He died 1602.

23. CARTWRIGHT. He was of a very laborious and indefatigable spirit. It was his meat and drink to be doing the will of his heavenly father; so that, besides all his pains in writing, and in the hospital, he preached every sabbath-day in the morning about seven o' clock in the lower parish of Warwick, and when he could be suffered, in the upper parish, in the afternoon; besides which he preached a lecture on saturdays in the afternoon in the upper church, and this he did of his own free will without demanding or receiving one penny for his pains. And whereas he was sometimes suspended from preaching in the churches, his manner was at those times to preach in the hospital, whither many resorted to hear him, though they were sure to be brought to trouble for the same.

Indeed all his ambition was to advance the kingdom and cause of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to promote God's glory. It was the great joy and rejoicing of his heart to hear of the welfare and prosperity of the churches at home and abroad; for this he earnestly and daily prayed, and when he heard any ill tidings, with Nehemiah he sat down, and mourned, and fasted, and prayed before the God of heaven; so that all that conversed with him might easily discern that nothing did affect him in any degree like the good or ill tidings of the church's state.

He was frequent in prayer every day, and in his younger years hath risen many times in the night to pray; and as his labours were very great in the work of the ministry, so it pleased the Lord to make them very successful for the conversion and confirmation of many, and for terror and restraint unto others.

There was a woollen-draper in Warwick, who made a profession of religion, but many times broke out into scandalous practices; Mr. Cartwright on a time walking with him in his garden, dealt plainly and faithfully with him, rebuking him for his miscarriages, and shewing him the dishonour that he brought to God and the gospel thereby; this so much wrought upon him that he presently sunk down, and being carried home, died within a few hours after. Mr. Cartwright died 1603.



## C H A P. IV.

*Some Instances of those in Italy, France, and Holland, viz. 1. Martyr. 2. Vergerius. 3. Viretus. 4. Junius. 5. Wallaeus.*

1. **M**ARTYR. He was born at Vermile in Florence, in the year 1500. After he had given proof of his learning, diligence, and prudence, he was made governor of the college at Naples. In that city it pleased God, that he began to attain to more light and knowledge of the truth; for by his study of the scriptures, through the illumination of the holy Spirit, he began to take notice of the errors and abuses which were crept into the church; whereupon (God inclining his heart thereto) he began to read some Protestant authors, and got Bucers commentaries upon the evangelists, and his annotations upon the Psalms; as also Zuinglius, *De vera et falsa religione*: and *De providentia Dei*, &c. by which, he confessed afterwards, that he profited very much. He daily also conferred with some friends who were addicted to the study of the reformed religion, to the mutual edification of both parties: the chief of these were Benedict Cusanus, his old friend: Anthony Flaminus, and John Valdesius, a noble Spaniard, who after he had embraced the truth spent his time in Italy, especially in Naples; where, by his life and doctrine, he had gained many to Christ, and amongst those, divers learned men and some of the nobility, as Galeacius Caracciolus, marquis of Vico, and the lady Isabella Manricha, who was afterwards banished for the sake of the gospel.

A church being thus, by God's providence, gathered in Naples, Martyr joined himself to it, and being desirous to impart that light to others which God had revealed to him, he began to expound the first epistle to the Corinthians, and that with great fruit: for not only the fellows of his college resorted to it, but many bishops and noble-men. But when he came to the words of Paul, in 1 Cor. iii. 13, 14. "Every man's work shall be made manifest, for the day shall declare it, because it shall be revealed by fire," &c. and had interpreted them contrary to the received opinion, he stirred up many adversaries against himself: for it is commonly thought that these words imply a purgatory, whereas Martyr shewed, out of the ancient fathers, that they could not be so understood. But such as were addicted to the Pope, and their bellies, could by no means endure this interpretation of his; knowing that if purgatory were overthrown, a great part of their profits by masses, and indulgences, would presently cease: whereupon they accused Martyr, and so far prevailed, that his lecture was put down; but Martyr refused to obey this sentence as unjust, and trusting to the goodness of his cause, appealed to the Pope, and at Rome, by the assistance of his friends he overcame his adversaries: for at that time he had there potent friends, as cardinal Gonzaga, Gasper Contarene, Reinold Poole, Peter Bembus, and Frederick Fregosius, all learned men, and gracious with the Pope; who also acknowledged, that the church needed some reformation.

Not long after, in a public convention of the superiours of his order,

he was made prior of a monastery in Luca. Some, out of love, preferred him to this place; others, thinking that it would be his ruin; for there was an ancient grudge between Florence and Luca: the latter, suspecting that the Florentines sought to enslave them. But Martyr, by his excellent learning and virtue, did so bind the hearts of those of Luca to him, that, contrary to the expectation of his adversaries, himself being a Florentine, was no less esteemed at Luca, than if he had been born amongst them. Whereupon they earnestly desired the superiors of his order, that by no means he might be removed from them. Martyr thus continuing at Luca, had in his college many learned men, and many hopeful youths, amongst whom he settled such a discipline, as might most advance holiness of life, religion, and learning. He took care also, that the younger sort should be instructed in the three languages: for which end, he had Paul Lacisus of Verona, to read Latin; Celsus of the noble family of the Martinengi, to read Greek; and Immanuel Tremellius, to read Hebrew to them: and that the younger sort, together with the Greek, might suck in divinity, himself daily expounded Paul's epistles to them, and afterwards required them to read over the same; and every night before supper, he publicly expounded one of David's psalms. Very many out of the city resorted to his lectures, of the nobility and senators. And that he might the better plant religion in that common-wealth, he preached to them every sabbath. And what success his ministry had, may be discerned by this, that in one year's space, after his departure out of Italy, eighteen fellows of that college, left their places, and the papacy, betaking themselves to the reformed churches; amongst whom was Celsus, Martinengus (afterwards pastor of the Italian church in Geneva,) Zanchy, Tremellius, &c. Many of the citizens also of Luca, went into a voluntary exile, where they might enjoy the gospel with peace and safety. Afterwards Martyr went into England, the occasion of which was this; King Henry the eighth being dead, and his son Edward the sixth succeeding, by the advice of the protector Edward duke of Somerset, and Cranmer, he abolished the popish religion, and reformed the church according to the word of God; for which end he thought best (that a godly ministry might proceed from the same) to reform the universities. And Martyr being at this time famous for his learning and skill in affairs, was judged most fit for this employment; whereupon Cranmer by the command of the king, sent for him over; and in 1547, by the consent of the senate of Strasburgh, he went into England, Bernardine Ochine accompanying him, who also was sent for by Cranmer.

At their arrival Cranmer, entertained them for a time in his house, using them with all curtesie and humanity; and after a while, the king sent Martyr to Oxford, to be professor of divinity, where he first began to expound the first epistle to the Corinthians, because therein were many heads laid down which concerned the controversies of those times. He was much prized by the pious young king, highly esteemed by Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Hooper, and all that loved the truth in the university. Cranmer made much use of him, and his advice about reforming the church, and settling the government of it: but when those

bloody days came, under queen Mary, wherein religion was eradicated, the church laid waste, and holy men shut up in prisons, Martyr also was forbidden the exercise of his place; and commanded not to set a foot out of his own doors, nor to carry any thing thence: whereupon he presently wrote to his friends, shewing what danger he was in, pleading the public faith given to him when he was sent for by king Edward the sixth; and, by this means, leave being given him, he came from Oxford to London, repairing immediately to Cranmer, his entire and old friend: about which time a report was spread, that Cranmer wavered, and was ready to change his religion; which he hearing of, set forth a writing, wherein he professed himself ready to maintain the doctrine of religion which was authorized by king Edward, to be agreeable to the word of God, and the doctrine of the apostles: and herein he was encouraged by Martyr, whom Cranmer chose to join with him in defending the same against all opposers: but this was denied, and Cranmer sent to the tower. Martyr was dismissed, and returned to Strasburg, and after some time embraced a call to Zurich, where having worn out himself with his indefatigable labours, and having his spirits much exhausted with grief for the afflicted condition of the churches of France, he fell sick of a fever, made his will, and to his friends that visited him, he spake cheerfully and comfortably, telling them that his body was weak, but inwardly he enjoyed much peace and comfort. He made before them an excellent confession of his faith, concluding thus, "They that teach otherwise to the withdrawing men from God, God will destroy them." Then he gave them his hand, and bid them farewell, and commending his soul to God, he slept in the Lord 1562.

2. VERGERIUS. He was long employed by the pope, and in great favour with several princes: but, at last, he fell off from the church of Rome by this strange providence; the pope being to make some cardinals, intended to make Vergerius one; but some suggested, that he had been so long in Germany, that he smelled of a Lutheran, which made the pope to alter his purpose. When Vergerius was informed of this by cardinal Ginucius, to whom the pope had told it, he was wonderfully astonished; and, that he might purge himself, went into his own country, purposing to write a book with this title, Against the Apostate Germans. But it pleased God, that whilst he read over his adversaries books, with an intent to confute them, himself was converted by them: whereupon, casting off all desires of a cardinalship, he retired himself to his brother, John Baptista, bishop of Pola, and communicating his thoughts to him, asked his advice. His brother at first was much surprized, and bewailed his condition; but, after a while, was persuaded by him to read, and study the scriptures, especially in the point of justification by faith, whereby it pleased God that he also saw the Popish doctrines to be false, and so they both became zealous preachers of Christ to the people of Istria, diligently inculcating the wonderful benefits which we have by Christ, and shewing what works they be that God requires of us, that hereby they might reduce the people to the pure worship of God.

In Padua, he was a spectator of the miserable condition of Francis

Spira; which so wrought upon him, that he resolved to leave his country, and all his outward comforts, and go into voluntary exile into Rhetia, where he preached the gospel sincerely, till he was called from thence to Tubing, by Christopher duke of Wirtemberg, where he died 1565.

3. VIRETUS. He was born in Switzerland, and there bestowed most of his labours. But he likewise assisted in the work of the reformation in France. He was very learned, of a sweet disposition, and so exceeding eloquent, that he drew many to be his hearers who were no friends to religion; and they were so chained to his lips, that they never thought the time long wherein he preached, but always wished his sermons longer. At Lions, which was a populous city, he preached in an open place, and turned some thousands to the truth and faith in Christ; yea, some that passed by, with no purpose to hear his sermon, yet did he so work upon them, that they neglected their other business to hear-ken to him. At that time France enjoyed those three excellent preachers, Calvin, Farell, and Viret: Calvin was famous for his learning, Farell for his earnestness, and Viret for his eloquence. He died 1571.

4. JUNIUS. He was born in France, of a noble family, 1545. As he was reading over *Tully de legibus*, there came a certain man to him, using the words of the epicure, *Nihil curare Deum, nec sui, nec alieni*; that God cared for nothing: and he so pressed it with such subtle arguments, that he prevailed with him to suck in that damnable principle, and so he gave up himself to vile pleasures for a year, and somewhat more. But the Lord suffered him not to continue longer therein: for, first in a tumult in Lyons, the Lord wonderfully delivered him from imminent death; so that he was compelled to acknowledge a Divine Providence therein: and his father hearing the dangerous ways that his son was misled into, sent for him home, where he carefully and holily instructed him, and caused him to read over the New Testament, of which himself writes thus, *Novum Testamentum aperio, exhibet se mihi adpectu primo augustissimum illud caput: in principio erat verbum, &c.* When I opened the New Testament, I first lighted upon that majestic place in John's first chapter, "In the beginning was the word," &c. I read part of the chapter, and was suddenly convinced that the divinity of the argument, and the majesty and authority of the writing did exceedingly excel all the eloquence of human writings. My body trembled, my mind was astonished, and I was so affected all that day, that I knew not where nor what I was. "Thou wast mindful of me, O my God, according to the multitude of thy mercies, and calledst home thy lost sheep into thy fold!" And from that day forward he fervently bent himself to the study and practice of piety, to the great joy and comfort of his father. He died 1602.

5. WALLAEUS<sup>b</sup>. He was born in Ghent 1573, and studied under Junius and Gomarus. The states of Zealand observing that their young students began to fall into some loose courses, made choice of Wallaeus for overseer of all those in Zealand, with a command, that all their youth

a See Bayle, Art. Junius.

b The life of Wallaeus, in order of time, | but this may be as proper a place for it in  
belongs rather to the seventeenth century, | other respects.

should be wholly guided in their studies by him: whereby there was a great reformation, not one of a hundred proving wicked in his life. The East India company also growing solicitous for the salvation of the poor Indians, and observing that they could get no ministers to go thither, but such as could get no places in the Low-countries, and which many times were either insufficient, or scandalous; they resolved therefore to erect a seminary, from whence, at their pleasure, they might draw forth pastors for those parts: for which end they consulted with the professors at Leyden, and observing that Wallaceus was more zealous than the rest in promoting it, they chose him to be overseer of that seminary. But he, judging himself unable to undergo so many offices, refused it; yet at the importunity of the curators of the university of Leyden, and by the persuasion of his colleagues, he was at last prevailed with, and undertook it: whereupon the students for India were brought into his family, where they were dieted, and directed in their studies. Besides their other studies, he caused them every day to construe to him a chapter out of the Hebrew Bible, and another out of the Greek Testament, whereby they became skilful in the languages, and familiarly acquainted with the sacred scriptures. Twice also in the week, he caused them to read and dispute of his Enchiridion of the reformed religion, and directed them in the making of their sermons: and the forwardest of them he directed how they might infuse the principles of the Christian religion into the Heathens, how they should instruct them, gather a church, and govern the same. Out of this seminary, in a few years were sent forth twelve ministers, famous for learning and piety; to whom India oweth almost all her knowledge which she hath in the reformed religion. He never hunted after the favour of great men, thereby to enrich himself: he only desired their favour so far as might be fit for him, and advantageous to the church. If any thing was spoken in his presence which he judged prejudicial to the church, he always strongly opposed it, not fearing therein the displeasure of great men; and in the court, amongst the prince of Orange's servants, he would not suffer the name of God to be taken in vain. He died 1639.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> For a more particular account of the reformers (those above mentioned, and a great many more) see Clark, Melchior Adams and Fox, or the abridgement of Fox in Wesley's Christian Library. See also Vitringa on the Revelation, concerning the first and second period of the reformation.

## C H A P. V.

*Remarks upon the Reformation.—The success with which it went on.—Human power and policy could not overthrow it.—Many gave a remarkable testimony to it on their death-beds, going off with triumphant joy and foretastes of Heaven.*

[ From the Fulfilling of the Scriptures. Part iii. ]

**T**HUS those blessed instruments of the reformation, by pureness, by long-suffering, by the word of truth, by the armour of God on the right hand and on the left, did oppose themselves to the adverse party; thence were those famous meetings for publick disputation, which are recorded at large in the late histories of the church, where the truth did so convincingly justify itself with that prevalence and authority on the consciences of men, not only to break the adversaries confidence and force the weapons out of their hands, but to enforce an open confession of many, yea to a publick reformation also by the magistrates in most considerable cities, and this without tumult or blood. As, 1. At Zurich 1525, set down at length by Hottinger in his ecclesiastic history, with that marvellous change that then followed in abolishing the mass, idolatrous images, and setting up the true worship of God. 2. At Baden 1526, whereon followed such a publick reformation through that country, that abbacies and monasteries were given up, and their revenues applied to colleges, and such publick uses. 3. At Bern, December 17th 1527, where the senate and most of the neighbouring clergy were present, was that solemn publick appearance for the truth by dispute, whereon followed (after by the preached gospel, for sometime the truth had been getting ground in the consciences of many) such a total abolition of popery, and setting forward an effectual reformation, as the day and year was by public order set in golden letters upon a pillar. 4. That memorable and solemn meeting at Geneva, May 30th 1534, where Farelus and Viret, with some others of the protestant church there, on the one side, and some of the most learned of the Popish doctors on the other, did in that great confluence meet; where after much serious dispute and conference, such was the blessed power and authority of the truth upon the consciences of men, as not only tended to a more solemn and universal reformation through that city, (with an inscription of the year and day, by a publick decree, upon a plate of brass) but, which was most remarkable, those adversaries themselves, who most opposed in the dispute, particularly Chappusius, a learned Dominican, and others were so overcome, that by a rare example of candor and ingenuity, they made public confession of the truth. This may be read at length in that excellent discourse of Spanhemius, called *Geneva Restituta*, and several other writers.

II. That hath been with the utmost evidence made clear, (and a truth of singular use it is for the church's support) that no human power or force could ever yet undo that blessed interest of the reformed religion, though put forth to the utmost against the same, but that it hath still

in these late times gained more ground by the most formidable assaults and opposition, than by the greatest calms. About which I shall here offer a few particulars to be considered. 1. What a remarkable issue all the councils, expence and cruelty of Philip the second of Spain had, to bear down the rising of the gospel in the Netherlands, which at last by the marvellous appearance of God for his church there, did most effectually tend to the establishment of the United Provinces; and as was then observable, the rise and outward flourish of that Common-wealth, and their owning the interest of God did most visibly go together. 2. How immediate the appearance of God was for counteracting that formidable and united confederacy of the catholick league in France at that time to the conviction of the world, and how all their essays and councils did at last resolve in their own ruin. 3. I shall here give Erasmus's observation upon this, in one of his epistles, "At Brussels two suffered for the reformed religion; would you know (says he) the effect thereof? That city which had been most free of those, found quickly such to spread amongst them most discernibly: yea, what shall I say, both here, and in Holland, and every where, where violence is once exercised against those of the reformed religion, it tends but to their further encrease." To which I would add some words of Farellus in a letter to Zuinglius in the year 1525, which are indeed weighty. *Si unquam fese obtulit laetitiae et gaudii ratio propter persecutiones, ejectiones ob Christum, nunc quam maxime: nam quid quaeso intentatum relinquunt impii? scire velim vel unam rimulam superesse, qua pios aggredi possunt, quam non sunt persecutati? verum si Deus pro nobis, quis contra nos?* that is, "Never was there more true cause of joy and gladness than now under the saddest sufferings for Christ, for what hath the adversary left untried? is there the least chink accessible, by which they might trouble and assault any of the saints in this time, which they have not narrowly searched? but if the Lord be for us, who can be against us?" 4. I shall but further mention for this some words of the famous historian Thuanus in his dedication of his history to Henry the fourth, "We are sufficiently taught by experience, that neither the sword, fire, nor banishment, can in the least be effectual against the reformed religion, but tends more to put it forward. In this very kingdom we see the more they are pursued, the more their number and authority increases, and rather seems to lose ground when they have most outward peace."

III. The Lord hath so appeared in these late ages of the church, that there is hardly any kingdom, or place, where popery hath this day its power and advantage, but there also hath the truth had an eminent triumph, and a public witness given to it, sealed with the blood of the saints. Witness the account the church martyrologies give of the sore persecutions in Spain, where, at one time in Seville, eight hundred Christians were under inquisition for the truth, and twenty burned in one fire, with a peculiar relation both of the torment and constancy of such, in many notable instances; as that of Julian, who had been most instrumental to get many bibles (that were printed in Germany, in the Spanish language) both conveyed to, and spread through Spain; but being taken at last, was thrown into prison, where he lay three

years, for the most part laden with fetters; yet neither pain, threatenings, nor extremity of the rack, did in the least cause him to faint; but when he returned from the rack, he would say to his fellow-sufferers, "they depart vanquished, and fly with shame;" and at his death, with a cheerful countenance, he exhorted those that were to suffer with him, to be of good comfort, "since now was the hour for them to witness for God, and his truth, before men; and within a few hours, we shall have him to witness for us, and triumph with him for ever." Likewise Pontius, a learned and pious man, who with great resolution suffered for the truth there. And that excellent young man, called Ferdinando, a member of the congregation at Seville, who endured the torments of the rack so cheerfully, though in that manner shaken, that he could not go, but was dragged into the prison, and after to the fire. Besides many others, divers women, some of them of great quality, who sealed the truth there with their blood. Also what a conspicuous victory did the truth obtain in Italy, by means of those famous witnesses, who suffered there, both in Ferrara and Venice, amongst whom was Anthony Ricetto, to whom the Venetian senators offered to free his estate of the mortgage it was under, besides his liberty, if he would retract his confession; but he refused. Franciscus Sega, and Spinola also, persons of note there, who resisted unto death for the truth. Yea at Rome itself, besides others, we have these notable instances: one, of that rare gentleman Algerius, who sometimelived at Padua, whose relation given by himself, of the unexpressible comforts and joys he had in prison, is at large set down in our martyrologies. He was carried at last to Rome, where after many assaults and persuasions to recoil, he most stedfastly received death, and was burned. Also Johannes Mollius, an eminent preacher of the word, whose public confession, and appearance for the truth, was at last sealed with his blood in the same place. I shall but add that passage further of Bartholomew Fontius, who was called from Venice to Rome, upon the pope's public faith given for his safety. But after his resolute adherence to the truth there, and confession thereof, was most cruelly put to death in the year 1538, as that account given in a letter to Bullinger doth at more length shew; as also, that after his death, there were many even at Rome, remarkably stirred up to appear for the truth.

IV. That swift progress and conquest, which the truth then had in that great day of the gospel's triumph, and what interest it got for the fixing of those famous plantations of the church through much of Germany, France, Switzerland, Holland, Denmark, the Low-Countries, with Britain and Ireland, in less than forty years; in which these things are observable. 1. How the truth of the gospel then came not in word only, but in power, and in the Holy Ghost, and in much assurance, 1 Thess. i. 5. assurance of faith and understanding of the truth, and with that seal of the greatest enlargement of joy and comfort; so as the receiving of the word in much affliction was with joy of the Holy Ghost, ver. 6. 2. That in this blessed way of the reformed religion, now owned and professed, the church did receive the Spirit, and so innumerable a company in these last ages were sealed thereby, which is



that undoubted seal and attestation from the Lord, of his own truth and doctrine, so expressly promised to his church under the New Testament. 3. That this high spring-tide of the power and efficacy of the word, was after so sad and visible a restraint for many ages, while antichristian darkness had overspread the visible church; and what of the work of the Spirit was then known, was like a private seal on the hearts of the godly, in those times of sackcloth and latent condition in the wilderness; not in any such way, as a public confirmatory witness to the truth, and with that evidence and demonstration of the Holy Ghost, before the world, as hath been now since the reformation. After this blessed day once began to dawn, that the Lord did so visibly rent the heavens, and caused the mountains flow down at his presence, with so solemn a down-pouring of the Spirit following the gospel, as there could be no standing before it, but cities and nations were subjected to so marvellous a power, to the embracing of the truth. 4. That this great work of God was not for a short time, but for many years. Wherever the truth came, it did most discernibly accompany the same, not only to affect and convince, by some transient flash upon the spirits of men, but to that solid and effectual change, as visibly transformed them into that blessed image of Christ, by the Spirit of holiness, so as it was given, both to believe, and suffer for his name.

V. Besides that which hath been shewed, of those great confirmations given to the Protestant cause and doctrine of the reformed churches, in these latter times, yea, thus also, to the truth of Christianity, it being sure the Protestant religion is nothing else but this; it may be further strengthening, and a sweet remark, in this sad and shaking time, to consider with what brightness and lustre so many have gone off the stage, of such as have been most serious and fervent in the reformed religion in these after times, since that great fury and persecution from antichrist hath been restrained; whose inexpressible peace and joy with some extraordinary glances of that blessed estate they were entering into, could not be hid even from the more careless sort of spectators, where the following things are observable. 1. That complacency and joy their souls had in the truth they had professed, and their finding the witness of their conscience, and the approbation of God herein so sweet a feast, whilst they were turning their face to the wall, so that it might be seen that their inward joy and peace did thus far exceed their outward pain, and was more sensible to them than their sickness. 2. That surely the ground on which such a confidence and serenity of spirit was founded, must be something above nature, and such as was able to bear out under the greatest storm and assault, as all might see, here could be no shew or counterfeit. 3. That thus even here, a more near and sensible correspondence with heaven is known to some, than most seem to be aware of; yea, such as (except men shut their eyes) it might be easy to discern, how these when dying have had the vail in an extraordinary manner drawn by, and been admitted to some sight of that which themselves could not possibly express, and to know something of an actual possession, and those foretastes of the glory they were entering into, more than can be conceived at a distance. 4. How discernibly

this abundant entrance, and fulness of peace, enjoyed in the dying hours of the saints hath followed their close adherence to the way of the Lord, and the Protestant doctrine now under such reproach. It is true, that not in a like manner is the Lord's dealing with the choicest of his people, but such who have shined brightly in their day, may go off the stage silent and with little appearance. I have known some, of whom I write this with the greatest certainty, how their continued walk and practice did speak to all, the truth of serious godliness, the blessed finishing of whose course hath had some discernible restraint as to any such appearance, whilst the Lord's condescending with such a visible gale of sense, and triumphing joy to others in the close of their life, may be understood more with respect to some publick use, than for themselves, as a dying testimony and seal of the saints to the truth. And I hope it may be for advantage and edification to set down here some special and weighty instances, to commend the blessed way of the Lord, and for confirming others therein; whose last testament and dying breath, (whilst their words are of more weight than at other times) did solemnly witness to his truth and faithfulness, by putting their seal thereto; yea, such instances as the world may see, and have the conviction hereof enforced by this short touch, what is that blessed fruit and gain, which follows upon serious godliness, when once it comes to an acting the last scene of death; what another appearance these have; and that here must be something above nature, yea, what rare endowments and parts these had, as well as piety, who with such sweet and pleasant fragrancy have their remembrance thus transmitted, that we may see also what choice and excellent persons have followed, and been brought forth since the reformation from Popery, of such various degrees and employments, bearing one and the same witness to the truth.

VI. The first instance I shall set down is of JOACHIMUS CURAEUS, a German physician, who died in the year 1573, a man of singular piety, and of great learning also. He had his days shortened by a burning fever, in which, as in the whole of his former life, did appear the subjection of his soul to the Divine Will, yet with most fervent breathings of love towards Christ; and, as 'tis usually found, there was a most sweet concord betwixt his death and his former walk and practice. Amongst many remarkable speeches he then had, which are at length recorded by Melchior Adams, I shall here mention the following: "I am oppressed, Lord; but to me it is enough that thy hand hath done it; my body now suffers because of sin, but my soul is raised and comforted with the assurance of eternal life; I will wrestle with Jacob until the brightness of thy light appear to me. Come Lord Jesus, and let all that love thee, say, Come, and he that loves thee not, let him be Anathema Maranatha. Thou knowest, who searchest the heart, I love thee; with thee I shall be at the beginning of this new year, and shall be satisfied with thy sight, and drink of the wine of that everlasting joy in thy Father's house, where are many mansions, and one also is for me there." And then had these words, which I chuse rather to set down in the Latin, having such a sweet emphasis in that language, *Jam meum*

*pectus ardet conspectu vitæ æternæ, cujus vere sentio, in me, initia.*  
 I have learned to know thee, and with some aim to have others know thee aright; Son of God, acknowledge me also, and take me into thy embracements. To come to thee, my soul, with desire, leaps for joy; and because it is yet withheld, I think the time long; I desire to be dissolved. O dissolve me, that I may be with thee; I am over-wearied here; I groan for that dwelling above, which thou hast revealed to me as the travelling man in a dark night looks for the sun, so do I earnestly look after the brightness of that light which is in the sight of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost. Now, when my breath and spirits are to fail, let, O blessed Saviour, thy Spirit speak and intercede in my soul for me with unutterable groans! I shall see my Saviour in the flesh, who is exalted at the right-hand of the Father, and there bless him for all the blessings I have had from him. Thou wilt also put a guard to this body, even thy holy angels to keep my dust and bones, which were and shall be for ever the dwelling-place of the Holy Ghost; for it is impossible this flesh and mass of my body, which hath been quickened by the outletting and communion of the Spirit, and thus ingrafted into the body of Christ, can be annihilate, or be for ever continued in the state of death, as a dead mass; but thou, the fountain of life, shalt require from the earth this thine own image, even out of the smallest crumbs and ashes that are there; and, by sending forth thy Spirit again, thou wilt build this up as a glorious and living body, that it may be for a dwelling to thy Spirit to dwell in for ever. There we shall follow the Lamb wheresoever he goeth. *O pulchrum Duce[m] et Divinum!* There we shall sing a new song. Let us rejoice, Hallelujah! O come, let us go forth to meet our Redeemer! Our conversation is in Heaven; even in this life we must begin to know an eternal life, and follow in that order Christ hath appointed. We shall be clothed upon, and not found naked; and he who is the beloved Lamb of God, who taketh away the sins of the world, shall lead us to the fountains of living water, and wipe all tears from our eyes. What the eye hath not seen, nor the ear heard, nor hath entered into the hearts of men, is prepared for the lovers of God. This earthly life is but death; but that is life, indeed, which Christ hath begun in my soul; and now I live, not I, but Christ liveth in me; therefore I will praise him. O blessed soul, where Jesus Christ hath his seat, who doth lead and rule in all our motions and actions. I see the Heavens now open. "Now let thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation." Thou Jesus Christ art my resurrection and life. How lovely are thy tabernacles, O Redeemer! Keep my soul, that it suffer not hurt from that horrible dragon the devil! Let it be bound up in the bundle of the living, and my journey be to those who now live an immortal and heavenly life." Thus is there in part a touch of the breathings of that blessed man before his close, which the witnesses thereof shew was but some part of what he expressed, and this with greatest candour and fervency. And said again, a little before his death, "I die in the Lord, who is my life, and

a That is, "My breast burns now at the sight of eternal life, the beginnings of which I do really feel within me."

b O Glorious Divine Leader!

in acknowledgment, faith and recumbency on Jesus Christ. O sweet glory and desirable righteousness! O pleasant change and translation from sin into a state of holiness, from darkness into light, and from death into life!" Many choice and faithful witnesses then present declared that they were exceedingly comforted by him, but needed not comfort him, in whom so singular a desire and breathing towards eternal life, with such establishment in the faith, was discernible to all; and thus, at the close, he was heard to say, "Now I die, and have got admission, as with old Simeon; I die witnessing to the truth of the prophets and apostles, and adhering to the Augustine Confession, blessing the Lord, that, in his marvellous goodness, made the light of the gospel to return after such darkness."

2. SEBALDUS MUNSTERUS, one excellently versed in the laws, who made it his study to have his knowledge therein subservient to the public good, and making peace amongst others, not his own private interest. At his death he shewed much patience; being seized on by the plague, and a few hours before his close, shewing to some friends about him these dreadful marks of the disease, that were broke forth in his hands and legs, he said to them, "O what precious marks are those which Christ hath put upon me, and how pleasing are they? Do not loath at such a sight; for, I am now putting on my wedding apparel, and I am going to enjoy that heavenly feast with Christ for ever, yea, even in this sad dress, I sit to that glorious assembly of the spirits of the just above. Thus, as it were, triumphing, and full of joy, he left the world, when he had got a clear sight of that which was before him. He died at Wittenberg about the year 1540.

3. FRANCISCUS BURGARDUS, a German lawyer, a fervent Protestant, most dear to Luther and Melancton, both for his singular learning and piety, of whom that account is given, that his family did represent both a church and academy, so as it may be questioned, whether serious piety, or knowledge and prudence, did most shine forth? Upon occasion of the complaints of some, what hazard then seemed to attend the truth, he was often heard to say, that he would much rather chuse death, and the greatest sufferings, than in the smallest point recede from that gospel about which he was persuaded in his heart. At his death he thus also expressed himself, when his sickness was very fore: "I esteem the afflictions of this present time not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed; and though I shall now walk in the valley of the shadow of death, I will not fear, since thou art with me, whose rod and staff have comforted me." And, with the highest assurance of eternal blessedness, did thus part with time at Wittenberg 1560.

4. JOANNES CLOTZIUS, counsellor of law to the Landgrave of Hesse, and after by him made his chancellor, though with great aversion thereto, as reckoning that the greater dignity had the greater weight of cares following it. One seriously godly in his life, at death had these expressions: "The whole of my life is placed in God. O let thy servant depart in peace! Thou art my sure anchor, my salvation, and only refuge to me! Now the honours of the world, and all momentary things, yea, this life itself is distasteful, in respect of those eternal joys, and that

kingdom above, for which I breathe, and with joyful mind hasten, even there where those many mansions are." And thus most comfortably rendred his spirit to the Lord.

5. JOACHIMUS BERGERUS, a famous lawyer and counsellor to the emperor Maximilian, by whom he was sometimes sent in embassy to other princes, whom Melancton did so much admire, as he expresseth his fervent desires, that the Lord would preserve such an instrument for his church: of whom that account is given: His religion was a soul-work and business to him: nor did he satisfy himself with a form of duty, but oft might be seen pouring out his heart unto God in prayer, with many tears, in his family: a rare instance in one of such throng of public employments! He was much in converse with the scriptures, not to know them only for light, but to conform himself to them as the rule. He used to have these words frequently to others, "That one's time should be much employed, either in speaking with God by prayer, or in hearing him speak to us, by reading and meditation." A few weeks before his death, he declared, that, besides some desire to renounce the world, he designed to die a capital enemy, above all things, to that sin of pride. And whilst on his death-bed he looked out for his change with the greatest assurance, using the words of Job, "I will wait till my change come," as one who seemed to have no more to do but to die, having been so serious in making ready for it in his former life. This account is given of his words, "Though I be most weak and destitute of outward help, I am one of the sheep of Christ, whom Satan, by all his power, shall never be able to pluck out of his hand; and I am sure that no created thing can ever be able to pluck me out of his hand, and that nothing can ever be able to separate me from the love of Christ." That word was most comforting to him, "He is my life, and the length of my days," Deut. xxx. 20. And thereafter he said, "Farewel, farewel all earthly things, and welcome Heaven. Let none hereafter make mention of the things of this world to me." And to some of his friends who were with him he did seriously witness, that, through the blessing of God, he never was more firmly persuaded of the truth, nor had ever found the Spirit of the Lord bearing a more full and comforting testimony to his soul for his adherence to the truth than at that present time, so as now he found it easy, and was in case, if he were called thereto, to lay down his life as a martyr upon that account, which was not easy to him before; and he witnessed his inward joy and sense of the Lord's tenderness to him at such a time, to dismiss him out of this prison, when so dreadful things seemed to threaten the country and place he lived in. Thus died that excellent man, leaving a sweet favour behind to all who knew him, in 1602.

6. FREDERICUS TAUBMANNUS, born in 1565, was a man of great learning and piety. He was much exercised for confirming himself in the way of God, not only in the public hearing of the word, but in those more secret duties, reading, meditation and fervent prayer. When he had a view of his approaching death, he said to his friends, "This I do not fear; let my God call when he will, I desire to obey; I know he will never forsake me." And under his sickness, when his disease began to encrease, to some who were exhorting him to patience, he said, "God

is faithful, whom I have before now tried, and at this hour have no cause to bring his truth into question. Let his blessed will concerning me take place." In the evening before his death, being asked what he was doing, he answered, "I ly here, I am wrestling with my Lord Jesus Christ after Jacob's example, and resolve not to let him go, till he give the blessing."

7. **MATTHIAS VESSENBECH**IUS, famous for knowledge of the laws, which was his profession; a fervent protestant, and remarkably called to the knowledge of the truth, when he studied at the university of Louvain, by being a witness to the sufferings of a poor godly man in that place for the truth, which put him after to a serious search of the scriptures; had a marvellous delight to read much of the psalms and the New Testament. He was a great opposer of the litigious wranglings of the law, and zealous to have truth and righteousness in that employment promoted. At his death he did witness much peace and comfort, having oft in his mouth these words of the apostle, 2 Cor. i. 22. "Who hath confirmed us, and given us the seal of the spirit." And that in Rom. vii. 24. "O wretched man that I am, who will deliver me from this body of death?" adding the following words as his confidence, that this was ensured through Jesus Christ. He said also to those that were present with great assurance, that now the Lord had given him a sight of that eternal joy in which he would be quickly, which was his greatest longing to have it hastened. And with his last breathing almost, had these words: "He was within the covenant with Jesus Christ." He died in 1556 professor of the law at Wittenberg.

8. **JACOBUS ZUNIGERUS**, a professor of medicine at Basil, an ornament to the university and to his profession, as a physician. He had a very Christian behaviour. He was plucked away in the time of a great pestilence, which was at Basil, whilst he made it his work to be useful at that time to others. The first touch of his disease was quickly discerned by him, and that his change would quickly follow upon it, so that his business was wholly about his inward state; and as one panting after a better life, had once and again these words to his friends: "I rejoice, yea, my spirit leaps within me for joy, that now the time is at last come, when I shall see the glorious God face to face, whose glory, with wondering, I have oft got some glance of here, in the search of natural things, whom I have worshipped, whom I have by faith longed after, and after whom my soul hath panted." And whilst his pain through the malignity of the disease was very grievous, he did express the greatest patience and composure of spirit, having these words of Job in his mouth: "Though he should kill me, I will trust in him." And did often groan forth his desire, that Jesus Christ would come and hasten his escape, so as all who look'd on, might see him both dying and overcoming at once. He died in 1610.

9. **OLYMPIA FULVIA MORATA**, an Italian born at Ferrara, and bred at the court there with the young princess, who was the duke's daughter, of a singular genius for learning, besides her other excellent endowments, so as she could both write and speak most elegant Latin and Greek in her very young years; but by reason of her education, and the place of her abode, she was at that time wholly Popish. At last she

was bereft of her father, (who had a public charge under the duke there) with some visible withdrawing of that wonted respect she had in that court, which was ordered in the blessed providence of God for her good. For this, with her excellent character, did occasion a learned German physician then at Ferrara, a serious protestant, to propose marriage to her, which she accepted of, and left her country to go along with her husband, who within a little returned to Germany, where she gave herself most to the study of the scriptures, to which she was wholly a stranger before, and had accounted it hazardous to converse with them. Afterwards, in the short time of her life, the Lord broke in upon her with the light and knowledge of the truth; and it was not only the protestant religion she embraced, but with the greatest eagerness followed the power and truth thereof: so as her only delight and comfort was in converse with divine things. In a letter to that young princess with whom she was bred at Ferrara, which, among other things she had writ, was after her death published, she hath these words: "So soon as by the singular goodness of the Lord to me, I had got out from the idolatry of my own country, and gone with my husband to Germany, it may seem incredible to you what a change the Lord then made upon my spirit; that the former aversion I had to read the scripture, from which I had kept at so great a distance, was there turned to have this my greatest delight and pleasure in the world, and now my soul is most taken up therewith: and there I may say is my only comfort and pleasure, about which my study, work, and care I have placed; so as the world, the pleasure, and delights therein, which once I was wont to admire, and was too much taken with, are now become wholly contemptible to me."

That short time of her abode with her husband in Germany, before her death, was almost a continued conflict with renewed trials they met with in their private lot, being tossed from several places, by reason of the wars, her husband taken by some Popish soldiers, and in much hazard of his life, which was one of the sharpest conflicts she had in her time, upon any outward account, there being very great love betwixt them; so as for a little she was almost crushed. But the Lord who heard her groans, by a remarkable providence, returned him safe. Thus did he graciously try, and exercise this choice person, so early after her being enlightened, with the cross; yea, and thus further, to gain her soul to himself, that her fervency in following the Lord, was no less remarkable, than these tossings of her life were. But at last a blessed period comes to all; having settled with her husband at Heidleberg, where they had some lucid and comfortable interval, she falls into sickness, which in a few days brought her to the grave, but with greatest advantage in her inward state, as is set down by her husband under his own hand, who saith, She with greatest desire longed for her departure, and witnessed her comfort and joy herein, that now the time was come, to enjoy that blessedness which is above. Nothing she could worse bear, than to hear of any presages of her recovery, and said to her friends: "The Lord hath been pleased to give me a short course, but full of tossings and trouble, and now I can no more desire to return again, when so near the port." She was asked by some, if there was any hesitation in her soul about her state, and what peace she had

about that, to whom she answered thus: "For these seven years past, which was since the time of my being engaged to the Lord, in embracing the truth, I had seldom any cessation from some assault or other, of the devil, to shake my faith, and weaken my hands: but now, as if he had lost all his darts, he appears no more this way; nor feel I in my soul, any thing, but unexpressible tranquillity, and peace with God through Jesus Christ." Nor did she doubt in the least to call herself one of the children of God. And a little before her death, having awaked out of sleep, she seemed to her husband to look in an extraordinary manner, with a cheerful countenance, which made him ask the cause; to whom she said, I have now got a sight in my rest, of a most excellent and pleasant place, shining with an unexpressible light and brightness. But her weakness was such, as she could get no more at present spoken. Her husband being much affected, told her she had indeed cause of cheerfulness, since it was sure she should now, within a little space, dwell in that pleasant and desirable place, of which she had got such a sight. To whom, with a most sweet and comfortable smile, she could only say, *tota sum laeta*, I am all joy; but now I know you no more. Thus did that sweet soul render up her spirit, who had through most of her sickness oft these words: "That her sole desire was to be dissolved and to be with Christ, and so far as her weakness could permit, did express to others, her sense of the goodness of the Lord, in bringing her from her own country, his enlightning her with the knowledge of his truth, and that he had taken her heart off the world, and from all the pleasures and delights of it, and wrought in her so ardent a desire after eternal life, about which she had then no fear." These were but a few words as her husband relates, of what at that time she expressed to the comfort and wondring of all about her. She died at Heidelberg in the year 1555, in the twenty ninth year of her age. This instance, not only is at large set down by Melchior Adams, having the account thereof from her own husband, as he had writ it after her death, but I find the same particularly mentioned by Voetius.<sup>a</sup>

[The following note of Beza is worth the inserting. Fulfilling of the Scriptures, Part I.]

a Beza in his younger years, after the Lord had touched his heart by the word, was one day in the church of Charenton, where he providentially heard the 91st Psalm expounded. It was followed with such power to him, that not only did he find it sweet at present, but was enabled to believe that the Lord would fulfil to him all the promises of that Psalm. At his death, he did declare to his Christian friends, that he had found it so indeed. That as he had been enabled to close with the second verse, in taking the Lord for his God, and got a sure claim thereto, yea that he should be his refuge and fortress; so he had found remarkably in the after changes of his life, that the Lord had 'delivered him from the snare of the fowler;' for he had been in frequent hazard by the lying in wait of many to ensnare him; and 'from the noisome pestilence,' for he was sometimes in great hazard from the pesti-

lence, in these places where he was called to reside. And amidst the civil wars which were then so hot in France, he had most convincing deliverances from many imminent hazards, when he was called to be present sometimes with the Protestant princes upon the field, where "thousands did fall about him." And thus, when near his end, he found that Psalm so observably verified, whereon he was caused to hope, that he went thro' all these promises, declaring the comfortable accomplishment of them. How he had found the Lord "giving his angels charge over him, often answering him when he called upon him;" how he had "been with him in trouble, had deliver'd him, and had satisfied him with long life." And now, says he, I have no more to wait for, but the fulfilling of these last words of the Psalm, "I will shew him my salvation;" which with confidence I long for.



## B O O K III.

## In the Seventeenth Century.

*Labours and Success of Ministers in England.—Propagation of the Gospel in Wales.—Awakening in London, 1665.—Labours and Success of Ministers in Scotland.—Religious Concern at the Kirk of Scots.—In Stewartoun.—In Ireland.—Flourishing State of Religion amongst the first Settlers of New England.—Eliot's success amongst the Indians.—The Indians of Martha's Vineyard.—Revival of Christian Piety about Hall in Germany.—Spener's and Frank's Labours.—Societies for Advancement of Religion in London, Edinburgh and Dublin.—Some particular Persons of distinguished Zeal and Charity.*

## C H A P. I.

*Extracts of the Lives of a Number of Ministers remarkable for their Zeal and Diligence in the Work of the Gospel in England.*

## S E C T I O N I.

*Some Instances of those who died in the Beginning of the Century before 1640, viz. 1. Baines. 2. Stock. 3. Rothwel. 4. Bolton. 5. Taylor. 6. Clark. 7. Carter. 8. Sibs. 9. Herbert. 10. Ball.*

[ FROM CLARK'S LIVES. ]

1. **BAINES.** He was sent to the university of Cambridge, and admitted into Christ's-college, where his conversation, at first, was so irregular, that it much grieved his father, who, before his death, being intimately acquainted with one Mr. Wilson in Birchin-lane, left with him forty-pounds a-year, desiring him, that if his son did forsake his evil courses, and become an honest man, he would give him that forty pounds a-year; if not, that he would never let him have it. But it pleased God, not long after his father's decease, to shew him his sins, and to work effectual repentance in him for the evil of his ways; so that, forsaking his former evil company and practices, he became eminent for piety and holiness, and according to that of our Saviour, much being forgiven him, he loved much. After which gracious change wrought in him, it was not long before Mr. Wilson fell dangerously sick, and hearing how God had dealt with Mr. Baines, he sent for him, and desired him to pray with him, by which, as also by his savoury discourse, finding that what he had heard of him, rather came short of the truth than exceeded it, according to that trust reposed in him, perceiving himself to be upon his death-bed, he told Mr. Baines of the forty pounds a-year which his father left with him, and faithfully delivered up to him

those writings of the agreement which had passed between his father and him. Sometime after Mr. Baines was silenced, yet preached where he might have liberty, and as the weakness of his body would suffer. The rest of his time he spent in reading, writing, meditation and prayer, saving that upon occasion he instructed and comforted those that came to him in private, wherein he had a very happy and heavenly gift. Upon a time he went to the house of Mrs. Sheafe, who was his wife's sister at Cranbrook in Kent, where, observing that she and others of the family used to mispend much precious time in playing at cards, and such like games, as the custom was, and still is too much used in gentlemens houses, he took occasion on the sabbath-day to speak against it; and it pleased the Lord so to work upon Mrs. Sheafe's heart by that sermon, that when she came home, she came crying to him, saying, Oh! brother, why would you thus suffer me to live in sin, to the dishonour of God, and would never tell me of it before; to which he replied, that it was best of all that God had wrought on her by the public ministry. It pleased God to make him an instrument of the conversion of that holy and eminent servant of Jesus Christ doctor Sibbs. He died 1617.

2. STOCK. When it pleased God to call him to that employment that he had ordained him to, he proved a painful and faithful minister of Christ. Not to insist upon his constant and incessant employments, which he performed for so many years with the general approbation of those that were religious and judicious, not a sabbath intermitted, wherein (if health served) he preached not twice, either in his own charge or elsewhere abroad, besides his catechizing of the younger sort in the week-days at certain times, and other such offices as to the pastoral function are necessarily annexed. Not to insist (I say) upon this, as the apostle saith of the Corinthians, you are the seal of my apostlehip; so it may well be said of this man of God: Many Christian souls having professed themselves to have had their first effectual calling and conversion from him as the instrument, in such manner as few others could say at that time. Besides the multitudes of those which have acknowledged themselves to have been edified and bettered by him, many faithful ministers do profess to have lighted their candle at his lamp; yea, some of them to have received their first beginnings, not of light only, but of spiritual life and grace under his ministry. 'Tis no small honour for a man to win if it were but any one soul; for to win souls, is to win more than the whole world is worth. What an honour is it then to be not only a winner of souls, but a winner of such as prove winners? how gloriously doth this blessed man of God shine now in the kingdom of God that was an instructor of those that are instructors of others? that was a converter of those that are converters of others? for his freedom of speech in reproof of sin, and that even to the faces of the greatest, whether in publick or private when occasion required; many, even now living, are able to testify, and some accidents made it more publickly known than he intended.

He was very zealous and earnest for the reformation of some profanations of the Sabbath; wherein he prevailed also for the alteration of something offensive in that kind, as well with the main body of the

city as with some particular societies. He persuaded also some of the companies to put off their solemn festivals from Mondays to Tuesdays, that so the Lord's day might not be prophaned by their preparations for those feasts. He died 1626, having been preacher at All-Hallows Breadstreet, for thirty two years.

3. ROTHWEL. After many years spent in the university, he betook himself to the ministry, and was ordained presbyter by doctor Whitgift, then archbishop of Canterbury. For a considerable time all his parts and gifts were but as so many weapons in the hands of a madman. He continued some years without any change of heart or sensible work of grace upon his soul, but preached learnedly (as they call it) and lived vainly. He abhorred debauchery and debauched companions thro' the height of his spirit, but gave himself to hunting, bowling, and shooting more than became a minister of the gospel; and sometimes he would swear FAITH and TRUTH, and in his passion greater blasphemies. At length it pleased God, who separated him from his mother's womb, and called him by his grace to reveal his son in him; which because it was famous, and he himself afterwards proved the means of the conversion of so many: I shall set it down as I remember I heard him speak it.

He was playing at bowls amongst some papists and vain gentlemen upon a saturday somewhere about Rachdale in Lancashire; there comes into the green to him one Mr. Midgley, a grave and godly minister of Rachdale, whose praise is great in the gospel, though far inferior to Rothwel in parts and learning; he took him aside, and fell into a large commendation of him: at length told him what pity it was that such a man as he should be a companion to Papists, and that upon a Saturday, when he should be preparing for the Sabbath. Mr. Rothwel slighted his words, and checked him for his meddling. The good old man left him, went home, and prayed privately for him.

Mr. Rothwel, when he was retired from that company, could not rest, Mr. Midgley's words stuck so deep in his thoughts. The next day he went to Rachdale-church to hear Mr. Midgley, where it pleased God to bless that ordinance so, as Mr. Rothwel was by that sermon brought home to Christ. He came after sermon to Mr. Midgley, thanked him for his reproof, and besought his direction and prayers; for he was in a miserable condition, as being in a natural state. He lay for a time under the spirit of bondage, 'till afterwards, and by Mr. Midgley's hands also, he received the spirit of adoption; wherewith he was so sealed, that in the after part of his life, he never lost his assurance. Tho' he was a man subject to many temptations, the devil very often assaulting him, yet God was mightily with him, so that out of his own experience, he was able to comfort many. He esteemed Mr. Midgley ever after as his spiritual father.

He now becomes another man, forsakes all his wonted courses and companions, preaches in another manner than formerly, opens the depths of Satan and deceitfulness of the heart, so as he was called the ROUGH SFWER. His ministry was so accompanied with the power of God, that when he preached the law, he made men tremble, yea, sometimes to cry out in the church; and when he preached the gospel, he was ano-

ther Barnabas, and had great skill in comforting afflicted consciences. At length he came to spend most part of his time in the bishopric of Durham, by means of the lady Bowes, afterwards the lady Darcy; of whom it was truly preached at her funeral, wheresoever this gospel shall be preached in the whole world, there shall also this that this woman hath done be told for a memorial of her. She gave about one thousand pounds a-year to maintain preachers where there were none, nor any means for them; and all her preachers were silenced men, by reason of non-conformity, such as Mr. Baines, Mr. Dyke, &c. She would lay out all her interest to get them their liberty, and then would dispose of them where there needed, in the North, or in the Peak in Derbyshire, or other places, and allow them pensions.

Sir William Bowes her husband dying, his funerals were kept at Bernard's-castle: Mr. Dyke (father of the writers of that name) was then her household-chaplain, and went into the North to that funeral. At his return he represented the state of the people destitute of a minister to the Lady, who would have sent him thither; but he told her he durst not venture on so furly a people, but commended Mr. Rothwel to her. She sent to him then at the earl of Devonshire's house, and proffered him this employment; his answer was, He would go thither, and if the people called him, he would accept of her motion.

At his first day's labour, they all desired him. He returned to the lady, and told her he would go; she replied, Though for their sakes she was glad, yet she was afraid to send him, understanding that they were of fierce dispositions, and having never heard the gospel, might deal unkindly with him. He answered: Madam, if I thought I should never meet the devil there, I would never come there; he and I have been at odds in other places, and I hope we shall not agree there.

He desired to have me (Mr. Stanley Gower of Dorchester) with him, and with much ado prevailed; and so (I bless God) he not only fitted me for the university, but was a means to bring me to the first saving knowledge of Christ. I remember, and shall do ever, the first sermon and point which God blessed to my soul for that purpose. I was eight years his bed-fellow, and an eye-witness of the great success he had in his ministry there, and over all the country, where he was called the Apostle of the North. The lady allowed him forty pounds a-year, and such as God wrought upon by his ministry contributed to him, but he would not have a penny from any other.

There was once in his absence collected thirty pounds by Sir Talbot Bowes that lived there from the people, but when he returned and knew it, he caused it to be restored to the parties that gave it, and told them he fought not theirs but themselves. At his first entrance he had great opposition, and sometimes was way-laid to take away his life; but he overcame all that with his patience and courage, and at length his greatest enemies were afraid of him, and he preached few sermons but it was believed he gained some souls.

His manner was to spend the forenoon at his studies, and the afternoon in going through his parish and conferring with his people; in which as he excelled, so he gained much upon them, and within four

years had so many judicious and experimental Christians, that people came from London, York, Richmond, Newcastle, and many other places to see the order of his congregation; and many lewd gentlemen came oft ten or twelve miles to hear him, to carp, and get somewhat to accuse him: many of which God took hold on, and they returned some convinced and some converted. He died 1627.

[ From WESLEY's Christian Library Vol. vii. page 61. ]

4. BOLTON<sup>a</sup>. He was born at Blackbourn, a town in Lancashire, on Whitfunday, in the year 1572. His parents finding in him a strong propensity for learning, put him to a school-master that was in the town. He plied his book so well, that in short time he became the best scholar in the school.

About the twentieth year of his age, he was placed at Oxford, in Lincoln-college, under the tuition of Mr. Randall, a man of no great note then; but afterwards an eminent preacher at London. In that college he kept close to the studies of logick and philosophy; and by reason of that ground-work of learning, he got at school, he quickly got the start of those of his own time, and grew into fame in that house. In the midst of these his studies, his father died, and then his means failed: But this cross, by God's providence, proved a great advantage to him for his growth in learning; for now wanting means to buy him books, he borrowed of his tutor and others, the best writers on natural and moral philosophy, read them over, abridg'd them in his note-books, and then returned the books to the owners. Nay, such a desire he had to attain a perfection in the things he studied, that though he was well skilled in the Greek tongue, yet, that he might attain exactness in it, he writ out with his own hand, all Homer, in a fair Greek character; for he wrote that language better than he did either English or Latin. This brought him to such a readiness, that he could with as much facility, discourse in the public schools (for he was a famous disputant) in the Greek tongue, as in the Latin or English: and in them all, he wrote and spake in a high and lofty stile, which was so familiar to him, that he could not avoid it in ordinary conversation. From Lincoln-college he removed to Brasen-Nose: for, by the founders of that house, most of the fellowships therein were for Lancashire and Cheshire men; but having but few friends, he stayed long without a fellowship, 'till about the thirtieth year of his age; at which time he commenced master of arts; and then, by the exercises he performed in the house and abroad, being regent-master, he grew into fame, and was successively chosen to be reader of the lectures of logick, and moral, and natural philosophy (as by the statutes of the house they were appointed to be read;) which he performed so strictly, and with such exactness, as that he got applause with the best, tho' envy with his successors. Such was his esteem in the university for his public disputations, that when he was a master of arts but of small standing, he was chosen, by the then lord arch-bishop of Canterbury, vice-chancellor, at

<sup>a</sup> See extracts from Mr. Bolton's works, and from Dr. Preston's, in the seventh, eighth, ninth and tenth volumes of Mr. Wesley's Christian Library.

king James's first coming to that university, to be one of the disputants before the king. Besides his knowledge in logic and philosophy, he was also well studied in metaphysics and mathematics, and in all school-divinity; especially in Thomas Aquinas, which he had read over once or twice, and exactly noted him throughout. But all this while, tho' he was very learned, he was not a scholar in the school of Christ. He loved stage-plays, cards and dice; he was a horrible swearer and sabbath-breaker, and was ever glad (as he has been heard to say) of Christmas-holidays, and melancholly when they were ended. He loved not goodness, nor good men; and of all sorts of company could least abide such as were of a strict and holy conversation: such he would brand with the name of Puritans, thinking, thereby, he had depriv'd them *ipso facto* both of learning and religion. This wretched humour Mr. Bolton further discover'd at Cambridge; for being there at a commencement, and induced by the fame of Mr. Perkins, he went to hear him preach; whose plain preaching, meeting at once in him with a curious palate and un sanctified heart, quite turn'd his stomach against that good man, so that he thought him (to speak in his own phrase) a barren, empty fellow, and a passing mean scholar. But when God changed his heart, he changed his opinion of Mr. Perkins, and thought him as learned a divine, for his age as our church hath for many years enjoyed.

The manner of his conversion was thus: When he was of Brasen-Nose college, he had familiar acquaintance with one Mr. Anderton his countryman, and sometime his school-fellow, a very good scholar, but a strong Papist. This man, being become a Popish priest, well knowing the good parts that were in Mr. Bolton, and perceiving that he was in some outward wants, took this advantage, and used many arguments to persuade him to be reconciled to the church of Rome, and to go over with him to the English seminary; telling him he should be furnished with all necessities, and should have gold enough (one of the best arguments to allure an unstable mind to Popery.) Mr. Bolton, being at that time poor in mind and purse, accepted of the motion, and a day and place was appointed in Lancashire, where they should meet, and from thence take shipping. Mr. Bolton met at the day and place, but Mr. Anderton came not, and so he escaped that snare, and soon after return'd to Brasen-Nose; where falling into the acquaintance of one Mr. Peacock, fellow of that house, a learned and godly man, it pleased God by his acquaintance, to work in his soul true repentance and conversion to God. The first news he heard of God, was not by a soft and still voice, but in terrible tempests and thunder; "The Lord running upon him as a giant," taking him by the neck, and shaking him to pieces; beating him to the ground, as he did Paul, by laying before him the ugly visage of his sins, which lay so heavy upon him, that he roared for grief of heart, and so affrighted him, that he rose out of his bed in the night for very anguish of spirit. And to augment his misery, he was exercised with foul temptations, *a Horribilia de Deo, terribilia de fide*, which Luther call'd, The buffeting of Satan; for, as he was parallel with Luther in many things, so was he in these spiritual temptations; which

a Horrible thoughts of God, terrible thoughts of faith,

were so vehement upon Luther, that the very venom of them drank up his spirits, and his body seemed dead, that neither speech, sense, blood or heat appeared in him, as Justus Jonas that was by and saw it, reporteth of him. This sharp fit of Luther's lasted but for one day, but Mr. Bolton's continued for many months; yet God gave him at length a blessed issue, and these grievous pangs in his spiritual birth produced two admirable effects in him, (as well as in Luther) which many times ensue upon such hard labour: 1. An invincible courage and resolution for the cause of God, in which he feared no colours, nor the face or force of any. 2. A singular dexterity in comforting afflicted spirits.

Upon this, he resolved to enter into the ministry, and about the thirty-fifth year of his age, was ordained minister; after which he wholly applied himself to the work of the ministry, and improved all his learning and time to that excellent end. A little while after he was ordained, he was made known to Mr. Justice Nichols, at that time serjeant at law, who observing the comeliness of his person and the learning that was in him, had it always in his thoughts to advance him. About the 37th year of Mr. Bolton's age, the parsonage of Broughton, in Northamptonshire, becoming void, he sent for him from the university to his chamber at Serjeant's-inn, and presented him to that living. Then he put out his first book, "A Discourse upon true Happiness," which he dedicated to serjeant Nichols, his patron.

About the fortieth year of his age, for the better settling of himself upon his parsonage, he resolved upon marriage, and took to wife Mrs. Anne Boyce, to whose care he committed the ordering of his outward estate, he himself only minding the weighty affairs of his heavenly calling. Twice every Lord's-day he preached, and catechized in the afternoon. In all his preaching he still aimed at the conversion of souls, the glory of a good minister; and herein God highly honoured his ministry, in making him to beget many sons and daughters unto righteousness; for many hundreds were either converted, or mightily confirmed, or singularly comforted by his ministry. He had such an art in relieving afflicted consciences, that he was sought to far and near; and many from beyond the seas desired his resolution in divers cases of conscience, which was the cause that made him put forth that learned and godly treatise; "Instructions for a right comforting afflicted consciences." And though in his manner of preaching he was a son of thunder, yet unto those that mourned in spirit, he was a son of consolation, and with a tender heart poured the oil of mercy into their bleeding wounds. He (as was said of Luther) was a mighty opposite to the devil's kingdom, and had a singular skill to discern his slights, and that cunning craftiness whereby he lies in wait to deceive. He ever thought that there was no such way to cast down the strong holds of Satan, as to lay the ax close to the root of sin. And in all his sermons, he ever used to discover the filthiness of sin, and to press very powerfully upon the conscience the duties of sanctification, in expressing whereof, three things were remarkable in him: 1. Such courage and resolution of spirit as is scarcely to be found in any; whereby he gave such vigour unto the truth he deliver'd, that it pierc'd the very joints and marrow. 2. In-

partiality; he would spare none in their sins, either great or small. He knew he was to deliver his Master's will, with whom was no respect of persons. 3. His wisdom; as he was of high courage, so was it excellently temper'd with wisdom, descried in these four things. 1st, In all his denunciations against sin, he never personated any man, whereby to put him to shame, unless his own inward guiltiness caused him to apply it to himself. 2dly, He would never press upon the conscience the guilt of sin, but he would fortify it by scripture, by the ancient fathers, and the concurrence of the most renowned and orthodox writers, to stop the mouth of all slanderers that should accuse his doctrine, either of novelty, or of too much preciseness. 3dly, When he had searched the conscience to the quick, he ever offered Christ in all his beauty and sweetness. 4thly, He would always protest to his people, that it was a trouble to him to preach against their sins; he delighted not to vex their consciences; he should be glad the case was so with them, that he might only preach the riches of God's mercies in Christ all his days; but he knew no other way to pull them out of the snare of Satan, than the way he took.

That which made his preaching more illustrious, was the burning and shining light, which appeared in his life and conversation, in these five particulars: 1. His piety, whereof I need not say much; "The Directions for walking with God," were framed out of the meditations of his own heart, as a guide for himself, for ordering his steps in the ways of righteousness; which he strictly observed throughout the course of his life. And no marvel if he attained to such a height of holiness, when he was lifted up thither by the wings of prayer. His constant course was to pray six times a day, twice by himself, twice with his family, and twice with his wife. Besides, he observed many days of private humiliation and prayer, ever before the receiving of the communion, and many days besides, for the miseries of the churches in France and Germany, which he performed with such ardency of spirit, that (as was said of Martin Luther) "He used such humility, as in the presence of almighty God; but such fervency and faith, as if he had been talking with his friend." And God heard his prayers; for, to the comfort of his soul, a little before his death, he heard of the mighty victories obtained by the king of Sweden against the emperor. 2. For his gravity; he was of a very comely presence: he had a countenance that commanded respect; insomuch that many forbore to speak or act unseemly things in his presence, that would not have been so modest in other company. Such a majesty doth grace imprint upon the countenances of holy men, that they draw respect from the greatest. 3. He was very zealous for God, not only in his ministry, but in any public or private good, that tended to the honour of God; to whose glory he wholly sacrificed himself and all his studies; which I can the more safely affirm, that I know he hath divers times refused preferment from some of the nobility and prelates of this kingdom; and for no other cause, but that he might not be divorced from that country where his ministry wrought so good effects. 4. But the zeal of this pious man was always temper'd with singular wisdom and discretion: for tho' in all his sermons he pres-



fed mightily upon the conscience of his hearers; yet they were never able to resist the authority by which he spake; so that for the space of twenty-two years, the whole time that his light shined in Northamptonshire, his doctrine was never drawn into question. So studious was he ever of the unity and peace of the church of England, which he dearly loved, that none could justly quarrel with him, but Papists and other sectaries, or men of notoriously evil life. 5. Lastly; for his charity, he was ever universally bountiful; but he exceeded in those public distresses of Germany, France, Bohemia, and to those that stood in true need. He spent every year all the revenues of his parsonage (which was of good value) in the maintenance of his family, and acts of hospitality; and also gave away yearly, in other charities, the temporal estate he had. The town of Broughton will ever have cause to bless God for his charity: for when that lamentable fire was among them, September 21st, in the year 1626, besides the many pounds he spent out of his own purse, he was a chief means, that by the only supply of the country, without any letters patent from above, their houses, which were burnt down to the ground, were all new-built, and their outward estates restored.

This inestimable treasure it pleased God to put in an earthen vessel, and about the beginning of September last, began to break it, by visiting him with a quartan ague; a disease which brought Calvin to his end, and by the judgment of the best physicians, is ever deemed mortal unto old men. Perceiving, after two or three fits, that it master'd his strength, he called for his will, which he had made long before, and perfecting some things in it, he caused it to be laid up, and afterwards wholly retired into himself, quitting the world, and solacing his soul, with the meditation of the joys of heaven, which he had provided to preach to his people: For having compiled an elaborate discourse of the four last things, death, judgment, hell, and heaven, and having finish'd the three former, he told them, That the next day he would treat of heaven; but the day before, being Saturday, he was visited with sickness, and never preach'd after. God then preparing him for the fruition of those inexplicable joys, which he had provided for his people in contemplation. Though his sickness was long and sharp, yet he bore it with admirable patience, for he saw him that is invisible; and his whole delight was to be with him, often breathing out such speeches as these when his fits gave him any intermission: "Oh! when will this good hour come? When shall I be dissolv'd? When shall I be with Christ?" being told, that it was indeed better for him to be dissolv'd, but the church of God could not but miss him, and the benefit of his ministry; he reply'd: "If I shall find favour in the eyes of the Lord, he will bring me again, and shew me both it and his habitation; but if otherwise, lo! here I am, let him do what seemeth good in his eyes." Being asked by another, whether he could not be content to live, if God wou'd grant him life? he answer'd: "I grant that life is a great blessing of God, neither will I neglect any means that may preserve it, and do heartily desire to submit to God's will; but of the two, I infinitely desire to be dissolv'd and to be with Christ. In the time of his sickness there came many to visit

him, but he admitted none but his intimate friends; using a speech of Augustine, who desired ten days before he died, none might come to him, that he in that time might the better be fitted for God. But to those that came, he gave very wise exhortations adapted to their callings and conditions; for altho' his body was wasted, yet his understanding and memory were as active and quick, as in the time of his health. He encouraged the ministers that came to him, to be diligent and courageous in the work of the Lord, and not to let their spirits faint or droop for any affliction that should arise thereupon. All that came to him, he bade make sure of Christ, before they came to die. He thanked God for his wonderful mercy, in pulling him out of hell, in sealing his ministry with the conversion of many souls, which he wholly ascribed to his glory.

About a week before he died, when his silver cord began to loosen, and his golden bowl to break; he called for his wife, and desired her to bear his dissolution with a Christian fortitude, bade her make no doubt but she should meet him again in heaven. And turning towards his children, (one son and four daughters) he told them: that they should not expect he could now say any thing to them, neither would his ability of body give him leave; he had told them enough in the time of his sickness and before, and hoped they would remember it, and verily believed, "That none of them durst think to meet him at that great tribunal, in an unregenerate state." About two days after, divers of his parish coming to watch with him, he was moved by a friend, that as he had discovered to them by his doctrine, the exceeding comforts that were in Christ, he would now tell them what he felt in his soul. "Alas, (said he) do they look for that of me now, that want breath and power to speak? I have told them enough in my ministry; but yet to give you satisfaction, I am, by the wonderful mercies of God, as full of comfort as my heart can hold, and feel nothing in my soul but Christ, with whom I heartily desire to be." And then looking upon some that were weeping said: "O what a deal of do there is before one can die!"

¶ The night before he died, when the doors without began to be shut, and the daughters of musick to be brought low, and he lying very low with his head, expecting every moment when the wheel should be broken at the cistern, yet being told, that some of his dear friends were then about him to take their last farewell, he caused himself to be lifted up, and then, like old Jacob, bowing himself on his bed's head, after a few gaspings for breath, he spake in this manner: "I am now drawing on apace to my dissolution. Hold out faith and patience; your work will speedily be at an end." And then shaking them all by the hands, prayed heartily and particularly for them, and desired them "to make sure of heaven, and to bear in mind what he had formerly told them in his ministry, protesting to them, that the doctrine which he had preached to them for the space of twenty years, was the truth of God, as he should answer at the tribunal of Christ, before whom he should shortly appear." This he spake when the very pangs of death were upon him. Whereupon a dear friend of his, taking him by the hand, and

asking him, if he felt not much pain? "Truly no, (said he) the greatest I feel, is your cold hand." And then seeking to be laid down again, he spake no more till the next morning, when he took his last leave of his wife and children, prayed for them and blessed them all, and that day in the afternoon, about five o'clock, being Saturday, the 17th day of December, 1631, in the 60th year of his age, he yielded up his spirit to God, and according to his own speech, celebrated the ensuing sabbath in the kingdom of heaven.

[ From *Clark's Lives.* ]

5. TAYLOR. In the course of his ministry, he spent thirty-five years, with all diligence and painfulness, even to the very end, when, by right, he might have spared himself, living in all sincerity, with entire love of souls, and with watchfulness and meekness, wonderfully quickened with zeal. Sometimes when he was drawn forth into the country for recreation, by the solicitation of God's people, he escaped not without his usual burden; or he spent his vacant time in preparing books for the press, which were both many and very useful; and men of understanding observed several seals to his ministry; in the places to which he was called, some were converted, others confirmed in the way of God: and, in these times of division, wherein many professors had turned into by-ways, those that were his constant hearers, continued stedfast and unshaken in that faith and love which is in Christ Jesus: and, at Redding, there was a generation of young preachers, who grew up in knowledge and holiness under his ministry.

6. CLARK<sup>a</sup>. The first place that he was called to exercise his ministry in, was about Oundle in Northamptonshire, where he met with a people, that, for the generality of them, were very ignorant and ungodly, and much addicted to the prophanation of the Lord's-day; which sins Mr. Clark, in his ministry, set himself against, endeavouring from God's word to convince them of the evil, and denouncing God's judgments, in case of their obstinacy, in such provoking courses; and that the rather because they were opposed by the word of God: and, indeed, the judgment of God found them out for this their wickedness. This so terrified and wrought upon them, that they began to give better heed to the ministry of God's word, and break off their prophane courses for the greatest part; so that there was an eminent reformation wrought amongst them; at least sixteen of those poor souls being effectually wrought upon, and brought home to Christ: and some others that relapsed to their former ways, God pursued with his judgments, till he had brought them to beggary.

During Mr. Clark's abode in this place, he had experience of God's gracious protecting him from the rage of some desperately wicked men; and, amongst others, this is very remarkable: Mr. Clark, having, on a day, pressed God's judgments against some sins, that he saw some of the people much addicted to, there came a lusty young man, (a servant man) to enquire for him, as desirous to speak with him; Mr. Clark being made acquainted with it, sent for him up to his chamber, and know-

<sup>a</sup> Father of Clark who writes the *Lives and Martyrology.*

ing his vitious life, took occasion sharply to reprove him, and to tell him of the danger he was in, in case he persisted in his lewd courses. This round and faithful dealing, through God's mercy, wrought so effectually upon him, that, falling upon his knees, he entreated him to forgive him; Mr. Clark answered, that he should beg pardon at the hands of God, against whom he had sinned; for he knew not, for his own part, wherein he had offended him; yea, said the other, I have not only offended God, by sinning thus and thus against him, but you also; for I came hither with a full resolution to stab you with this dagger at my back; but God hath so over-awed my spirit, that I have not had power to move an hand to accomplish such a wickedness: and this resolution of mine proceeded from the sermon which you preached yesterday, which so terrified my conscience, that my whole body fell into such a trembling, that I was not able to sit, whereupon I rose up, and set my back to a pillar to stay me; yet neither would that prevent my trembling: but now, if you please to forgive me, I shall, by God's grace, never entertain such thoughts again; Mr. Clark freely forgave him; and, after some wholesome and seasonable admonitions, dismissed him.

After this the bishop picked a quarrel against him, and suspended him from preaching; whereupon Mr. Clark used to expound the word; then did the bishop suspend him from expounding; whereupon he catechised with exposition and application; then was he suspended from catechising also; whereupon, at the usual times, in the church, he caused an honest man, that was his neighbour to read a chapter, and at the end of every verse, to ask him the meaning of it, and what instructions and uses might be gathered out of it. This so angered the bishop, that he proceeded to excommunicate him. But Mr. Clark repaired to Dr. Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury, and from him procured his absolution; and, as he returned homewards, about Dunstable, he met with bishop Overton going towards London, to whom he shewed his absolution, and so went on in his ministry as before. This so irritated the bishop, that he still suborned some to watch him in all his public prayers and sermons; about which time the persecution growing hot against the non-conformists, Mr. Clark, in his prayer, requested of God to forgive the queen her sins, though in modest expressions. This the bishop being informed of, and supposing that he had now gotten that advantage, which he had long waited for, he charged Mr. Clark with treason, and caused him to be committed to the common jail in Warwick, where he lay (bail being refused) till assizes; and then the bishop caused him to be arraigned at the bar, and had so exasperated the judge against him, that he would have had the jury to find the bill. But it pleased God to stir up a worthy gentleman, a justice upon the bench, from that good report which he had heard of Mr. Clark, to stand up, and publicly tell the judge, That before Mr. Clark should have any wrong, he would kneel before the queen for him: this so prevailed with the jury, that he was acquitted. He died 1634.

7. CARTER. Every Lord's-day he preached twice, and catechized the younger sort. He also preached a lecture every Thursday, to which

multitudes from Ipswich, and other adjacent places, did resort, and God gave such success to his ministry, that, by his labours, many sons and daughters were from time to time begotten unto God. Many precious Christians that remain unto this day acknowledge, that their conversion was by Mr. Carter's ministry. A poor man met him by the way, and cried to him piteously, saying, Master! what shall become of me? I work hard, and fare hard, and yet I cannot thrive; I continue bare, and know not how in the world to live. He answered him, Yet still you want one thing; and I will tell you what you shall do; work hard, and pray hard, and I shall warrant you thrive. His whole life was nothing else but a communion day. Old Jacob seemed to live in him; and sure the Spirit of God breathed as much in him, in his words and writings, (holiness dropped from his pen in every ordinary letter that he wrote) in his actions and soliloquies, as in any man's in these latter times. He was always instilling precious precepts, exhortations, instructions, or consolations, into those with whom he had occasion to converse. A godly woman told his son, That she had been servant to a religious gentleman, to whose house Mr. Carter did often resort, and that she was won to Christ at first, by hearing the heavenly speeches, and sweet principles that dropped from him. He died 1634.

[ From WESLEY'S Christian Library, vol. x. p. 101. ]

8. SIBS<sup>a</sup>. He was born upon the borders of Suffolk, near Sudbury, and being trained up at school, when he was grown ready for the university, was sent to Cambridge, in 1595. and was admitted into St. John's-college; where he so profited in learning, and approved himself by his blameless conversation, that he was promoted from one degree to another in the college; being chosen first scholar, and then fellow of that house. He also took all the degrees of the university, with general approbation and applause. It pleased God to convert him by the ministry of Mr. Paul Baines, whilst he was lecturer at St. Andrew's, in Cambridge. And when Mr. Sibs had been master of arts some while, he entered into the ministry, and shortly after was chosen lecturer himself at Trinity church, in Cambridge: to whose ministry, besides the townsmen, many scholars resorted, so that he became a worthy instrument of begetting sons and daughters unto God; as also of edifying and building up of others.

About the year 1625, or 1626, he was chosen master of Katherine-Hall in Cambridge, in the government whereof he continued 'till his dying day; and like a faithful governor, he was always very careful to procure and advance the good of that little house. For he procured good means and maintenance by his interest in many worthy persons, for the enlargement of the college; and was a means, of establishing learned and religious fellows there; insomuch that in his time, it prov'd a very famous society for piety and learning, both as to fellows and scholars.

But before this, about the year 1618, he was chosen preacher at Gray's-Inn; where his ministry found such general approbation and ac-

<sup>a</sup> See an Extract from his works in the same volume.

ceptance, that besides the learned lawyers of the house, many noble personages, and many of the gentry and citizens resorted to hear him, and many had reason to bless God for the benefit, which they received by him.

His learning was mixed with much humility, whereby he was always ready to undervalue his own labours; though others judged them to breathe spirit and life, to be strong of heaven, speaking with authority and power to men's consciences. His care in the course of his ministry was to lay a good foundation in the heads and hearts of his hearers. And tho' he was a wise master-builder, and that in one of the most eminent auditories for learning and piety, that was in the land; yet, according to the grace which was given to him (which was indeed like that of Elihu, in regard of the other prophets, the elder brother's privilege, a double portion) he was still taking all occasions to preach of the fundamentals to them, and amongst the rest, of the incarnation of the Son of God: and preaching at several times, and by occasion of so many several texts of scripture concerning this subject, there is scarce any one of those incomparable benefits, which accrue to us thereby, nor any of those holy impressions, which the meditation hereof ought to work in our hearts, which was not by him sweetly unfolded.

Indeed he was thoroughly studied in the holy scriptures, which made him a man of God, perfect, thoroughly furnished unto every good work; and as became a faithful steward of the manifold graces of God, he endeavoured to teach others the whole counsel of God, and to store them with the knowledge of God's will, in all wisdom, and spiritual understanding. He was a man that enjoyed much communion with God, walking in all the laws of God blameless; and, like John the Baptist, was a burning and shining light, wasting and spending himself to enlighten others. He was upon all occasions very charitable, drawing forth not only his purse in relieving, but his very bowels in commiserating, the wants and necessities of the poor members of Christ. He used sometimes in the summer-time, to go abroad to the houses of some worthy personages, where he was an instrument of much good; not only by his private labours, but by his prudent counsel and advice, that upon every occasion he was ready to minister unto them. And thus having done his work on earth, he went to receive his wages in heaven, peaceably and comfortably resigning up his spirit unto God, in the year 1635, and in the 58th year of his age.

[ From Wesley's Christian Library, Vol. xxvii. page 158. ]

9. HERBERT. He was born the third day of April, 1593. He spent much of his childhood in a sweet content under the eye and care of his prudent mother, and the tuition of a chaplain or tutor to him, and two of his brothers, in her own family, for she was then a widow, where he continued, till about the age of twelve years; and being at that time well instructed in the rules of Grammar, he was not long after commended to the care of Mr. Ireland, who was then chief master of Westminster school; where the beauties of his behaviour and wit were so eminent and lovely in this his innocent age, that he seemed to be

marked out for piety. He continued in that school, 'till he came to be perfect in the learned languages.

About the age of fifteen, being then a king's scholar, he was elected out of that school for Trinity-college in Cambridge, to which place he was transplanted about the year 1608. As he grew elder, so he grew in learning, and favour with God and man; insomuch, that in this morning of life, God still kept his soul in so holy a frame, that he may, and ought to be a pattern of virtue to all posterity; and especially to his brethren of the clergy.

He had often designed to leave the university, and decline all study, which he judged did impair his health; for he had a body apt to a consumption, and to fevers, and other infirmities which he judged were increased by his studies. But his mother would by no means allow him to leave the university, or to travel; to which, though he inclined very much, yet he would by no means satisfy his own desires at so dear a rate, as to prove an undutiful son to so affectionate a mother; but did always submit to her wisdom.

Upon king James's death, he presently betook himself to a retreat with a friend in Kent, where he lived very privately, and was such a lover of solitariness, as was judged much to impair his health. In this time of retirement, he had many conflicts with himself, whether he should return to court, or betake himself to the study of divinity. These were such conflicts, as they only can know who have endured them; at last, God inclined him to put on a resolution to serve at his altar.

At his return to London, he acquainted a court-friend with his resolution to enter into sacred orders, who persuaded him to alter it, as too mean an employment, below his birth, and the excellent endowments of his mind. To which he replied, "It hath been formerly judged, that the domestic servants of the King of heaven should be of the noblest families on earth; and, though the iniquity of the late times hath made clergymen meanly valued, yet I will labour to make it honourable, by consecrating all my learning, and all my poor abilities to advance the glory of that God that gave them; knowing, that I never can do too much for him that hath done so much for me. And I will labour to be like my Saviour, by making humility lovely in the eyes of all men, and by following the merciful and meek example of my dear Jesus." Within that year he was made deacon, and prebend of Lincoln, July 15, 1626.

About the year 1629, and the 34th of his age, Mr. Herbert was seized with a sharp quotidian ague, and thought to remove it by the change of air; to which end he went to Woodford in Essex, but thither more chiefly to enjoy the company of his beloved brother, Sir Henry Herbert, and other friends. In his house he remained about twelve months, and there became his own physician, and cured himself of his ague, by forbearing drink, and eating no meat, unless it was salted; and by such a constant diet, he removed his ague, but with inconveniences that were worse; for he brought upon himself a disposition to rheums, and other weaknesses: in the sharpest of his fits, he would often say, "Lord a-

bate my affliction, or increase my patience; but, Lord, I repine not, I am dumb before thee, because thou doest it."

And now his care was to recover from his other disorders, by a change from Woodford into such an air as was proper; and his removal was from Woodford to Dantsey in Wiltshire: the owner of it then was the lord Danvers, earl of Danby, who loved Mr. Herbert much, and allowed him such an apartment in that house, as might best suit his accommodation and liking. And in this place, by a spare diet, moderate exercise, and a chearful conversation, his health was apparently improved to a good degree of strength and chearfulness: and then he declared his resolution to marry, and to enter into the sacred orders of priesthood.

About three months after his marriage, he was presented to the living of Bemerton, in Wiltshire, but though he had formerly put on a resolution for the clergy; yet the apprehension of the last great account he was to make for the care of so many souls, made him fast and pray, and consider, for no less than a month. And in this time he endured, as he would often say, "such spiritual conflicts, as none can think, but those that have endured them."

When at his induction he was shut into Bemerton church, being left there alone to toll the bell, as the law requires, he staid so much longer than an ordinary time, before he returned to his friends that staid expecting him at the church-door, that one of them looked in at the church-window, and saw him prostrate on the ground before the altar: at which time he set some rules for himself, for the future conduct of his life. The same night he said, "I now look back upon my aspiring thoughts, and think myself more happy than if I had attained what I so ambitiously thirsted for; and I can now behold the court with an impartial eye, and see plainly, that it is made up of fraud, and titles, and empty, imaginary, painted pleasures; pleasures, that are so empty, as not to satisfy when they are enjoyed; but in God and his service is a fullness of all joy and pleasure, and no satiety. And I beseech that God, who hath honoured me so much as to call me to serve at his altar, that, as by his special grace he hath put into my heart these good desires and resolutions, so he will, by his assisting grace, enable me to bring the same to good effect: and that my humble and charitable life may so win upon others, as to bring glory to my Jesus, whom I have this day taken to be my Master and Governor. And I am so proud of his service, that I will always observe and obey his will, and call him Jesus my Master; and I will condemn my birth, or any title or dignity that can be conferred upon me, when I shall compare them with serving at the altar of Jesus my Master."

That he might the better preserve those holy rules which he had set himself, he set them in that order as the world now sees them printed in a little book, called, *The Country Parson*. And his behaviour toward God and man may be said to be a practical comment on the holy rules set down in that useful book. A book so full of plain, prudent, and useful rules, that, that country parson that can spare twelve pence, and yet wants it, is scarce excusable; because it will both direct him what he is to do, and convince him for not having done it.



The text for his first sermon, was (out of Solomon's Proverbs) 'Keep thy heart with all diligence.' In which he gave his parishioners many necessary, holy, safe rules, for the discharge of a good conscience, both to God and man. At the close, he told them, "That he would not fill their heads with unnecessary notions; but, for their sakes, his expression should be more plain and practical in his future sermons." And he then made it his humble request, "That they would be constant to the afternoon's service, and catechizing:" and his obliging example and persuasions brought them to a willing conformity to his desires.

It was also his practice to appear constantly with his wife and three neices (the daughters of a deceased sister) and his whole family, twice a-day at the church-prayers, in the chapel, which does almost join to his parsonage-house, at the hours of ten and four; and there to lift up pure and charitable hands to God in the midst of the congregation. And he would joy to have spent that time in that place, where the honour of his Master Jesus dwelleth; and there, by that inward devotion which he testified constantly by an humble behaviour, and visible adoration, he, like David, brought not only his own household thus to serve the Lord, but most of his parishioners, and many gentlemen of the neighbourhood constantly to make a part of his congregation twice a-day; and some of the meaner sort of his parish did so love and reverence Mr. Herbert, that they would let their plow rest when Mr. Herbert's bell rung to prayers, that they might also offer their devotions to God with him; and would then return to their plow.

His constant public prayers did never make him neglect his own private devotions, nor those prayers that he thought himself bound to perform with his family; which he always concluded with that collect the church hath appointed for the day or week. Thus he made every day's sanctity a step towards that kingdom where impurity cannot enter. His recreation was musick, in which he was an excellent master, and composed many anthems; and though he was a lover of retiredness. yet he went usually twice a-week to the cathedral church in Salisbury; and before his return thence to Bemerton, he would usually sing his part at an appointed private meeting.

In one of his walks to Salisbury, he overtook a gentleman that is still living in that city; and in their walk together, Mr. Herbert took a fair occasion to talk with him, and humbly begged to be excused, if he asked him some account of his faith. Having received his answer, he gave him such rules for practical piety, and in so loving and meek a manner, that the gentleman would often contrive to meet him in his walk to Salisbury, or to attend him back to Bemerton; and still mentions the name of Mr. George Herbert with veneration, and praises God that he knew him.

In another of his Salisbury walks, he met with a neighbour minister, and after some friendly discourse betwixt them, and some condolence for the wickedness of the times, and contempt of clergy, Mr. Herbert took occasion to say, "One cure for these distempers would be for the clergy themselves to keep the Ember-weeks strictly, and to beg of their parishioners to join with them in fasting and prayer, for a more reli-

gious clergy." And another cure would be, "For them to restore the great and neglected duty of catechizing, on which the salvation of so many of the poor and ignorant lay-people does depend; but principally, that the clergy themselves would be sure to live unblameably; and that the dignified clergy especially, who preach temperance, would avoid surfeiting, and take all occasions to express a visible humility and charity in their lives and actions. 'Till this be done by us, and done in earnest, let no man expect a reformation of the manners of the laity; for it is not learning, but this, this only, that must do it; and 'till then, the fault must lie at our doors."

In another walk to Salisbury, he saw a poor man, with a poorer horse, that was fallen under his load; which Mr. Herbert perceiving, put off his canonical coat, and help'd the poor man to unload, and after to load his horse: the poor man bless'd him for it, and he bless'd the poor man, and gave him money to refresh both himself and his horse; and told him, "If he lov'd himself, he should be merciful to his beast." At his coming to his musical friends at Salisbury, they began to wonder that Mr. George Herbert, who used to be so clean, came in such a condition; but he told them the occasion: and when one of the company told him, "He had disparag'd himself by so dirty an employment." His answer was, "That the thought of what he had done, would prove music to him at midnight; and the omission of it, would have upbraided and made discord in his conscience, whensoever he should pass by the place."

He was most happy in his wife's unforc'd compliance with his acts of charity, whom he made his almoner, and paid constantly into her hands, a tenth penny of what money he received for tythe; and gave her a power to dispose of that to the poor of his parish, which trust she did most faithfully perform, and would often offer to him "an account of her stewardship," and as often beg an enlargement of his bounty, for she rejoiced in the employment; and this was usually laid out by her in blankets and shoes, for some such poor people as she knew to stand in need of them. This, as to her charity; and for his own, he set no limits to it; nor did ever turn his face from any that he saw in want, but would relieve them, especially his poor neighbours, to the meanest of whose houses, he would go and inform himself of their wants, and relieve them, and would always praise God, as much for being willing, as for being able to do it. And when he was advised by a friend to be more frugal, because he might have children, his answer was, "Seeing all my tythes and church-dues, are a gift from thee, O my God; make me, O my God, so far to trust thy promise, as to return them back to thee; and, by thy grace, I will do so, in distributing them to any of thy poor members that are in distress." Thus he continued, 'till a consumption so weakned him, as to confine him to his house, or to his chapel; in which, he continued to read prayers constantly twice every day, though he was very weak: in one of which times of his reading, his wife observed him to read in pain, and told him so, and that it wasted his spirits; he confessed it, but said, "His life could not be better spent, than in the service of his master, Jesus,

who had done and suffered so much for him: but, he said, I will not be wilful, for Mr. Bostock shall read prayers for me to-morrow, and I will now be only a hearer of them; 'till this mortal shall put on immortality." And Mr. Bostock did continue this happy employment, 'till Mr. Herbert's death.----This Mr. Bostock was a learned and virtuous man, an old friend of Mr. Herbert's, and then his curate to the church of Fulston, a mile from Bemerton, to which Bemerton is but a chapel of ease.

About a month before his death, his friend Mr. Farrer, sent Mr. Edmund Duncan from his house of Gidden-Hall, which is near Huntington, to see Mr. Herbert, and to assure him, he wanted not his daily prayers for his recovery.

Mr. Nicholas Farrer was born in London, and was at a fit age made fellow of Clare-Hall in Cambridge, where he continued to be eminent for his temperance and learning. About the twenty sixth year of his age, he betook himself to travel, in which he added to his Latin and Greek, a perfect knowledge of all the languages spoken in the Western parts of our Christian world, and understood well the principles of their religion, and the manner and the reasons of their worship. In this his travel, he met with many persuasions to come into a communion with that church, which calls itself Catholic; but he returned from his travels as he went, in the communion of the church of England. In his absence from England, Mr. Farrer's father (who was a merchant) allowed him a liberal maintenance; and not long after his return, he had an estate left him, that enabled him to buy land to the value of five hundred a year, the greatest part of which land was at Little Gidden, four or six miles from Huntington, and about eighteen miles from Cambridge, which place he chose for the privacy of it, and the hall which had the parish-church adjoining to it; for Mr. Farrer having seen the manners and vanities of the world, did so condemn it, that he resolved to spend the remainder of his life in mortification, devotion, and charity, and to be always prepared for death. And his life was spent thus. He and his family were like a little college, and about thirty in number, a part of them his kindred, and the rest of a devout life; and all of them were for their dispositions serviceable, quiet and humble, and free from scandal. Having thus fitted himself for his family, he did about the year 1630, betake himself to a constant and methodical service of God, and it was in this manner. He did himself use to read the common-prayers (for he was a deacon) every day at the appointed hours of ten and four, in the church which was very near his house, and which he had both prepared and adorned; for it was fallen into ruin, before Mr. Farrer bought the manor. And he constantly read the Mattins every morning at six, either in the church, or in an oratory, which was within his own house: and many of the family did there continue with him after the prayers were ended, and there they spent some hours in singing hymns and anthems. And they sometimes betook themselves to meditate, or to pray privately, or to read a part of the New Testament, or to continue their praying or reading the Psalms; and in case the Psalms were not all read in the day,

then Mr. Farrer and others of the congregation, did at night, at the ring of a watch-bell, repair to the church or oratory, and there betake themselves to prayer, and lauding God, and reading the Psalms that had not been read in the day: and when these, or any part of the congregation grew weary or faint, the watch-bell was rung, sometimes before, and sometimes after midnight; and then a part of the family rose and maintained the watch, sometimes by praying, or singing lauds to God, or reading the Psalms; and when after some hours they also grew weary or faint, then they rung the watch-bell, and were relieved by some of the former, or by a new part of the society, which continued their devotions (as hath been mentioned) until morning. And it is to be noted, that in this continued serving of God, the psalter, or whole book of Psalms, was in every four and twenty hours, sung or read over, from the first to the last verse, and this done as constantly as the sun runs his circle every day about the world. Thus did Mr. Farrer and his happy family, serve God, day and night. Thus did they always behave, as in his presence. And they always eat and drank by the strictest rules of temperance; as to be ready to rise at midnight, or at the call of a bell, and perform their devotions to God. And many of the clergy did often come to Gidden-Hall, and make themselves a part of that happy society, and stay a week or more, and join with Mr. Farrer and the family, in these devotions, and assist him or them in their watch by night; and these various devotions had never less than two of the domestic family in the night; and the watch was always kept in the church or oratory, unless in extreme cold nights, and then it was maintained in a parlour fitted for that purpose; and this course of piety, and great liberality to his neighbours, Mr. Farrer maintained 'till his death, which was in the year 1639.

Mr. Farrer's and Mr. Herbert's lives were so noted, that the general report of their sanctity, gave them occasion to renew that slight acquaintance which was begun at Cambridge; and this new holy friendship was maintained without any interview, but only by endearing letters.

Mr. Duncan returned the fifth day, and found Mr. Herbert much weaker than he left him; and therefore their discourse could not be long; but at parting, Mr. Herbert spoke to this purpose: "Sir, I pray give my brother Farrer an account of my decaying condition, and tell him, I beg him to continue his prayers for me; tell him also, my heart is fixed on that place where true joy is only to be found; and that I long to be there, and will wait my appointed change with hope and patience." And having said this, he added, "Sir, pray deliver this little book to my brother Farrer, and tell him, he shall find in it a picture of the many spiritual conflicts that have past betwixt God and my soul, before I could subject mine to the will of Jesus my master, in whose service I have now found perfect freedom: desire him to read it, and then if he think it may turn to the advantage of any dejected poor soul, let it be made public; if not, let him burn it, for I and it, are less than the least of God's mercies." Thus meanly did this humble man think of this excellent book, which now bears the name of the

Temple: or, Sacred Poems, and Private Ejaculations; of which Mr. Farrer would say, "There was the picture of a divine soul in every page; and, that the whole book, was such a harmony of holy passions, as would enrich the world with pleasure and piety." At the time of Mr. Duncan's leaving Mr. Herbert, which was about three weeks before his death, his old and dear friend Mr. Woodnot, came from London to Bemerton, and never left him, 'till he had seen him draw his last breath. In this time of his decay, he was often visited, and prayed for by all the clergy that lived near him, especially by the bishop and prebends of Salisbury; but by none more devoutly than his wife, his three nieces (then a part of his family) and Mr. Woodnot, who were the sad witnesses of his daily decay, to whom he would often speak to this purpose: "I now look back upon the pleasures of my life past, how they are all past by me, as a shadow that returns not, and are become dead to me, or I to them; that as my father and generation hath done before me, so I shall now suddenly, with Job, make my bed also in the dark; and I praise God, I am prepared for it; and that I am not to learn patience, now I stand in such need of it; and that I have practised mortification, and endeavoured to die daily, that I might not die eternally; and, my hope is, that I shall shortly leave this valley of tears, and be free from all fevers and pain; and, which will be a more happy condition, I shall be free from sin, and all the temptations and anxieties that attend it; and this being past, I shall dwell in the New Jerusalem; dwell there with men made perfect; dwell, where these eyes shall see my master and saviour Jesus; and, with him, see my dear mother, and relations, and friends: but I must die, or not come to that happy place. And this is my content, that I am going daily towards it; and that every day that I have lived, hath taken a part of my appointed time from me; and that I shall live the less time, for having lived this and the day past."

The Sunday before his death, he rose suddenly from his couch, called for one of his instruments, took into his hand, and said:

"My God, my God,

"My music shall find thee,

"And every string

"Shall have his attribute to sing."

Thus he sung on earth such hymns and anthems, as the angels and he, and Mr. Farrer now sing in heaven. He continued meditating and praying, and rejoicing, 'till the day of his death, and on that day said to Mr. Woodnot, "My dear friend, I am sorry I have nothing to present to my merciful God but sin and misery; but the first is pardoned, and a few hours will put a period to the latter." Upon which expression, Mr. Woodnot took occasion to remember him of his many acts of mercy; to which he made answer, "They be good works if they be sprinkled with the blood of Christ, and not otherwise."

After this discourse, he became more restless, and his soul seemed to be weary of her earthly tabernacle; and this uneasiness became so visible, that his wife, his three nieces, and Mr. Woodnot, stood constantly about his bed, beholding him with sorrow, and an unwilling-

ness to lose the sight of him whom they could not hope to see much longer. As they stood thus beholding him, his wife observed him to breathe faintly, and with much trouble; and observing him to fall into a sudden agony, she asked him how he did? to which his answer was, "That he had past a conflict with his last enemy, and had overcome him, by the merits of his master Jesus." After which answer, he looked up, and saw his wife and nieces weeping, and charged them, "If they loved him, to withdraw into the next room, and there pray every one alone for him, for nothing but their lamentations could make his death uncomfortable." To which request, their sighs and tears would not suffer them to make any reply, but they yielded him a sad obedience, leaving only with him Mr. Woodnot, and Mr. Bostock. Immediately after they had left him, he said to Mr. Bostock, "Pray Sir, open that door, then look into that cabinet, in which you may easily find my last will, and give it into my hand;" which being done, he delivered it into the hand of Mr. Woodnot, and said, "My old friend, I here deliver you my last will, in which you will find that I have made you my sole executor for the good of my wife and nieces; and I desire you to shew kindness to them, as they shall need it; I do not desire you to be just, for I know you will be so for your own sake; but I charge you, by the religion of our friendship, to be careful of them." And having obtained Mr. Woodnot's promise to be so, he said, "I am now ready to die;" after which words he said, "Lord, grant me mercy, for the merits of my Jesus, and now, Lord, receive my soul." And with those words breathed forth his soul, without any apparent disturbance. Mr. Woodnot and Mr. Bostock attending his last breath, and closing his eyes. Thus he lived, and thus he died like a saint, unspotted of the world, full of alms-deeds, full of humility, and all the examples of a virtuous life; which I cannot conclude better, than with this borrowed observation:

"——All must to the cold grave;

"But the religious actions of the just,

"Smell sweet in death, and blossom in the dust."

[ FROM CLARK'S LIVES. ]

10. BALI. He did not read many books, but those he did read, he perused with great seriousness. Calvin's life published by Beza, and his Commentary upon the Psalms, made deep impressions upon his spirit. Growing into acquaintance with the godly people in that part of the country where he lived, who much lamented the evils of the times, he often associated with them, in keeping private days of fasting and prayer. As he took not up, any opinion or practice, till he had well weighed it; so was he not much moved by any trouble which assaulted him in his way. When others judged him ripe for the ministry, he was not hasty in adventuring upon that calling, because he was sensible of the weight thereof. As he took extraordinary pains in public, so did he also in private; especially on the Lord's day. For having by way of preparation upon the Saturday in the afternoon, spent about two hours in his house, in praying and expounding some scripture, (to

which exercise divers did resort) on the sabbath morning, he expounded a portion of scripture in his family, (whereof many neighbours were partakers): then he preached twice in public, read divers chapters, and catechized also in the forenoon, spending much time therein, (especially in the summer season.) After the evening sermon, he went into Mr. Mainwaring's house (being near at hand,) where he repeated both his sermons, and prayed; likewise, after supper he had another exercise in his own family, equivalent to a sermon, unto which divers well-affected of the neighbourhood did repair. These his great labours were the more wonderful, in that they were so excellent and solid, as many ministers and scholars yet living know, who did often frequent them. Every morning he instructed his own children and scholars in the principles of religion, whereby many young ones (of whom some are now ministers) were well seasoned and settled in the grounds of piety. Every night likewise he opened and applyed some portion of the scripture, for the edification of his family. And besides his frequent preaching at lectures<sup>a</sup>, at Madley especially, where he was the principal upholder of a weekly sermon, and a monthly fast, besides his helpfulness in holy fasting and prayer elsewhere (when desired.) It was his custom to set apart days when freed from attendance upon his school, for the solemn seeking of God, with his godly neighbours, as the necessities of the time did require. And as he was very moderate in the use of meat, drink, sleep, and apparel, so he had an admirable command over his passions. For those who most conversed with him, never saw inordinate outbreaches of anger, or other affections in his conversation. This character was given by a friend who was much with him. (viz.) That as Mr. Dod turn'd earth into heaven, by a spiritual improvement of all earthly affairs, so Mr. Ball did reconcile earth and heaven, because worldly occasions were no distractions unto him in his journey thither. At a marriage feast where christian friends were rejoicing in the good occasion of their meeting, the many good blessings provided for their comfort, and in their mutual society, this speech came from him with much gravity; one thought of Jesus Christ reaching the heart, is more to be valued, than all creature contentments

a [ From NEAT's History in the year 1631. ]

About the year 1627 there was a scheme formed by several gentlemen and ministers, to promote preaching in the country, by setting up lectures in the several market towns of England; and to support the expence a sum of money was raised by voluntary contribution, for the purchasing such impropriations as were in the hands of the laity, the profits of which were to be parcel'd out into salaries of forty or fifty pounds per annum, for the subsistence of the lecturers; the money was lodged in the hands of the following ministers and gentlemen, in trust for the above said purposes, under the name and character of *feoffees*, viz. Dr. William Gouge, Dr. Sibbs, Dr. Offspring, and Mr. Davenport, of the clergy; Ralph Eyre and

Simon Brown, Esqrs; of Lincoln's Inn. C. Sherman of Gray's Inn, and John White, of the Middle Temple lawyers; Mr. John Gearing, Mr. Richard Davis, Mr. G. Harwood, and Mr. Francis Bridges, citizens of London. There were at this time three thousand eight hundred and forty five parish churches appropriated to cathedrals or to Colleges, or impropriated as Lay-Fees to private persons, having formerly belonged to abbeys. The gentlemen abovementioned dealt only in the latter, and had already bought thirteen impropriations, which cost between five and six thousand pounds. Most people thought this a very commendable design, and wished the *feoffees* good success.

whatsoever, though they should be enjoyed in their fulness for a thousand years without interruption. He was all his life-long very sensible of the weightiness of the ministers calling, saying, that no man should dream of ease in that function; a friend being weary of teaching school, and acquainting him with his purpose to enter into the ministry, Mr. Ball told him that he would find it a far heavier task to teach men than boys. That he might keep God's servants of the lowest parts, always high in his own estimation, he would wisely weigh their peculiar serviceableness in some kind or other. When any mention was made before him of his great labours to do good, he would say, (and this was a speech which he much used) if the Lord were not a God pardoning sins, I was in a miserable condition. He died 1640.

## SECTION II.

*Some Instances of those who died about the middle of the Century, betwixt 1640 and 1660, viz.* 1. *Bedell.* 2. *Sedgwick.* 3. *Herring.* 4. *Dod.* 5. *Balsom.* 6. *Palmer.* 7. *Crook.* 8. *Blackerby.* 9. *Cotton.* 10. *Hill.* 11. *Gouge.* 12. *Whitaker.* 13. *Usher.* 14. *Harris.*

[ FROM WESLY'S Christian Library, Vol. xxvii. p. 181. ]

1. **BEDELL.** He was born at Black-Notley in Essex, in the year 1570. He was the younger son of an ancient and good family. He was sent to Emmanuel-college in Cambridge, and put under Dr. Chadderton's care, the famous head of that house; and here all those extraordinary things, that rendered him afterwards so conspicuous, began to shew themselves in such a manner, that he came to have a very eminent character both for learning and piety: so that appeals were oft made to him, as differences or controversies arose in the university. From the university he was removed to St. Edmondsbury in Suffolk, where he served long in the gospel, with great success; the opening dark passages, and comparing many texts of scripture, together with a serious and practical application of them, being the chief subject of his sermons: he had an occasion not long after his settlement in this charge, to shew how little he either courted preferment, or was afraid of great men: for when the bishop of Norwich proposed some things to his clergy, with which they were generally dissatisfied, though they had not resolution enough to oppose them; he took that hard province upon himself, and did it with so much strength of reason, as well as discretion, that many of those things were let fall: upon which when his brethren magnified him for it, he check'd them and said, 'He desired not the praises of men.' His reputation was so well established both in the university and in Suffolk, that when king James sent Sir Henry Wotton ambassador to Venice, at the time of the interdict; he was recommended as the fittest man to go chaplain in so critical a juncture: where he was very near being an instrument of a great and happy change in that republick. I need not say much of a thing so well known as were the quarrels of pope Paul V. and that republick: especially since



the history of them is written so particularly by him that knew the matter best, P. Paulo. Some laws made by the senate, restraining the excessive donations, extorted from superstitious men, and the imprisoning two lewd friars, in order to the executing justice on them, were the grounds of the quarrel; and upon these pretences, the ecclesiastical immunity from the secular tribunals was asserted to such a degree, that after that high-spirited pope had tried what the spiritual sword could do, but without success, his interdict not being observed by any, but the Jesuits, the capuchines and theatines, who were upon that, banished the state; he resolved to try the temporal sword next, according to the advice that cardinal Baronius gave him; who told him in the consistory, that there were two things said to St. Peter, the first was, "feed my sheep," the other was, "arise and kill," and therefore since he had executed the first part of St. Peter's duty, in feeding the flock, by exhortations, admonitions, and censures, without effect, he had nothing left but to arise and kill. Upon this the pope not finding any other prince that would execute his bulls, he resolved to make war upon them himself; but when he saw that his censures had not created any distractions in the republick, and found their treasure and force like to prove a match for the apostolical chamber, and to such forces as he could levy and pay, he was at last willing to accept of a mediation, in which the senate, though they were content to deliver up the two profligate friars, yet asserted their right, and maintained their laws, notwithstanding all his threatnings; nor would they so much as ask pardon, or crave absolution. But without going further into matters so generally known, I shall only mention these things in which Mr. Bedell had some share.

P. Paulo was then the divine of the state, a man equally eminent for vast learning and prudence; and was at once one of the greatest divines, and of the wisest men of his age. It must needs raise the character of Bedell much, that such a man, who, besides the caution that is natural to the country, and the prudence that obliged one in his circumstances to a more than ordinary distrust of all the world, was tied up by the strictness of that government to a very great reservedness with all people, yet took Bedell into his very soul; and as Sir Henry Wotton assured the late king, he communicated to him the inward thoughts of his heart, and professed that he had learnt more from him in all the parts of divinity, whether speculative or practical, than from any he had ever conversed with in his whole life.

The intimacy between them grew so great and so public, that when P. Paulo was wounded by those assassines that were set on by the court of Rome; upon the failing of which attempt a guard was set on him by the senate, that knew how to value and preserve so great a treasure, and much precaution was used before any were admitted to come to him; Bedell was excepted out of those rules, and had free access to him at all times. They had many and long discourses concerning religion: he found P. Paulo had read over the Greek testament with so much exactness, that having used to mark every word when he had fully weighed the importance of it, as he went through it; he had by going often over it, and observing what he past over in a former reading,

grown up to that at last, that every word was marked of the whole New Testament: and when Bedell suggested to him critical explications of some passages that he had not understood before, he received them with transports of one that leapt for joy, and that valued the discoveries of divine truth beyond all other things.

When the reconciliation<sup>a</sup> with Rome was concluded, P. Paulo wish'd he could have left Venice, and come over to England with Mr. Bedell; but he was so much esteemed by the senate for his great wisdom, and trusted with their most important secrets, that he saw it was impossible for him to obtain his Congé; and therefore he made a shift to comply, as far as he could, with the established way of their worship; but he had in many things particular methods, by which he in a great measure rather quieted than satisfied his conscience. In saying of mass, he passed over many parts of the canon, and in particular those prayers, in which that sacrifice was offered up to the honour of saints: he never prayed to saints, nor joined in those parts of the offices that went against his conscience; and in private confession and discourses, he took people off from those abuses, and gave them right notions of the purity of the Christian religion; so he hoped he was sowing seeds that might be fruitful in another age: and thus he believ'd he might live innocent in a church that he thought so defiled. And when one pressed him hard in this matter, and objected that he still held communion with an idolatrous church, and gave it credit by adhering outwardly to it, all the answer he made to this was, "That God had not given him the spirit of Luther." He expressed great tenderness and concern for Bedell, when he parted with him; and said that both he and many others would have gone over with him, if it had been in their power: but that he might never be forgot by him, he gave him his picture, with an Hebrew Bible without points, and a little Hebrew psalter, in which he wrote some sentences expressing his esteem and friendship for him; and with these he gave him the invaluable manuscript of the history of the council of Trent, together with the history of the interdict, and of the inquisition;

a A passage fell out during the interdict, that made some noise. There came a Jesuit to Venice, Thomas Maria Caraffa, who printed a thousand theses of philosophy and divinity, which he dedicated to the pope with this extravagant inscription,

PAULO V. VICE-DEO, *Christianæ reipublicæ monarchæ invictissimo, et pontificiæ omnipotentiae conservatori acerrimo.*

TO PAUL V. THE VICE-GOD THE MOST INVINCIBLE MONARCH OF THE CHRISTIAN COMMONWEALTH, AND THE MOST ZEALOUS ASSERTOR OF THE PAPAL OMNIPOTENCY.

All people were amazed at the impudence of this title; but when Mr. Bedell observed that the numeral letters of the first words, PAULO V. VICE-DEO being put together, made exactly 666, the number of the beast in the Revelation, he communicated this to P. Paulo, and the seven divines, and they

carried it to the duke and the senate. It was entertained by them with very great approbation; and it was publicly preached over all their territories, by their clergy, as an argument that the pope was antichrist. And it is like this was promoted by them more, because they found it took with the Italians, than that they builded much upon it. This flew so over Italy, that lest it should take too much among the people, the pope caused his emissaries to give it out every where, that antichrist was now born in Babylon, and was descended of the tribe of Dan; and that he was gathering a vast army, with which he intended to come and destroy christendom: and therefore all Christian princes were exhorted to prepare all their forces for resisting so great an invasion.

the first of these will ever be reckoned the chief pattern, after which all, that intend to succeed well in history, must copy.

When Bedell came over, he brought along with him the archbishop of Spalata, and one Despotine a physician, who could no longer bear with the corruptions of the Roman worship; and so chose a freer air. The latter lived near him in Edmondsbury, and was by his means introduced into much practice, which he maintained so well, that he became eminent in his profession, and continued to his death to keep up a constant correspondence with him. Mr. Bedell had now finished one of the scenes of his life with great honour. The most considerable addition he made to his learning at Venice, was in the improvements of the Hebrew, in which he made a great progress by the assistance of R. Leo: in exchange of it, he communicated to him, that which was much more valuable, the true understanding of many passages in the Old Testament, with which that Rabbi expressed himself often to be highly satisfied: and once in a solemn dispute, he press'd this Rabbi with so clear proofs of Jesus Christ's being the true Messiah, that he, and several others of his brethren, had no other way to escape, but to say, that their Rabbins every where did expound these prophecies otherwise, according to the tradition of their fathers.

After eight years stay, he returned to England; and without pretending to preferment, he went immediately to his charge at Edmondsbury, and there went on in his ministerial labours. He had a soul too generous to stoop to these servile compliances, that are expected by those that have the distribution of preferments. He thought that was an abjectness of spirit that became not a Christian philosopher, much less a churchman, who ought to express a contempt of the world, and a resignation to divine providence. He was content to deserve preferment, and did not envy others who arrived at it. But though he was forgot at court, yet Sir Thomas Jermyn, who was a privy counsellor, and vice-chamberlain to king Charles I. and a great patron of virtue and piety, took such a liking to him, that a considerable living, in his gift, falling void, he presented him to it in the year 1615. When he came to the bishop of Norwich to take out his title to it, he demanded large fees for his institution and induction: but Bedell would give no more than sufficient gratification for the writing, wax, and parchment; and refused to pay the rest. He look'd on it as simony in the bishop to demand more, and contrary to the command of Christ, who said, "Freely ye have received, freely give." He watched over his flock, like one that knew he was to answer to God for those souls committed to his charge: he preached to the understandings and consciences of his parish, and catechised constantly. And, as the whole course of his own most exemplary behaviour was a continued sermon; so he was very exact in the more private affairs of his function, visiting the sick, and dealing in secret with his people, to excite or preserve in them a deep sense of religion. This he made his work, and he followed it so close, lived so much at home, and was so little known, that when Diodati came over to England, many years after, he could hear of him from no person that he met with; though he was acquainted with many of the clergy.

He was much amazed to find that so extraordinary a man, that was so much admired at Venice, by so good judges, was not so much as known in his own country; and so he was out of all hope of finding him out, but by a mere accident he met him on the streets of London, at which there was a great deal of joy on both sides. And upon that Diodati presented him to Morton, the learned and antient bishop of Duresme, and told how great a value P. Paulo set on him; upon which that bishop treated him in a particular manner. It is true, Sir Henry Wotton was always his faithful friend; but his credit at court had sunk. While he was thus neglected at home, his fame was spread into Ireland; and though he was not known either to bishop Usher, or to any of the fellows of Trinity-college in Dublin, yet he was chosen by their unanimous consent, to be the head of their college, in the year 1627; and as that worthy primate of Ireland, together with the fellows of the college, writ to him, inviting him to come and accept of that mastership, so an address was also made to the king, praying that he would command him to go over.

So he was prevailed on to resign his benefice, and carry his family to Ireland; and then he applied himself with that vigour of mind, that was peculiar to him, to the government of the college. He corrected such abuses as he found among them; he set such rules, and saw these so well executed, that it quickly appeared how happy a choice they had made: and as he was a great promoter of learning, so he thought it his particular province to instruct the house in the principles of religion. In order to this he catechized the youth in the college once a week, and preached once a Sunday, though he was not obliged to it: and that he might acquaint them with a plain body of divinity, he divided the church-catechism into fifty-two parts, one for every Sunday, and explained it in a way so mixed with speculative and practical matters, that his sermons were both learned lectures of divinity, and excellent exhortations to piety. He had not stayed there above two years, when, by means of his friend, Sir Thomas Jermyn, a patent was sent him to be bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh.

And now in the fifty-ninth year of his age, he entered upon a different course of life and employment, when it might have been thought, that the vigour of his spirits was much broken and spent. But by his administration of his diocese, it appeared that there remained yet a vast force of spirit to carry him through those difficult undertakings to which he found himself obliged by this office; he found his diocese under so many disorders, that there was scarce a sound part remaining. The first he rectified was pluralities, by which one man had a care of souls in so many different places, that it was not possible to discharge his duty to them, nor to perform the vows made at his ordination, of feeding and instructing the flock committed to his care. And though most of the pluralists did mind all their parishes alike, that is, neglected all equally; yet he thought this an abuse contrary both to the nature of ecclesiastical functions, to the obligations the care of souls imported, and to those solemn vows churchmen made when ordained: and he knew well that this corruption was no sooner observed to have crept into the Christian

church, than it was condemned by the fourth general council of Chalcedon. Therefore the bishop gathered a meeting of his clergy, and laid before them, both out of scripture, and antiquity, the institution, nature, and duties of the ministerial-employment: and exhorted them to reform that intolerable abuse, which as it brought a heavy scandal on the church, and gave their adversaries great advantages; so it must very much endanger both their own souls, and the souls of their flocks: and to let them see that he would not lay a heavy burden on them, in which he would not bear his own share, he resolved to part with one of his bishopricks: for though Ardagh was considered as a ruined see, and had long gone as an accessory to Kilmore; yet since they were really two different sees, he thought he could not decently oblige his clergy to renounce their pluralities, unless he set them an example, and renounced his own; even after he had been at a considerable charge in recovering the patrimony of Ardagh, and though he was sufficiently able to discharge the duty of both sees, they being contiguous and small, and though the revenue of both did not exceed a competency, yet he would not seem to be guilty of that which he so severely condemned in others: and therefore he resigned Ardagh to Dr. Richardson. The authority of this example, and the efficacy of his discourse, made such an impression on his clergy, that they all renounced their pluralities.

The condemning pluralities was but half of his project. The next part was to oblige his clergy to reside in their parishes; but in this he met with a great difficulty.

King James upon the last reduction of Ulster after Tyron's rebellion, had ordered Glebe-Lands to be assigned to all the clergy; and they were obliged to build houses upon them, within a limited time. But in assigning these Glebe-Lands, the commissioners had taken no care of the conveniencies of the clergy; for in many places these lands were not in the parish, and often they lay not all together, but were divided in parcels. So he found his clergy were in a strait. For if they built houses upon these Glebe-Lands, they would be thereby forced to live out of their parishes, and it was very inconvenient for them to have their houses remote from their lands.

In order to remedy this, the bishop having lands in every parish assigned him, resolved to make an exchange with them, for more convenient portions of equal value: and that the exchange might be made upon a just estimate, so that neither the bishop nor the inferior clergy might suffer, he procured a commission from the lord lieutenant, for some to examine and settle that matter, which was at last brought to a conclusion with so universal a satisfaction to his whole diocese, that, since the thing could not be finally determined without a great seal from the king, confirming all that was done, there was one sent over in all their names to obtain it.

By his cutting off pluralities there fell to be many vacancies in his diocese; so the care he took to fill these, comes to be considered in the next place. He was very strict in his examinations before he gave orders to any. He went over the articles of the church of Ireland so particularly and exactly, that one who was present at the ordination of

him that was afterwards his arch-deacon, Mr. Thomas Price, reported that though he was one of the senior fellows of the college of Dublin, when the bishop was provost: yet his examination held two full hours: and when he had ended any examination, which was always done in the presence of his clergy, he desired every clergyman present to examine the person further, if they thought any material thing was omitted by him; by which a fuller discovery of his temper and sufficiency might be made.

When all was ended, he made all his clergy give their approbation before he would proceed to ordination: for he would never assume that singly to himself, nor take the load of it wholly on his own soul.

He took also great care to be well informed of the religious qualities of those he ordained, as well as he satisfied himself by his examination of their capacity and knowledge. He had always a considerable number of his clergy assisting him at his ordinations, and he always preached and administered the sacrament on those occasions himself: and he never ordained one a presbyter, till he had been at least a year a deacon, that so he might have a good account of his behaviour in that lower degree, before he raised him higher.

He remembered well the grounds he went on, when he refused to pay fees for the title to his benefice in Suffolk, and therefore took care that those who were ordained by him, or had titles to benefices from him, might be put to no charge: for he wrote all the instruments himself, and delivered them to the persons to whom they belonged, out of his own hands, and adjured them in a very solemn manner, to give nothing to any of his servants. And, that he might hinder it all that was possible, he waited on them always on those occasions to the gate of his house, that so he might be sure that they should not give any gratification to his servants. He thought it lay on him to pay them such convenient wages as became them, and not to let his clergy be burdened with his servants. And indeed the abuses in that were grown to such a pitch, that it was necessary thus to correct them.

There was another abuse he was much troubled at, which was, that when the metropolitical and regal visitations went round, a writ was served on the bishops, suspending their jurisdiction for that year; and when this was first brought to him, he received it with great indignation, which was increased by two clauses in the writ: by the one it was asserted, That in the year of the metropolitan's visitation, the whole and entire jurisdiction of the diocese belonged to him. The other was the reason given for it, Because of the great danger of the souls of the people: whereas the danger of souls arises from that suspension of the bishop's pastoral power, since during that year he either could not do the duty of a bishop; or if he would exercise it, he must either purchase a delegation to act as the archbishop's deputy, and that could not be had without paying for it, or be liable to a suit in the prerogative court.

He laid those things often before archbishop Usher, and pressed him earnestly to set himself to the reforming them, since they were acted in his name, and by virtue of his authority deputed to his chancellor, and

to the other officers of the court called the Spiritual Court. No man was more sensible of those abuses than Uther was; no man knew the beginning and progress of them better, nor was more touched with the ill effects of them; and, together with his vast learning, no man had a better soul, and a more apostolical mind. Archbishop Uther was a man who in his conversation expressed the true simplicity of a Christian: for passion, pride, self-will, or the love of the world, seemed not to be so much as in his nature; so that he had all the innocence of the dove in him. He had a way of gaining people's hearts, and of touching their consciences, that looked like somewhat of the apostolical age revived: he spent much of his time in those two best exercises, secret prayer, and dealing with other people's consciences, either in his sermons or private discourses; and what remained he dedicated to his studies, in which more many volumes that came from him shewed a most amazing diligence and exactness: so that he was certainly one of the greatest and best men that the age, or perhaps the world, has produced. But he was not made for the governing part of his function. He had too gentle a soul to manage that rough work of reforming abuses; and therefore he left things as he found them. He hoped a time of reformation would come: he saw the necessity of cutting off many abuses, and confessed, that the tolerating those abominable corruptions that the canonists had brought in, was such a stain upon our church, that he apprehended it would bring a curse and ruin upon the whole constitution. But tho' he prayed for a more favourable conjuncture, and would have concurred in a joint reformation of these things very heartily; yet he did not bestir himself suitably to the obligations that lay on him for carrying it on: and it is very likely that this sat heavy on his thoughts when he came to die; for he prayed often, and with great humility, That God would forgive him his sins of omission, and his failings in his duty. Those that upon all other accounts loved and admired him, lamented this defect in him; which was the only alloy that seemed left, and without which he would have been held, perhaps, in more veneration than was fitting. His physician, Dr. Bootius, that was a Dutchman, said truly of him, "If our primate of Armagh was as exact a disciplinarian, as he is eminent in searching antiquity, defending the truth, and preaching the gospel, he might without doubt deserve to be made the chief churchman of Christendom." Yet though bishop Uther did not much himself, he had a singular esteem for that vigour of mind, which our bishop expressed in the reforming these matters.

In censuring offenders, he considered that church-censures ought not to be like the acts of tyrants, that punish out of revenge, but like the discipline of parents, that correct in order to the amendment of their children: so he studied chiefly to beget in all offenders a true sense of their sins. Many of the Irish priests were brought oft into his courts for their lewdness; and upon that he took occasion with great mildness, and without scoffing, or insultings to make them sensible of that tyrannical imposition in their church, in denying their priests leave to marry, which occasioned so much impurity among them; and this caused a good effect on some.

This leads me to another part of his character, the care he took of the natives: he observed, with much regret, that the English had all along neglected the Irish, as a nation not only conquered but undisciplinable; and that the clergy had scarce considered them as a part of their charge, but had left them wholly in the hands of their own priests, without taking any other care of them, but making them pay their tythes. And indeed their priests were a strange sort of people, that knew generally nothing but the reading their offices, which were not so much as understood by many of them: so that the state both of the clergy and laity was such, that it could not but raise great compassion in a man that had so tender a sense of the value of those souls that Christ had purchased with his blood: therefore he resolved to set about that apostolical work of converting the natives with the zeal and care that so great an undertaking required. He knew the gaining of some of the more knowing of their priests was like to be the quickest way; for by their means he hoped to spread the knowledge of the reformed religion among the natives; or rather of the Christian religion, to speak more strictly. For they had no sort of notion of Christianity, but only knew that they were to depend upon their priests, and were to confess such of their actions, as they called sins, to them; and were to pay them tythes. The bishop prevailed on several priests to change, and he was so well satisfied with the truth of their conversion, that he provided some of them ecclesiastical benefices.

There was a convent of friers very near him, on whom he took much pains, with very good success. That he might furnish his converts with the means of instructing others, he made a short Catechism to be printed in one sheet, being English on the one page, and Irish on the other; which contained the elements, and most necessary things of the Christian religion, together with some forms of prayer, and some of the most instructing passages of scripture: this he sent about all over his diocese; and it was received with great joy, by many of the Irish, who seemed to be hungering and thirsting after righteousness, and received this beginning of knowledge so well, that it gave a good encouragement to hope well upon further endeavours.

The bishop did also set himself to learn the Irish tongue; and though it was too late for a man of his years to learn to speak it, yet he came to understand it to such a degree, as to compose a compleat Grammar of it (which was the first that ever was made, as I have been told) and to be a critic in it: he also had Common Prayer read in Irish every Sunday in his cathedral for the benefit of the converts he had made, and was always present at it himself, and he engaged all his clergy to set up schools in their parishes; for there were so few bred to read or write, that this obstructed the conversion of the nation very much. The New Testament and the book of Common-Prayer were already put in the Irish tongue; but he resolved to have the whole Bible, the Old Testament as well as the New, put also into the hands of the Irish; and therefore he laboured much to find out one that understood the language so well that he might be employed in so sacred a work: and by the advice of the primate, and several other eminent persons, he pitched upon one King, that



had been converted many years before, and was believed to be the elegantest writer of the Irish tongue then alive, both for prose and poetry. He was then about seventy, but notwithstanding his age, the bishop thought him not only capable of this employment, but qualified for an higher character; therefore he put him in orders, and gave him a benefice in his diocese, and let him to work in translating the Bible; which he was to do from the English translation, since there were none of the nation to be found that knew any thing of the originals. The bishop set himself so much to the reviving this work, that always after dinner or supper he read over a chapter; and as he compared the Irish translation with the English, so he compared the English with the Hebrew and the seventy interpreters; and he corrected the Irish where he found the English translators had failed. He thought the use of the scriptures was the only way to let the knowledge of religion in among the Irish, as it had first let the reformation into the other parts of Europe: and he used to tell a passage of a sermon that he heard Fulgentio preach at Venice. It was on these words of Christ, "Have ye not read;" and so he took occasion to tell the auditory, That if Christ were now to ask this question, "Have ye not read?" All the answer they could make to it, was, "No, for they were not suffered to do it." This was not unlike what the same person delivered in another sermon preaching upon Pilate's question, "What is truth?" He told them at last after many searches he had found it out, and held out a New-Testament, and said, "There it was in his hand," but then he put it into his pocket, and said coldly, "But the book is prohibited." The bishop had observed that in the primitive times as soon as nations, how barbarous soever they were, began to receive the Christian religion, they had the scriptures translated into their vulgar tongues: and that all people were exhorted to study them; therefore he not only undertook and began this work, but followed it with so much industry, that in a very few years he finished the translation, and resolved to set about the printing of it: and as he had been at the great trouble of examining the translation, so he resolved to run the venture of the impression, and took that expence upon himself. He lived not to finish this great design; yet, notwithstanding the rebellion and confusion that followed in Ireland, the manuscript of the translation of the Bible escaped the storm; and falling into good hands, it is at this time under the press; and is carried on chiefly by the zeal, and at the charge of that noble Christian philosopher, Mr. Boyle.

But here I must open one of the bloodiest scenes that the sun ever shone upon, and represent a nation all covered with blood, that was in full peace, under no fears or apprehensions, enjoying great plenty, under no oppression in civil matters, nor persecution upon the account of religion: for the bishops and priests of the Roman communion enjoyed not only an impunity, but were almost as public in the use of their religion, as others were in that which was established by law; so that they wanted nothing but empire, and a power to destroy all that differed from them. And yet on a sudden this happy land was turned to a field of blood. Their bishops resolved in one particular to fulfil the o-

obligation of the oath they took at their consecration, of persecuting all heretics to the utmost of their power; and their priests, that had their breeding from Spain, had brought over from thence the true spirit of their religion, which is ever breathing cruelty, together with a tincture of the Spanish temper, that had appeared in the conquest of the West-Indies, and so they thought a massacre was the surest way to work, and intended that the natives of Ireland should vie with the Spaniards for what they had done in America.

The conjuncture seemed favourable; for the whole isle of Britain was so imbroiled, that they reckoned they should be able to master Ireland, before any forces could be sent over to check the progress of their butchery. The earl of Strafford had left Ireland some considerable time before this. The parliament of England was rising very high against the king; and though the king was then gone to Scotland, it was rather for a present quieting of things, than that he gained them to his service. So they laid hold of this conjuncture, to infuse it into the people, that this was a proper time for them to recover their ancient liberty, shake off the English yoke, and possess themselves of those estates that had belonged to their ancestors: and to such as had some duty to the king it was given out, that what they were about was warranted by his authority. A seal was cut from another charter, and put to a forged commission, giving warrant to what they were going about. And because the king was then in Scotland, they made use of a Scots seal. They also pretended, that the parliaments of both kingdoms being in rebellion against the king, the English of Ireland would be generally in the interest of the English parliament; so that it was said, they could not serve the king better than by making themselves masters in Ireland, and then declaring for the king against his other rebellious subjects.

These things took universally with the whole nation; and the conspiracy was cemented by many oaths and sacraments, and in conclusion all things were found so ripe, that the day was set in which they should every where break out; and the castle of Dublin being then a great magazine, it was resolved that they should seize on it, which would have furnished them with arms and ammunition, and have put the metropolis, and probably the whole island into their hands. But, though this was so well laid, that the execution could not have miss'd, in all human appearance; and though it was kept so secret, that there was not the least suspicion of any design on foot, 'till the night before; yet then one that was among the chief of the managers of it, out of kindness to an Irishman, that was become a Protestant, communicated the project to him: the other went and discovered it to the lords justices; and by this means not only the castle of Dublin was preserved, but in effect Ireland was saved: for in Dublin there was both a shelter for such as were stripped and turned out of all they had, and a place of rendezvous, where they that escaped before the storm had reached them, met to consult about their preservation. But though Dublin was thus secured, the rest of the English and Scots in Ireland fell into the hands of those merciless men, who reckoned it no small mercy, when they stripped people naked, and let them go with their lives. But the vast numbers that were butcher-

ed by them, which one of their own writers, in a discourse that he printed some years after, in order to the animating them to go on, boasts to have exceeded two hundred thousand; and the barbarous cruelties they used in murdering them, are things of so dreadful a nature, that I cannot go on with so dismal a narrative, but must leave it to the historians. I shall say no more of it than what concerns our bishop: it may be easily imagined how much he was struck with that fearful storm, that was breaking on every hand of him, though it did not yet break in upon himself. There seemed to be a secret guard about his house: for tho' there was nothing but fire, blood, and desolation round about him; yet the Irish were so restrained, as by some hidden power, that they did him no harm for many weeks. His house was in no condition to make any resistance; so that it was not any apprehension of the opposition that might be made them, that bound them up. Great numbers of his neighbours had also fled to him for shelter: he received all that came, and shared every thing he had with them; and now that they had nothing to expect from men, he invited them all to turn with him to God, and to prepare for that death which they had reason to look for every day; so that they spent their time in prayer and fasting, which last was now like to be imposed on them by necessity.

The rebels expressed their esteem for him in such a manner, that he had reason to ascribe it wholly to that over-ruling power, that stills the raging of the seas, and the tumult of the people: they seemed to be overcome with his exemplary conversation among them, and with the tenderness and charity that he had upon all occasions expressed for them: and they often said, he should be the last Englishman that should be put out of Ireland. He was the only Englishman in the whole county of Cavan that was suffered to live in his own house without disturbance; not only his house, and all the out-buildings, but the church and church-yard, were full of people; and many, that a few days before lived in great ease and plenty, were now glad of a heap of straw or hay to ly upon, and of some boiled wheat to support nature; and were every day expecting when those swords, that had, according to the prophetic phrase, drunk up so much blood, should likewise be satisfied with theirs. They did now eat the bread of sorrow, and mingled their cups with their tears. The bishop continued to encourage them to trust in God, and in order to that he preached to them the first Lord's day after this terrible calamity had brought them about him, on the third Psalm, which was penned by David when there was a general insurrection of the people against him under his unnatural son Absalom; and he applied it all to their condition. He had a doleful assembly before him, an auditory all in tears: it requires a soul of an equal elevation to his, to imagine how he raised up their spirits, when he spake on these words; "But thou, O Lord, art a shield for me, my glory, and the lifter up of my head; I laid me down and slept: I awaked, for the Lord sustained me. I will not be afraid of ten thousands of the people, that have set themselves against me round about." And on the conclusion of the Psalms, "Salvation belongeth unto the Lord: thy blessing is upon thy people." The next Lord's day, hearing of the scos-

sings, as well as the cruelty, of the Irish, he preached on these words in Micah, "Rejoice not against me, O mine enemy; when I fall, I shall arise; when I sit in darkness, the Lord shall be a light unto me. I will bear the indignation of the Lord, because I have sinned against him, until he plead my cause, and execute judgment for me: he will bring me forth to the light, and I shall behold his righteousness. Then she that is mine enemy shall see it, and shame shall cover her which said unto me, where is the Lord thy God?" By these means, and through the blessing of God upon them, they encouraged themselves in God, and were prepared for the worst that their enemies could do to them.

While this good man was now every day waiting for his crown, the rebels sent to him, desiring him to dismiss the company that was about him; but he refused to obey their cruel order, and resolved to live and die with them; and would much more willingly have offered himself to have died for them, than have accepted of any favour for himself, from which they would be shut out. And when they sent him word, that though they loved and honoured him beyond all the English that ever came into Ireland, because he had never done wrong to any, but good to many, yet they had received orders from the council of state at Kilkenny, that had assumed the government of the rebels, that if he would not put away the people, who had gathered about him, they should take him from them; he said no more, but in the words of David and St. Paul, "Here I am, the Lord do unto me as seems good to him, the will of the Lord be done."

So on the eighteenth of December they came and seized on him, and on all that belonged to him, and carried him and his two sons, and Mr. Clogy, prisoners to the castle of Lochwater, the only place of strength in the whole country. Here the bishop spent the few remaining days of his pilgrimage, having his latter end so full in view, that he seemed dead to the world and every thing in it, and to be hastening for the coming of the day of God. During the last sabbaths of his life, though there were three ministers present, he read all the prayers and lessons himself, and likewise preached on all those days.

The Irish did him unusual honours at his burial, for the chief of the rebels gathered their forces together, and with them accompanied his body from Mr. Sheridan's house to the church-yard of Kilmore, in great solemnity, and discharged a volley of shot at his interment, and cried out in Latin, *Requiescat in pace ultimus Anglorum*, "May the last of the English rest in peace." For they had often said, that as they esteemed him the best of the English bishops, so he should be the last that should be left among them.

Thus lived and died this excellent bishop; in whom so many of the greatest characters of a primitive and apostolical bishop did shew themselves so eminently, that it seemed fit that he should still speak to the world, though dead. He died 1642.

2. SEDGWICK. He had an uncle living in Yorkshire, who was very rich, and of large yearly revenues, having no children. Whereupon he took this his nephew in his tender years home to himself, and put him

to school, with an intent to make him his heir; but God had laid up a better portion for him.

His uncle and family were prophane, hating the power of godliness, and wedded to games and sports: yet even in such a family God visited him in mercy, and awakened his soul, by working in him hearty desires after himself. Whilst the rest of the family were at their games and dancings, he would be in a corner mourning. His uncle at first thought his retiredness to have been his bookishness; and therefore rebuked him gently, and called upon him to take more liberty; but, at last, perceiving the truth of the thing, he began to hate him, and to deal roughly with him; and not being able to bring him to his will, cast him out of his family, saying, that a Puritan should never inherit his land<sup>a</sup>. Before this his father had died. But his mother being industrious, and sparing out of the little means she had left her, maintained him at Cambridge, where he profited greatly in all kind of learning. He began the exercise of his ministry in Kent, where, being called to preach at Canterbury, in his sermon he touched the corruption of the prebends, and their cathedral service, which so far displeased them, as that by threats they brought him to condescend, through weakness, to promise to recant, and a day for this was appointed. Upon his return home, and his second thoughts, he became very sad, and in his perplexity, he took his Bible and read that encouraging word of God to Jeremiah, Jer. 1.

[ The hatred of some at serious religion, under the name of Puritanism, in those days appears from the following passage in TURNER'S Remarkable Providences, Part I. ch. 19.]

a Old Mr. Studly was a lawyer in Kent, of about 400 l. a year. He was a great enemy to the power of religion, and a hater of those that were then called Puritans. His son, in his youth, seem'd to follow in the same steps, 'till the Lord, that had separated him from the womb, call'd him home, which was as followeth. The young man was at London, and being drunk in some company; and going in the night towards his lodging, fell into a cellar, and in the fall was seiz'd with horror, and thought he fell into hell at that time. It pleased God he took little harm by the fall, but lay there some hours in a drunken drowse, his body being heated with what he drank, and his soul awakened, he thought he was actually in hell. After that he was come to himself, and was got home into Kent, he fell into melancholy, betook himself to read and study the scriptures, and to much prayer: which at length his father perceiv'd; and fearing he would turn Puritan, was troubled and dealt roughly with him, made him dress his horses, which he humbly and willingly submitted to. And when, at that time, his father perceived he fate up late at night, reading on his Bible, he denied him candle-light, but being allowed a fire in his chamber; he told Mr. Knight, he was wont to **ly along and read by the fire light; and said,**

That while he was dressing his father's horses in his frock, and in that time of reading by the fire, he had those comforts from the Lord, and joys, that he had scarce experienced since. His father seeing these means ineffectual, resolv'd to send him into France, that by the airiness of that country his melancholy temper might be cured. He went, and being at his own dispose, by the Lord's guiding him, he placed himself in the house of a godly Protestant minister; and between them, after they were acquainted, (and such is the cogitation of saving grace in divers subjects, that, a little time will serve for Christians to be acquainted) there grew great endearment. Great progress he made in speaking the language; and his father, expecting an account from the gentleman with whom he sojourned, of his proficiency in speaking French, he sent it to him; but soon after he had orders to return home. And the father dressing it, or he intreating it, the landlord, with whom he had sojourned, came into England with him, and both were made very welcome at his father's house, he not knowing that he was a minister. At last the father took the French gentleman and his son at prayers together, and was angry, paid him what was due to him, and sent him away. Then his father having an interest in a person of honour, a

7, 8. "Whatsoever I command thee thou shalt speak; and be not afraid of their faces, for I am with thee to deliver thee, saith the Lord." By this he was so strengthened, that he resolved to stand to what he had formerly delivered, whatsoever danger did attend him. At the time appointed he preached again in the cathedral, having a very large auditory, both of country and city, in which sermon he confirmed what he had before delivered, earnestly pressing the prebends to reform the abuses amongst them. By this they were so offended, that they complained of him to the bishop, and so persecuted him, that he was forced to forsake his place, and to retire himself into private, and was entertained for a time by Sir Edward Bois the elder, a man eminent for piety in those days.

During this his retirement, he came upon occasion to London, and by the means of Mr. Egerton, pastor at Black-fryers, was received into the family of Sir Edward Anslow, who lived in the city during the Winter, and in Summer at Crawly in Surrey, a place destitute of a preaching minister. In this family his labours were abundant. Every day his usual course was to pray in the morning at six of the clock with the husbandmen, and at ten to pray with the rest of the family, and expound a chapter. His course at night was after prayer to catechize the family by turns, wherein he used no respect of persons, the meanest not being left out, and the chiefest not forborn. On the

great lady at White-Hall, and his son by his now past education, accomplished for such an employ, prevailed with that lady to take his son for her gentleman, to wait upon her in her coach. He thought by a court life to drive away his melancholy (as he called his son's seriousness in religion). The lady had many servants, some given to swearing and rudeness, whom this young gentleman would take upon him to reprove, with that prudence and gravity, that sin fell down before him. And if any of the servants had been ill employed, and they had heard him coming, they would say, let us cease, or be gone, Mr. Studly is coming. After a years time, his father waits upon the lady, to enquire of his son's carriage. She answered as it was, that she was glad she had seen his son's face, he had wrought a mighty reformation in her family. She, that had formerly been troubled with unruly servants, by his prudent carriage was now as quiet in her house as if she had lived in a private family in the country. After this the father stormed, what will he make puritans in White-Hall? told the lady that was no place for him, he would take him with him, which to her trouble he did. When he had him at home in Kent as his last refuge, he thought of marrying him; and to that end found out a match which he thought fit for his ends, to listle that work of religion in his son. He had him one night put on his clothes in the morning, and ordered his servant to make ready their horses in the morn-

ing, and himself to wait upon them. When they were riding on the way, he bade the man ride before, and spake to his son to this purpose. 'Son, you have been matter of great grief to me, and having used much means to reclaim you from this way you are in, to no purpose, I have one more remedy to apply in which if you comply with me I shall settle my estate upon you, else you shall never enjoy a groat of it; I am riding to such a gentleman's house, to whose daughter I intend to marry you.' The son said little, knowing that family to be prophane; but went with his father, who before had made way there. They were entertained nobly, he had a sight of the young lady, a great beauty, and the young man fell much in love with her. When they had taken their leaves, on his way, his father asked him, "What he thought of her?" He answered, "No man living, but must be taken with such an one; he feared she would not like him." The father was glad it had taken, bid him take no care for that. The wooing was not long: at three weeks end they both came to London to buy things for the wedding. The father had charged, that in the time of wooing in that gentleman's house, there should be no swearing nor debauchery, lest his son should be discouraged. Wedding clothes were bought, and the day come, the young couple were married. At the wedding dinner, at her father's house, the mask was taken off; they fell to drinking healths, and swearing a-

Lord's day, during his abode at Crawly, he preached twice constantly, and after public exercises, called the whole family in private to render an account of what was delivered in public. After this he was called by the merchant adventurers to be minister to their company beyond sea, whither, breaking through all discouragements, he went. During his abode beyond the sea at Stoade, and Hamborough (which was about the space of eleven years and an half) he, by the advice of the godly learned, erected and established discipline in that church. God did greatly bless his ministry, and he begat among that little company, many sons and daughters unto God. He had communion with the Netherland Dutch Church at Stoade, and Altenon near Hamborough, and with the godly that came out of England. In his ministry he was very searching, many coming and confessing those things which he had never heard of till it came out of their own mouths. In his carriage he was affable and courteous, yet grave and awful, so that many durst not for fear, do those things that otherways they were disposed to. The merchants here found the benefit by the orderly carriage of their factors there. Yet here the devil was not quiet, for one of the prime merchants taking exceptions against his impartial dealing in his ministry, and the order in the church, threatened by such a day, naming it, to have him over into England; but before that day came, himself was summoned by death to another place. Upon the dissolving of that company

among their cups; and, amongst others, the bride swore an oath. At which the bridegroom, as a man amazed, took occasion to rise from the table, stepped forth, and went to the stable, took an horse, none observing, all were busy within; he mounted, and rode away, not knowing what to do. He bewailed himself as he rode along, as undone, and deservedly; for that he had been so taken in love, and the business so hurried on in design; he said he had at that time restrained prayer, and slackened his communion with God, when, as in that grand affair of his life, he should have been doubly and trebly serious; and so might thank himself, that he was utterly undone. He sometimes thought of riding quite away. At last, being among the woods, he led his horse into a solitary place, tied him to a tree, in his distress, and betook himself to his prayers and tears, in which he spent the afternoon. The providence of God had altered his argument of prayer; which was now for the conversion of his new married wife, or he was undone. This he pressed with prayers and tears a great part of the afternoon, and did not rise from prayer without good hope of being heard. At the bride house was hurry enough; horse and man (after they missed the bridegroom) sent every way. No news of him. He was wrestling as Jacob once at Peniel. In the evening he returned home, and enquiring where his bride was, went up to her, and found her in her chamber pensive enough; she asked him, "If he had done well to expose her to scorn and deri-

sion all the day?" He entreated her to sit down upon a couch there by him, and he would give her an account of his doing what he had then done, and tell her the story of his whole life, and what the Lord through grace had done for him. He went over the story here above-mentioned, with many beautiful particulars (no question here omitted) not without great affection and tears, the flood-gates of which had been opened in the wood. And ever and anon, in the discourse would say, through grace God did so and so for me. When he had told her his story over (and by the way, this was the apostle Paul's method by which many were converted, to tell over the story of his conversion) she asked him, what he meant by that word, so often used in the relation of his life, "through grace," so ignorantly had she been educated: and asked him, if he thought there were no grace in God for her, who was so wretched a stranger to God? yes, my dear, saith he, there is grace for thee, and that I have been praying for this day in the wood; and God hath heard my prayer, and seen my tears, and let us now go together to him about it. Then did they kneel down by the couch-side, and he prayed, and such weeping and supplication there was on both sides, that when they were called down to supper, they had hardly eyes to see with, so swell'd were they with weeping. At supper, the bride's father (according to his custom) swore. The bride immediately said; Father, I beseech you swear not. At which the bridegroom's

of merchants he came over into England, and being disappointed of a place in London, intended for him by Mr. Jones, he went to Monmouth in Wales, and for some time held the lecture settled there. Afterwards a chappel being erected at Wapping, he was called to that place. Here he abode to his death, being holy and exemplary in his life and conversation, and abundant in labours, preaching constantly thrice a week, and catechizing on the Lord's day besides. The tenderness of his fatherly care and love of this people, he expressed all the time of his living with them, but especially in the time of the great sickness, when, remaining with them, he preached constantly every Lord's day, and the fast days, notwithstanding all the danger that he was in, the infection in that place being much spread, and very violent. The providence of God over him at that time was very remarkable; for although all the families round about him were infected, and his house adjoyned to the place of burial, yet neither himself nor any of his family were any ways smitten with it. Many were his labours in private, being much sought unto both for counsel and for comfort. What success God gave unto his ministry, was evident by the many souls won and built by him. He was very studious, and wrote much, yet was always averse from publishing any thing, though often requested; saying, that the many books that were daily set forth, hindered the study and reading of the holy scriptures. He died 1643.

father, in a great rage, rose from table: what (says he) is the devil in him! hath he made his wife a puritan already? and swore bitterly, that he would rather set fire (with his own hands) to the four corners of his fair-built house, than ever he should enjoy it. And accordingly he acted, made his will, gave his son (when he should die) ten pounds, to cut off his claim; and gave the estate to some others, of whom Dr. Reeves was one: And not long after died. Dr. Reeves sent for the gentleman, paid him his ten pounds, told him, he had been a rebellious son, and disobliged his father, and might thank himself. He received the ten pounds, and meekly departed.

His wife (the match was so huddled up) had no portion promised, at least that he knew of, who relied on his father; so that she was also deserted by her friends: and having two hundred pounds in her own hand, that had been given her by a grand-mother, with that they took and stock'd a farm in Sussex, where Mr. Knight hath often been, and seen her who had been highly bred, in her red waist-coat, and milking her cows; and was now become the great comforter and encourager of her husband, exceeding cheerfully. God, saith she, hath had mercy on me, and any pains-taking is pleasant to me. There they lived some years with much comfort, and had the blessing of marriage, divers children. After some three years, he was met in Kent, on the road, by one of the tenants of the estate, and saluted by the

name of landlord: alas, said he, I am none of your landlord: yes, you are, said he; I know more than you do of the settlement: your father, tho' a cunning lawyer, with all his wit, could not alienate the estate from you, whom he had made joint purchaser. Myself, and some other tenants know it, and have refused to pay any money to Dr. Reeves: I have sixteen pounds ready for you in my hands, which I will pay to your acquittance, and that will serve you to wage law with them. He was amazed at this wonderful providence, received the money, sued for his estate, and in a term or two recovered it: "He that loseth his life for my sake and the gospel's shall find it." His blessed wife, in the midst of blessings enjoying a loving husband, divers fine children, and a plentiful estate; in the midst of these outward blessings, fell into a way of questioning the truth of her grace, because of outward prosperity. This was her sin without doubt, for which Mr. Knight rebuked her; but it was a severe rebuke that the Lord gave her for her unthankfulness: a fine boy, about three years old, fell into a kettle of scalding wort, and was taken out by his mother, and dyed. This she looked on as the Lord's discipline for her unthankfulness, and was instructed. This relation was sent me (says Mr. Turner) by the reverend Mr. Singleton, now living in Hogsdon-square, near the city of London; and he received it from Mr. Knight, who was intimately acquainted with Mr. Studly, as was hinted before.



3. HERRING. The first place of his settled ministry was Cawk in Derbyshire, (a small village) whither he was called by means of his friend, Mr. Hildersam. In this place his peace and liberty was the better preserved, because it was a peculiar, and so not subject to Episcopal visitation. Here God was pleased to set a remarkable seal to his ministry, making him an happy instrument to build up many, who were brought to Christ by Mr. Hildersam's labours, and also to turn many others. At this time there was great scarcity of good preachers in those parts; whereupon people from many towns and villages flocked into Cawk-chappel every sabbath-day, where more congregated than the chappel would contain; yet, standing at the windows without, they could hear the sermons preached, and scriptures read. Hither great companies came in the morning with joyful expectation; here they continued all day with cheerfulness; and they went from hence in the evening in companies, repeating the sermons, and singing Psalms in their return home. Here, amongst many others, Mr. Simeon Ashe received some of his first impressions, whom Mr. Herring loved from his childhood, and who lived in his heart and prayers unto his death. And this is a matter considerable, that few, (if any) in those parts, who were hopefully brought unto God, by the ministry of Mr. Hildersam, and Mr. Herring, have been turned aside into the by-paths of error and separation in these broken dividing times; but they continue sound in their judgments, and holy in their conversations, well remembering the principles wherein they were instructed by these two worthies, their fathers in Christ. He took great delight in his studies, (having a very good library) and was often willing to miss a meal, that he might the more satisfy himself in conversing with his books: and it was his meat and drink to converse with his God; and yet such were his compassions towards afflicted consciences, that he gave charge unto his whole family, to send none such away till they had spoken with him: his manner was to give full liberty of speech, that they might not go away without some clearing and satisfaction. His experience, humility, and sweetness of disposition was such, that seldom any one who was troubled in spirit departed from him without some relief and comfort; whereto may be added his great faithfulness towards them in perplexed cases, who opened their hearts into his bosom for spiritual satisfaction. When he was not allowed liberty to preach in public at home, he was willing to bestow his pains abroad; and every where in his ministry proved himself a solid well-studied divine, a workman who needed not to be ashamed. It may truly be affirmed concerning him, that when he was in journeys, he imitated the Lord Christ, his master, who went about doing good; for, in the families whither he came (if there was not opportunity of more public employments wherein he might appear with safety in those times,) he was always ready, by prayer and exposition of scripture, to be serviceable unto the souls of such who desired to improve by him. He was a man of an ingenuous and cheerful spirit, yet very grave and inoffensive; yea, the cheerfulness of his behaviour being accompanied with holiness and humility, did make his serious services the more acceptable, and more taking upon the hearts of those

who conversed with him. In performing family duties, whether in his own house, or elsewhere, he would always most aptly and affectionately enlarge upon the sermon lately heard, or the chapter read, by confession, complaint, thanksgiving, &c. unto the great advantage of them who joined with him in that exercise. He died 1644.

4. DOD. The occasion of his conversion was very extraordinary: The steward of the college accused him to the master for the non-payment of a considerable sum of money due for one of his pupils, which Mr. Dod had truly paid; but he forgot to set it down. Hereupon there was a vehement contest betwixt them about this business, and the vexation of mind, that he should be accounted a defrauder, did so trouble Mr. Dod, that he fell into a fever, and was dangerously sick; yet all the while he was but in a natural estate. For tho' he had good skill in the speculative part of divinity, yet he was without any application. His affliction was this, that he should be blamed for that which he from the light of nature hated.

All his sorrow as yet was but worldly sorrow, and as himself says, He neither did nor could tell how to pray. At length the Lord put into his heart that scripture, Rom. vii. "The law is spiritual, but I am carnal, and sold under sin;" and presently his sins came upon him like armed men: the tide of his thoughts was turned; he left musing how he was wronged, and seriously considered how he had offended God. He betook himself to great humiliation, and earnestly besought the Lord for pardon and peace in Jesus Christ; yet for some time he could find no comfort: but going to seek the Lord, there follows after much humiliation, much consolation; and the Lord sealed to him, that his sins were washed away with the blood of Christ. Then did he desire his accuser to come to him, and told him: That though he had accounted him to be his great enemy, yet now he acknowledged him to be his good friend; for that he was a means to bring him unto God. And afterwards it so fell out, (by God's good providence) that it came to this man's remembrance that Mr. Dod had paid him the money, and he was very sorrowful for the wrong which he had done him, and did him all the right he could for the healing of his name; and Mr. Dod said, That he had not a more faithful friend in all the college during his abode there than this man proved.

While he was at Hanwel, he preached twice every sabbath, catechizing also in the afternoon, and kept a lecture on Wednesday constantly; and besides this, he was one of the five ministers who held up the lecture at Banbury. He gave himself much to fasting and prayer; and as his seed-time was painful, so his harvest was gainful; hundreds of souls being converted by his ministry. He was silenced from preaching at Ashby, upon a complaint made against him by bishop Neal to king James: then he ceased for some time to preach publickly, yet in regard of his heavenly gift in conference, he might have been said daily to preach privately. He was in his element when he was discoursing of heavenly things; and God in his goodness so ordered it, that when he was restrained from public preaching, yet himself conceived, that at that time his life was no less profitable than it had been in former times. He had much

employment in comforting such as were wounded in their spirits, being sent for not only nigh at hand, but also into remote counties.

There was a gentlewoman who had a great worldly estate, and a loving husband; but she was so sadly assaulted with temptations, that she often attempted to make away with herself. Mr. Dod was sent for to come to her, and the Lord so blessed his counsels, exhortations, and prayers; that she did not only recover out of her anguish of spirit, but she was afterwards taken notice of for her singular piety; and the Lord so ordered it, that this affliction was not only the means of her conversion, but also of her husband's: so that both of them were a great mercy in the country where they lived for promoting religion according to their power, and for entertaining and cherishing godly people. She lived divers years quieted in her heart, and was rich in good works: and when she lay on her death-bed, Mr. Dod was sent for to her again, who spake of Heaven, and to fit her for that glory. She told him that she felt the comforts of God, and that she could as hardly at that time forbear singing, as formerly in child-bearing she could forbear crying: and shortly after she died.

It would be long to insist on all particulars of this nature, the Lord having made him a happy instrument for the good of many. He took all occasions of doing good when he was in company by godly speeches, seasoning those who came to him, that unless it were their own fault, they might be the better of him. Being invited to a great feast, where there were sundry gentlemen, and some of them began to swear, he stopped them, by discoursing of the greatness of that sin; and that he might not burthen their memories, he quoted three chapters, every one was the first; as the first of Zechariah, the first of Matthew, and the first of James; and he opened those scriptures in such a method, that they were all hushed, and did not again offend in that kind while he was present amongst them.

The word was his great delight; his meditation was of it in the night, and his discourse in the day. When those that were with him were speaking of earthly things; he would find out some way to bring in heavenly; and when he could not sleep in the night, he would say, 'That the meditation of the word was sweeter to him than sleep. When he had preached twice on the Sabbath, and was aweary, yet to those that came to him, he would go on afresh in holy discourses; and the comforts which he found in his soul, made him sometimes forget his body, that he hath been speaking, 'till he was ready to faint. His eminency was in frequency, aptness, freeness, and largeness of godly discourse; in which respect it may be said of him, that in the country where he lived, none were known who therein were equal to him. His preaching was searching, and when some did suppose that he had informers and spies, because he came so close to them; he answered: That the word of God was searching, and that if he was shut up in a dark vault, where none could come at him, yet, allow him but a Bible and a candle, and he should preach as he used to do.

Upon a time, when he had preached long, so that it was somewhat late before he went to dinner, he said: You shall have some gentlemen

will follow hounds from seven in the morning 'till four or five in the afternoon, because they love the cry of dogs; which to me was unpleasant hearing: so if we love the word, we should be content though the minister stood above his hour. Speaking to a minister, who was to go to a place where there was but small means, he told him, That his care should be to preach, and to do God service; and then God would provide for him. When he preached at Fausley, and was much resorted unto, as it was with him in other places; he told a godly man of his acquaintance, That if the country knew so much by him, as he knew by himself, they would not have him in so much admiration.

When he had been long speaking to those that came to him, and used to ask him questions, and hath been persuaded to spare himself; he would say, "Hear but this one thing more: it may be I shall never speak to you again, but if it should be so, blessed is the servant, whom his Lord when he cometh shall find so doing. Harken to a few words more, God hath heard all the words we have spoken, and considered with what hearts and affections we have spoken them." He was very plain and familiar, both in preaching and conference, yet very spiritual, and performed all with much gravity. The chief things he sought God for in his frequent secret fastings and prayers (as himself said) were the knowledge of the scriptures, and a blessing upon his ministry, in both which, God answered him abundantly. As for the scriptures, God had so enlightened him, that he was able to give account of the drift and scope of the greatest part of them, with great clearness, and to open them in such sort, as proved very effectual for the bringing of scripture-light into simple men's understandings, who were not able to reach the obscure and scholastic interpretations of many. In preaching, he usually took some portion of scripture in order before him, opening a verse or two, or more at a time, first clearing the connection, then giving the sense and interpretation briefly, but very plainly, not leaving the text until he had made it plain to the meanest capacity, then raising those doctrines that were most agreeable to the mind and Spirit of God in that text, clearing and exemplifying his points excellently out of the word. He spake most largely, and very home in application, mightily convincing and diving into men's hearts and consciences, and leaving them little or nothing to object against it. He took great care to speak to the meanest capacity, and to feed the lambs, saying, he must stoop to the lowest capacity, and if he could reach them, others might help themselves. He could not endure that ministers should use hard and unusual English. He said that most ministers usually shoot over the heads of their hearers. He did not strive to speak all that might be said to a point, nor to shew variety, or please curiosity; but to speak to the heart. He would say that there were many tricks and devices that some men used in preaching, but they seldom did good. The pure gospel, and that preaching which the world counts foolishness, was that that works most good. He was very evangelical, striving first to make men see their lost condition clearly, and to be convinced of it; saying, sense of misery was a good step to the remedy: and then largely and excellently opening the promises, and the grace of God in Christ, accor-

ding to the gospel, looking on that as the most effectual preaching. Some, says he, labour still to keep men under terrors, and load them with threatnings, &c. lest they should not be humbled enough; but the gospel works true humiliation, not the law; it arises from sense of sin and misery joined with the hope of mercy. He desired to speak distinctly, not giving the childrens bread to dogs, but to discover hypocrisy and sincerity by lively characters and signs, but yet with great tenderness to babes in Christ, striving to distinguish a babe from an hypocrite. Being eighty years old, his pains were very great, yet not painful to him. He preached almost all day long on the Lord's-day, yet said it was no great matter to pay money when one had it; all the labour was to get it. He opened a chapter, and prayed in his family; afterwards preached in public; and, in the interim, discoursed all dinner-time, but ate very little. At first sitting down he would bid them help themselves and one another, and see that none want. Let me, said he, bid you but once; for I would not speak a vain word to-day. After both sermons the house would be filled; and he being set in his chair, used to say, If any have a good question, or a hard place of scripture to open, let them say on; and when he was faint, he would call for a small glass of wine and beer mixed, and then to it again till night. He was excellent in preaching occasionally from the creatures as he walked or rode. His ministry was so spiritual, and yet so plain, that poor simple people, that never knew what religion meant, when they had gone to hear him, could not chuse but talk of his sermon. It mightily affected poor creatures to hear the mysteries of God (by his excellent skill that way) brought down to their own language and dialect. He was so holy and spiritual, both in life and doctrine, that he silenced even desperate and devilish opposers of religion. It was a discredit for any to speak evil of him, because it must needs express much malice, and all men most generally (in his latter time at least) honoured him. He was very successful in making peace, tho' between desperate and almost implacable adversaries, and some of them wicked, mightily convincing them with gospel arguments, to the overcoming and quieting of their spirits. When inferior people came to speak with him, if he was walking in the church where he used most to study, that he might have room to walk in (being troubled with the stone) or elsewhere, if he thought them bashful, he would meet them, and say, Would you speak with me; and when he found them unable to state their question, he would help them out with it, taking care to find the sore; but would answer and deal so compassionately and tenderly, as not to discourage the poorest soul from coming again to him. In his last sickness, his faith and patience were encreased and persisted by his sufferings; he longed and thirsted to be with Christ, which words he often uttered. One of his last speeches was this, with his eyes and hands lifted up to heaven, he sighed and said, "I desire to be dissolved, and to be with Christ." He died 1645.

5. BALSOM. Having spent some years at New-inn-hall in Oxford; upon his removal thence he was entertained by Mr. Bernard of Batcomb, under whom he greatly improved his abilities for preaching. Upon the

death of Mr. Bernard, preaching occasionally at a neighbouring village, called Stoke, among a company of poor untaught people; one that lived thereabouts told him, That if such a minister should come and preach among that people, where there was so small encouragement, he should think that God had a great work to do upon them. Hereupon Mr. Balfoin promised to be their minister, where he enjoyed about forty pounds a-year. The success of his ministry there was very great, insomuch that he hath been heard say, That there were but few sermons that he preached there, but he had intelligence that some one or other were converted by them.

Then he went to Berwick, where he was received with great affection of the people; and saw in a short time great success of his labours in the ministry. After some time, he was earnestly entreated to return into his own country; to which, for some important reasons, he was inclined, but was earnestly importuned by many of the inhabitants of Berwick either to abide with them, or to return again to them. And after many other arguments, as he was just parting with them, as their last argument to persuade him to stay with them, they presented him with a list of about threescore that had been (as they were verily persuaded) savingly wrought on by his ministry during his abode there. He left them, but with a mind of returning to them again, if providence cross'd it not; but his return was prevented by his death, which happened about two years after, as he was endeavouring to get himself free from the place where he then was, to return to them. In which space of time he did much good, as in converting many, so in reducing many that were drawn away by the sectaries. He died 1647.

G. PALMER. The symptoms of grace and piety began very early to appear in him, as soon almost as the exercise of reason; so that we may, not without good ground, esteem him sanctified from the womb. When he was about the age of four or five years, he would cry to go to his mother, that he might hear somewhat of God, and the elder he grew, religious desires grew stronger in him. He was early acquainted with the Book of God, which he much delighted in, and read with great affection.

While he was fellow of Queen's-college about the year 1624, he was solemnly ordained to the work of the ministry: whereunto, from a child, he had devoted himself. And about the year 1626, he was called to the public exercise of it, as a lecturer in the city of Canterbury; where, for divers years, (notwithstanding the great oppositions he there met with from such as were enemies to the power of godliness) he did with much diligence, and very great success, discharge that great work to the spiritual edification and comfort of many yet alive; to whom his memory to this day is precious<sup>a</sup>. After some years, he was removed

<sup>a</sup> He sometimes preached in the French congregation at Canterbury, at the request of their Eldership, being master of that language, to the great edification of his hearers. An ancient French gentlewoman, when she saw him the first time coming into the pulpit, being startled at the smallness of his personal appearance, and the weakness of

his look, cried out in the hearing of those that sat by her, *Helas! que nous dira cet infant ici? Alas! what should this child say to us? but having heard him pray and preach with so much spiritual strength and vigour, she lift her hands to heaven with admiration and joy, blessing God for what she had heard.*

from Canterbury to the vicarage of Ashwel in Hertfordshire, where he continued the same zeal, diligence, and care, which he had before discovered, in seeking the good of those souls that were committed to his charge.

Besides his constant preaching twice every Lord's day, he did also very frequently preach to them occasionally, not willing to let pass any opportunity of doing them good: wherein, notwithstanding the excellency of his learning, whereby, if he had sought it, he might have attained great applause (even from knowing men;) yet he chose always to condescend to the capacities of his hearers with so much plainness as that, (if possible) he might be understood by the meanest; as being most studious, both for the matter and manner of his preaching, how he might be able, most of all, to profit those that heard him. And on this ground, upon any emergent occasions, he endeavoured as much as might be to suit his matter thereto; that so the word of God, and the providence of God, might the one give an edge unto the other, and both jointly become the more effectual. On the same ground also, was he careful to observe the advantages of sickness, or any other considerable afflictions, because his admonitions and Christian advice, were like to be at such a time the more effectual, when God had as it were softened their hearts, and opened their ears to hear. He was also careful by catechizing, both in public and at his own house, to instruct in the principles of religion, not only the children and youth, but even those that were more aged, in case he discerned them ignorant and such as stood in need thereof; and yet not so as might expose them to scorn and reproach, but so as might most conduce to their edification in the knowledge and fear of the Lord. To which end he had prevailed with those of his parish, at least the far greater number of them, and those the most considerable persons, to concur with him in it, by sending their children and servants constantly to be catechised on the Lord's day, before the afternoon sermon, (some of whom he catechized publicly in the congregation, and others more privately in his own house, either by himself or his assistant) that so the public catechizing might neither be too tedious, nor trench upon the time allotted for other exercises, as praying, reading, expounding, preaching, &c. nor yet the examination of others, for want of time, be wholly omitted; as also, by their own endeavours at home to help on this work, and likewise to contribute their assistance in persuading others to the same willingness. As for those who were more eminent, but yet needed instruction, he laboured both by his own persuasion, and the persuasion of others, to work in them a willingness to repair to him in private at convenient times, that, by conferences with them, and friendly discourse in a familiar and gentle manner, he might bring them to such a sufficiency of knowledge as was necessary for their own salvation. As he was careful thus to instruct his flock, so was he also vigilant to prevent disorders and misdemeanours amongst them in point of practice, wherein he was not contented to use his own personal endeavours, but did also engage his parishioners to contribute their best assistance; to which they did oblige themselves, in divers excellent resolutions and agreements, concluded by common

consent amongst them, and subscribed by their hands, viz. for the preventing and punishing of drunkenness and tippling, of prophaning the Lord's day, and of disorderly behaviour during the exercise of divine worship; by sleeping, talking, playing, &c. as likewise of stealing and pilfering, of prophane swearing, and cursing, of railing, slandering, whoredom, fighting and quarreling, disobedience to parents and governors, and of other misdemeanours in whomsoever. In the religious ordering of his own family he was extraordinarily vigilant and painful that it might be, so much as in him lay, a garden without weeds, and that those who were under his roof might either not perish, or at least not through his default: indeed his house was a school of religion, such as there are very few to be found, insomuch that it was counted a great happiness to live under his roof, in the constant enjoyment of so many means for the soul's good. Beside great care of his family jointly, he was also frequent in giving them personal counsel, and direction in the ways of God, exhorting them to a daily constancy, in the performance of secret duties between God and their own souls, so that scarce any family enjoyed the like measure of helps and encouragements in the ways of holiness.

In the year 1643, he was called to be a member of the assembly of divines at Westminster: and after some time he was chosen one of the assessors, appointed to assist the prolocutor in case of absence or infirmity. He was in that assembly an eminent and very useful member, exceeding diligent and industrious, being very rarely absent, and that not but upon urgent unavoidable occasions. For as he accounted it an honour to be employed by God, in so public a service, for the good of his church, so he did conscientiously attend upon it. But unwilling to intermit the exercise of his ministerial function, he did at first preach occasionally (as he was requested) in divers churches in and about London, resolving notwithstanding within himself to accept of the first invitation, for the constant exercise thereof. And accordingly being soon after requested by the inhabitants of Duke's palace in London, (who were then destitute of a minister) to preach amongst them; he did (notwithstanding their inability to raise any considerable maintenance which might invite him) willingly accept of that employment. This work he performed amongst them with much faithfulness and diligence, by public reading, praying, and preaching, amongst them twice every Lord's day, and at other times as there was occasion, as also by administering the sacrament, public catechizing, and exposition of such portions of scripture as were read amongst them. And likewise (as his custom had been else where) by more private converse with them in their families, whereby he might be the better able to afford personal directions, and other ministerial helps to them, as their several conditions might require. All which was performed with so much meekness, wisdom, and piety, and accompanied with such a blessing from God, as that it made a very great impression on them for their good, and was entertained by them with much approbation and affection, they being ambitious who should enjoy most of his heavenly conversation, and Christian counsel; hereby in a short time he did much good, and stirred up in them a greater af-



fection and zeal for the power of godliness. And during his abode amongst them, they were much preserved both from errors and divisions, whereunto the great unsettledness of the times did much expose them: when his friends had persuaded him to favour himself, judging his fatigue to be more than his body could endure, his answer hath been, that his strength would spend of itself though he did nothing, and it could not be better spent than in God's service; yea, so far was he from favouring himself in this kind, that it was a rule with him which he constantly observed, never to favour himself by declining any ministerial exercise, which he was requested to perform, whether in public or private, if he were possibly able to perform it.

On the 11th of April, in the year 1644, he was constituted master of Queens-college in Cambridge. His first and main care, was the advancement of religion and practical piety, knowing that where this took place, a conscionable improvement of time in other things could not well be wanting. This made him extraordinarily solicitous for the constant presence of the whole society at the public worship of God, which he did carefully look to when he was present amongst them; and usually it was one of the last things he gave in charge to all the students, when his more public employments at the assembly called him away, and he was very inquisitive about it in his absence. He took care also for the constant instruction not only of the young scholars, but likewise of all the college servants in the principles of religion. The exercises of common places or sermons in the chapel, which had formerly been in use only in term time, he caused to be continued weekly all the year. Besides which, when he was present in the college, he did frequently himself either preach or expound scripture to them. He also took special notice of the several conversations of the particular persons in the college, as well by his own inspection and observation while he was present, as by faithful informations in his absence; and was frequent in giving them personal counsel and direction in private. Agreeable hereto was also the care of the particular fellows, who besides the instruction of their pupils in learning, caused them to come to their chambers to prayers every night, and to repetition of sermons on the Lord's day. By all which the practice of religion was much promoted. He was a man indeed of a very public spirit, and wholly laid himself out for God: and therefore, though he were ready to deny himself, and condescend freely where his own interest was only concerned, yet was he zealous and tenacious in things that concerned God's glory, reserving his heat to encounter sin. Hence was it, that, notwithstanding his natural meekness, he acted in the things of God with much courage and resolution. As in those free and resolute expressions of himself (yet with humility, meekness, and sobriety) in preaching at the cathedral-church at Canterbury, in presence of the dean and prebends, wherein he spared not to set before them such things as were notoriously amiss, (yet for the most part expressing in Latin what did chiefly concern them, that they might take notice of it, not the people;) which, though it procured him some trouble and opposition, yet he did not for that abate of his courage and resolution. In like manner, when

he was to preach at the bishop of Lincoln's visitation, at Hitchin, he went thither with resolution to speak fully and freely against the corrupt innovations then in practice, whatever might be the issue; and did accordingly perform it, though he was sensible of the great danger of so doing. It is well known also what freedom and faithfulness he hath used in reference to the public affairs, as well in his ordinary sermons at the New-church, the Abby, and Margaret's in Westminster (to which places the greatest number of parliament-men did usually resort) as in those by special order, preached to one or both houses of parliament (some of which are to be seen in print, where he spared not to declare fully and plainly what God expected from them, and freely to reprove what was amiss; for (as he was wont to say) he did not in that place preach BEFORE them (*ut coram iudice*) but TO them (*authoritative*) as by commission from God, and how much soever they might be superior to him in other regards, yet he was in that place superior to them as acting in God's name, and therefore would not be afraid to speak whatever was the will of God, that he should tell them, notwithstanding any displeasure or danger which might by this means befall him. He died 1647.

7. CROOK. His heart even in his youth was drawn Heaven-ward; he translated divers of the Psalms, and composed several hymns of his own, some of which, in his last sickness, he sung with tears of joy. In September 1602, he was called to the pastoral charge of a great flock at Wrington, a market-town in the county of Somerset. There did he forthwith set upon the work for which he was sent, viz. to instruct and turn unto righteousness that great people who had never before enjoyed the blessing of a preaching minister, which therefore required the greater skill; so that he was, in some sense, to them (if not to the whole country adjacent) the first that, by preaching the gospel, brought religion into credit, and discovered to them the heavenly Canaan, which before was to most of them as an unknown land. He constantly preached (if in health) thrice a week, besides his extraordinary labours on many emergent occasions, which he cheerfully embraced, as rejoicing in all opportunities of doing good, and that abroad as well as at home. In all his sermons, (which were many thousands) his expressions were weighty, savoury, and seasonable; his applications home and pertinent, strongly enforced and set on, from divine authority, by a sweet and moving elocution, fervent zeal and strength of love to the souls of the hearers. He knew very well how to set forth abstruse points plainly, and how to manage plain truths elegantly, not in the words of man's wisdom, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth, always speaking in Christ, as of God, in the sight of God. His motto was *Impendat et expendat*, "I will spend and be spent," which he cheerfully verified; for he counted not his life dear in comparison of preaching the gospel, and of finishing his course with joy, and the ministry he had received from the Lord Jesus to testify the gospel of the grace of God. When he was told by his physician, who was very careful to preserve his life, that he might live longer if he would preach seldomer, alas! (said he) if I may not labour, I cannot live; what good will life do me if I be hindered

from the end of living? *Et propter vitam vivendi perdere causam.*  
He died 1649.

[ From WESLEY'S Christian Library, Vol. xxvi. Page 201. ]

8. BLACKERBY. He was born in the year 1574, at Worlington in Suffolk. He was second son of Thomas Blackerby, a person of good estate and quality, who had nine sons and one daughter; and designed him, from the first, for the ministry. At the age of fifteen he was admitted a student in Trinity-college in Cambridge, where he lived nine years, and became an eminent scholar in all parts of learning, especially in the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin tongues. While he was in the university, Mr. Perkins was a preacher and lecturer in the town of Cambridge, upon whose ministry he diligently attended; whereby his soul was deeply wrought upon; but he lay some years in great distress of conscience, when his father took him for some time home to Worlington, to see if change of air might relieve his melancholy, which his friends thought proceeded from temper of body, though it had another cause, which neither air nor company could remove. After a short time, he desired to return again to Mr. Perkins; and it pleased God, as he was returning to Cambridge, and riding alone upon Newmarket heath, bemoaning his sad condition before the Lord, to reveal his reconciled face in Christ Jesus to him, and to give him that peace of conscience (so well grounded, and so clearly evidenced) which he never lost to his dying-day. From the university he went as a chaplain to the house of Sir Thomas Jermin of Rushbrook in Suffolk, in which family he both morning and evening, not only prayed, but opened some portion of scripture, during the whole time of his abode there. From thence he removed to Sir Edward Lewknor of Denham in Suffolk, with whom he lived 'till he married Sarah, the eldest daughter of Mr. Timothy Oldham.

Mr. Blackerby lived two years with his father-in-law, minister of Denham, and from thence was called to be minister at Feltwell in Norfolk, where he continued for some time, but then by reason of his non-conformity he was forced to remove to Ashen, a village in Essex near Clare. Here, not being capable to receive any ecclesiastical preferment on the account aforesaid, he betook himself to boarding young men, and educating of youth, spending three and twenty years in that employment; but during the whole time, he always kept lectures in some neighbouring town, preaching weekly in one place or other; and for the last ten years of the time, he preached stately either at Castle Heningham, Stoke by Clare, or Hunden in Suffolk.

He seemed never to lose one moment of time in idleness, or non-improvement thereof; and herein is wrapt up all the practical wisdom of mortal man, viz. to improve time for immortality. He rose early in the morning, Summer and Winter, and spent the whole day in reading, meditation, and prayer, and teaching others. After a competent time spent in his study in the morning, he would early call his family, or any other family, in which he was, and wherein he had any influence, together; and as constantly as the sun rose and set, he failed not

morning and evening to spend some time in reading and expounding the scripture, and in prayer, unless in very extraordinary cases. He spent much of his time in teaching young scholars, boarding in his house always a great number of youths, the sons of pious gentry, tradesmen, and yeomen in the country, whom he daily instructed both in religion and learning. They sat round about the table at his expositions; and if he saw any behaving themselves as not minding, he would call out to that youth by name, and ask him what he said last; by which means he made them continually attentive.

He was a great walker, and would oft call forth his scholars abroad, and teach them both natural and divine knowledge; sitting some for the university, and others for other callings. He walked continually before them, as the picture of Jesus among his disciples, abounding in wisdom, heavenliness, and love. Many grew to be excellent persons in church and state; and indeed, his example was enough to commend religion to the head and heart of every spectator. Likewise, divers young students, after they came from the university, betook themselves to him to prepare them for the ministry, to whom he opened the Scriptures, and read divinity, and gave them excellent advice for learning, doctrine, and life; and many eminent persons proceeded from this Garmaliel; as Dr. Bernard, afterwards dean and bishop in Ireland, whom he commended to archbishop Usher, with whom he had great acquaintance; Mr. Proffe, minister of two Dutch congregations, first in Colchester, then in London; Mr. Stone, afterwards famous in New-England; holy Mr. Fairclough, and many others. He was a man much in prayer, much in closet prayer, much in walking prayer, much in solitary prayer, much in conjugal prayer (for he daily prayed with his wife, alone) much in family prayer; daily with his own family, and almost daily with some other family; very much in fasting and prayer; for which he took all occasions that seemed in any measure to require it. He used much to ride about from family to family (when he possibly could be spared from his scholars) and only alight and pray with them, and give them some heavenly exhortations, and then away to another family. And in the neighbourhood to his house, where he would walk, he would frequently visit the inhabitants, especially the poor, painfully instructing them, and fervently praying with them; and would give them catechisms and Bibles, and money, if he had it, and they had need of it; by his going about and doing good, many praised God in time, and more will to all eternity.

His preaching was not altogether in the usual manner, but much in making excellent, spiritual, short observations, and brief and close applications. He had great skill in the original tongues, spent much study to understand the scripture, and lived much in divine converse; by all which he became a singular textuary, and famous divines would send to him for his opinion in scripture difficulties. He was a mighty man in wounding consciences by the sword of the Spirit, and in healing them by the blood of Jesus. His voice used not to be very loud, but his preaching was accompanied with such an authority of the divine presence and power of the Spirit, that souls fell exceedingly under the yoke

of Christ by his ministry; so that he has been constrained to acknowledge to some intimate friends, (though far from boasting) that he had reason to believe God had made him a spiritual father to above two thousand persons. Indeed the word of God in his lips was so unmixt with any appearance of any by-respects, and came so pure, and with such demonstration of the Spirit, that, as is said of the word, Heb. iv. "It was very quick and powerful," and men soon became either converts to it, or flyers from it; or with all their might fighters against it. The direct rays of divine light falling on the conscience, will have a speedy and great effect; when it is mingled and diluted with a carnal spirit, or not directly levelled at the heart, it may fall, many years, upon the outward ear, but never a piercing drop doth enter the soul; or if it does, it is quickly choaked there, with the body of death and power of darkness; but his preaching was such as must be yielded to, fled from, or fought against. Many prophane persons that could both hear other pious ministers, and would curse them bitterly when they had done; yet dared neither to hear him, or speak against him if they did. There was so much of God in him, and with him, that he left a perpetual dread upon many souls that would play with other sermons, and with their names and persons. Multitudes of very prophane persons did fall under the power of the word preached by him; a particular instance whereof happened in or near Castle Heningham in Essex, where a society or club of young persons, who used to have their set times to meet, and dance, and frolick it in their youthful sports, sins and vanities, were, by his preaching there, all or most of them converted, and became a company of gracious Christians, and used afterwards to join in prayer, as before they had done in sin and folly. Some whose consciences were seared, would sometimes rise up against his preaching, with rage and violence; but the wrath of God did often most eminently take hold of such. As in Hunden in Suffolk, where sometime he had a lecture, he met with great opposition; divers persons of considerable estate in the town, joined together, and procured his suspension; but all of them were notoriously afterwards blasted in their outward estates, some brought to beggary, and all but one died miserably.

There was yet never any person, who had the happiness to converse with him, who did not behold both his heart and life so greatly sanctified, and so generally raised, to such an universality and height of true Christian godliness, as cannot be equalled. Few persons have ever been acquainted with, or scarce ever read or heard of any man that did exceed him: though others might equal him in some corporal severities, and seem more heated in some particular parts of religion; yet for the impartiality, constancy, and sweetness of holiness, very few have come near him, and none since the primitive times did excel him. He made it his business to live with God, and to his glory, not as too many that satisfy themselves in the frequent motions of their affections in some pangs of indigested resolutions, or some fits of pious conversation, as if these were the life and power of godliness, all which are very good and desirable; but yet at best, they are but seeds and blossoms of the divine nature, which is first conceived by the Holy Ghost in the soul,

in a real absolute consecration of the whole man to God, and grows in a diligent endeavour of perfect conformity to this consecration. He, the business of whose heart and life is not in all things, fetching strength from Christ by faith, to live to God, is yet no living child of God, what preparatories soever there may be in him towards it. It would make ones heart tremble to think what multitudes of half Christians drop daily down into everlasting destruction, cheating themselves with pious sentiments, as if they were the life of godliness, which cannot be but in an absolute union with Christ, and living in the virtue of him, and faithful obedience to him, as this saint did. He lived not without infirmities, but in the eye of all knowing, impartial, daily spectators, he was sanctified to such a degree as to be kept free from speaking an idle or an angry word, or losing any moment of time that he could redeem, or that he was sensible he might better spend; and this by the space of above forty years, as by diligent enquiry, and personal acquaintance of many years, will be justified. His deportment was always such, as if at that moment he saw God, and had God's law, his own covenant with God, and the day of account just then before his eye, so that when ever the Lord should come and call him, he would ever have been found so doing. To any understanding converser with him, there always appeared wrote in his face and demeanour, a sense of the divine majesty and holiness; a most pleasing, conscientious, and full dedication of himself to God; a watchfulness upon his own heart and life, lest he should offend; a great mortification of heart to all the world; a wonderful purity from sinful pollution; and an admirable transformation of spirit unto the divine similitude. Indeed, constant holiness seemed perfectly natural to him, when it seems but endeavoured after by others. With this height of holiness was joined the depth of humility. He has some times, walking with his eldest grand-child, then but a youth, took occasion to say, after other serious discourse, "Oh sad! thou little thinkest what a vile heart I have, how I am plagued with proud thoughts; child, if thou hast acquaintance with God in prayer, pray for me, that God would purify this filthy heart; Oh! if God did not enable me in some measure to keep a watch over it, I should act to the shame of my face." Which expressions did greatly affect the heart of this young person, to hear one so like an incarnate angel, speak at such a rate of his heart.

And such discourses as these were frequently with him to other persons, when a fitting season offered. He seemed to have small sense of any self-excellency, though Satan would fain have defiled him with it, but walked in continual admiration of the vouchsafements of free grace unto him. From his humility came that readiness in him to be persuaded or disposed of by others, much inferior to him, in any thing, (so religion and duty suffered not by it) little valuing in what place he was put, or what account was had of him, so he might keep close to his duty, and enjoy the light of the Divine Countenance.

And that which did set him most high above all others who lived in these latter days, was the impartial universality of his obedience, joined with the greatest charity and candour to all others, wherein was the least

appearance of good. No hopes of preferment, or smart of suffering, could prevail with him to depart from his light; he could not so conform to the church of England, as the law required, to make him capable of a living; yet wherein he thought it his duty to conform, no man more exact than he. And therefore being no enemy to the Common-prayer, he would all days, Lords-days, and week-days, when divine service was read in the parish-church, go with his family to the very beginning, and there behave himself with that reverence and heavenliness, as I never saw any like him therein.

He was as far from countenancing any known evil in any: I believe none that ever conversed with him, but will bear him witness, that he never suffered what he thought sin in them, without admonition and reproof; as sure as he observed the evil, they should hear of it from him; but ever with so much evident love, as well as seriousness, that at the same time both their consciences were awed by the gravity of his advice, and their affections enflamed with the sweetness of his spirit. His reproofs were truly, as one well expresses, nails dipt in oil, driven with power into the inmost of the heart, and received with all acceptance, because of the overcoming kindness they were accompanied with. When he has been in company, and heard great persons swear, or speak prophanelly, he would with a sad countenance (leaving the table, or departing the room) rebuke, and afterward privately address the great person with so much seriousness and respect, that they would be much taken with his dealing with them, thank him for his reproof, and the manner of it; and one told him, "Had you spoke to me at table, I had stabbed you, but now I heartily thank you." He would neither suffer sin in men unreprieved, nor provoke to sin by his rebuke.

He was very zealous for the holy observation of the Lord's-day. On Saturday at four in the afternoon, he constantly preached in his family, (to which divers neighbours would resort) preparatory to the next day. Of all mornings he would rise on the Lord's-day mornings; and wherever he was, and had any power, would call up all the family, but especially his own, to prayer and reading. He usually prayed six times every Lord's-day in the family. 1st, As soon as he had got them up in the morning, expounding some part of the scripture to them. 2dly, When he was going to the public congregation, he carried his family with him, and before they went out of door, would pour out some petitions for God's assistance and blessing in the public worship of the day. 3dly, When he returned again from church in the morning, he constantly prayed for a blessing on what they had heard. 4thly, He led them out again in the afternoon with prayer. 5thly, After supper, when the family was ready to go to bed, he commended them again to God by prayer. But this must be observed, he prayed oft, but never (unless upon an extraordinary occasion) very long, neither Lord's-days nor week-days, at home or abroad, in family or congregation; nor in preaching would he ever be over-long; so that his exercises, though frequent, were never burdensome. On the Lord's-day he was impatient to hear any idle word, or see any idle action; nor could he endure any worldly word or act, but what was of charity or necessity; but af-

ter dinner he would call upon all, especially those that were apt to sleep at church, to go and take a nap, as he himself usually did, lest they should prophane God's public worship, or should hazard the salvation or edification of their immortal souls, by sleeping in the congregation; and therefore also he frequently inveighed against great dinners on the Lord's-day, as apt to make them heavy and dull on those glorious days, set a-part for celebration of divine praises, and edification of mens precious souls.

At a place called Linton in Cambridgeshire, there was a fair usually kept on the Lord's-day once a year; at which time he was once invited to preach, and he then so plainly convinced the town of the greatness of the sin, that they would never more keep the fair on the Lord's-day. Tho' he lived every day as sinless, and as heavenly as if it had been a sabbath, yet he was very sensible that our time is then much more to be spent in outward religious exercises, than on other days. The business of his life was all the week to obey, glorify, and have communion with God; but on the Lord's-day the object of his acts was all religious and charitable performances.

He was a man of a most tender and contrite spirit. Any (greater than common) sins or providences, made deep impressions on him; if any such sin were committed in a neighbour town, or any judgment fell out in the nation, he would be sure to get divers ministers and Christians together, and keep a day of fasting and prayer. In nights of great thunder and unusual tempest, he would call up all his family to prayer, and expound some part of the scripture to them, to affect their hearts with greater reverence towards God. Any notable scripture, any eminent providence deeply entered his soul, and raised up his graces.

As his life was ever led as in the Divine Presence, so his heart and tongue were ever ready for prayer, or any holy duty; and he so enjoyed God in every religious exercise, that he would almost constantly say when he rose up from prayer, or came from a sermon, or any holy converse, or any religious exercise (especially a day of fasting and prayer) that he must bless God for ever for such an ordinance, and would not for many worlds, but have been in it; a frequent expression with him, and if an hyperbole, the only one that he was observed to use.

When he awaked in the night, he was ever in meditation and prayer. He would oft at midnight make Greek, Latin, or English verses, exalting the praise of God, his attributes, the acts of Christ, or the graces of his spirit, or the like, and give them in the morning to his scholars. His dreams were usually such, as shewed a heart that lived with God, full of gracious communications from God to him, and of faith, love, and obedience to God, and abhorrence of sin; and he would in the evening usually pray, that his dreams might be holy; and usually holy dreams are certain signs of much love from God, or gracious habits in the man. He oft received immediate answers of prayer. God seemed also to make a covenant for him with the beasts of the field: His daughter Burrel was much affected with a remarkable providence, which happened to him when she was waiting on him one day, to visit



one afflicted in conscience. Their way lay through a field where was a raging bull, that used to do much mischief; which beast seeing them, made towards them with great fury; and being come very near them, he put off his hat, and prayed in these words, "Lord, if our way be of thee, stay the fury of this beast;" which immediately stopt, and turned from them.

He kept three diaries of his life, one in Greek, another in Latin, a third in English, where he set down all the remarkable acts of God towards him, and of himself towards God; these he would oft read over to affect his soul, and improve them to divine glory. He was so crucified to the world, and the world to him, that all worldly concerns seemed a perfect nothing to him; the world seemed to have no temptation to him, and he no taste for the world. His passions were so subdued, that though he was one that was most tenderly affected to his relations, yet their loss discomposed not his mind, interrupted not his communion with God. His eldest daughter was a most excellent person, and one in whom he took great delight; who died a few hours after her last child was born, and he being present at her death, commended her spirit to God more affectionately, but as undisturbedly, as when he gave her person to her husband in marriage. He desired to preach her funeral sermon, which he did; and therein gave her this testimony, that he believed she had feared the Lord in sincerity, from three years old; yet preached so, as shewed he had not lost his God, though he had lost his dearest child. Nothing of creatures could in the least draw him from his life with God. Living much in divine communion, he had great insight into scripture prophecies, and had many future events deeply imprest on his mind. Men know but little of God's mind, because they live but little in his presence and converse. He was one of the first that convinced men in those parts, of God's intent to convert the nation of the Jews. Mr. Rogers of Dedham, and Mr. Stephen Marshall, and divers others, much opposed that opinion at first, but were at last, by his discourses, fully satisfied, and really persuaded of the truth of it. He lived much in the foresight of the glory of God and peace of the churches in the last ages. He oft said, many years before it came to pass, to divers of his friends, that they would live to see never a persecuting bishop in power in England.

The first time when the Scots army came into England, he said to some who were much troubled for it, that the army should go back without a stroke struck; and so they did. He said after the battle of Naseby, that many strict professors of religion should have rest for a little time; but afterwards a blacker time would come unto them than ever they had; which was in part fulfilled: but he used to add, the storm would not last very long. And these were his very last words which he spake at his death, "There is a sharp storm coming, but it will be but short;" the former part is already proved true, God grant the other part may also be accomplished. He used to say, God had two sieves for the professors in England, one of a coarser make, and that he had used; but there would come a finer one, which all should stand ready for; and this it is doubted, is in a great degree to come. He used

to say, it was very probable this nation would be punished by the French, after whose fancies they went so much a whoring. And he much believed popery would come in, but it would not last; for it could not recover its first strength again in England. There were some particularities in him that may seem of lesser moment: he could not endure to see any bible lie contemptuously about the house; but would have them carefully and cleanly used, or laid up; he thought there ought a reverence to be given to the very out-sides of such sacred oracles. He was exceeding careful to have none of God's creatures lost; he would always have a fowl or two allowed to come familiarly into his eating-room, to pick up the crumbs that would fall from the table.

His conversation was so in Heaven, and the majesty of holiness did so shine in him, that that famous divine for learning and piety, Mr. Rogers of Wethersfield in Essex, told another divine, he could never come into the presence of Mr. Blackerby without some kind of trembling upon him; because of the majesty and holiness which seemed to shine in him. The height and constancy of his holy and heavenly converse was accompanied with a settled peace of conscience, and good assurance of eternal life: for some years before his death he would oft (upon seasonable occasions) declare, that for more than forty years he never had a doubting thought of his salvation. It is our low, loose, unequal walking in religion, that makes the sense of God's love, peace with God, and evidence for eternal life, so rare a thing among us.

This holy man was indeed an instance sent by God into the world, to shew to what life of holiness and peace Christians may on earth certainly arrive, if hearty sincerity, deep mortification, diligent watchfulness, love of divine communion, and an humble and active faith meet in the heart of any man.

When he was about the age of fifty-five, his son-in-law, Mr. Christopher Burrel, was presented to the rectory of Great Wratting in Suffolk; Mr. Burrel had lived some years as a boarder to Mr. Blackerby; Mr. Blackerby now removes, and continues a boarder with him for divers years; in all which time he continued preaching the gospel only occasionally (except at Gerstlingtherp in Essex, where he maintained a constant lecture) until towards the close of his life.

Then Providence so ordered, that he took upon him a pastoral charge over the congregation at Great-Thurlow; and here his Master found him so doing, to wit, very busy in his Master's service; for, as he was preaching on one Lord's-day, he was took with a great weakness and fainting while he was in the pulpit, so that being carried home, he continued very weak six weeks, but kept his bed only two days before he died, which was in the seventy-seventh year of his age.

He had seven children who lived to be men and women, (two sons and five daughters) his eldest son was a gracious young man, and lived some time a student in Katherine-hall in Cambridge, but died of a consumption before he took any degree. His other son was also a good man, and an excellent preacher, and died lately minister of Stow-market in Suffolk. And now all his sons and daughters, except one, and all his sons-in-law and daughters-in-law are gone with him to everlasting

rest. It is most fitting that the world should know and remember, that there was a man so sanctified by Divine Grace, as to be enabled to live fifty years, after his conversion, doing good, and walking with God, without being left (in the eyes of the most strict observers) to utter an idle or angry word. His countenance and speech, his deportment and behaviour, was perpetually as before the eye of God, in the conscientious observance of all his precepts, with a heart full of love to him, having his face awing with a majesty, and shining with a sweetness and beauty of holiness; who (to all appearance) spent every moment of his time in his believed duty, and in zealous doing of good, always ready for, and having spiritual communion with God in all his ordinances, and all carried on with a deep and contrite sense of the natural corruption of his heart, in the lowest humility and condescension (with most transcendent charity to all men, yet not suffering sin in his brother un-reproved) one that kept peace of conscience, and assurance of eternal life, inviolate for forty years together; one who convinced all men (both good and bad) that knew him, that the power of God and religion dwelt assuredly in him; the Divine Spirit and Power beautifying and adorning him, and assuring both himself, and others, that he was born of God. He died 1651.

[ FROM CLARK'S LIVES. ]

9. COTTON. The manner of his conversion was thus: During his residence in the university of Cambridge, God began to work upon him by the ministry of Mr. William Perkins, of blessed memory; but the motions and stirrings which then were in his heart, he suppress'd, thinking that if he should trouble himself with matters of religion according to the light he had then received, it would be an hinderance to him in his studies, which he then had much addicted himself to. Therefore he was willing to silence those suggestions and inward callings which he had from God's spirit, and did willingly defer the prosecution of that work 'till afterwards.

At length, as he was walking in the fields, he heard the bell tolling for Mr. Perkins, who lay a-dying; whereupon he was secretly glad in heart, that he should now be rid of him, who had (as he said) laid siege to, and beleagured his heart. This became matter of much affliction to him afterwards, God keeping it upon his spirit with the aggravation of it, and making it an effectual means of convincing and humbling him in the sight, and sense of the natural enmity that is in man against God. Afterwards hearing Dr. Sibbs preaching a sermon about regeneration, wherein he shewed, first, What regeneration was not; and so opened the state of a meer civil man: Mr. Cotton saw his own condition fully discovered, which (through God's mercy) put him to a stand, as plainly seeing himself destitute of true grace. All his false hopes now failing him, he lay for a long time in an uncomfortable despairing way; and of all other things this was his heaviest burden, that he had wittingly withstood the means of grace and offers of mercy which he found had been tendered to him. Thus he continued, 'till it pleased God to let in a word of faith into his heart, and to cause him to look unto Christ for

his healing; which word also was dispensed unto him by the same Dr. Sibbs, which begat in him a singular and constant love to him, of whom he was also answerably beloved.

He had been some time before called to preach an university sermon at St. Mary's, which he did with high applause from the academical wits; insomuch as the fame of his learning grew greater and greater. And being now again called to preach in the same place, the memory of his former accurate exercises filled the colleges, especially the young students, with a fresh expectation of such elegancies of learning, as made them flock to the sermon with an Athenian itch after some new thing; but his spirit now favouring of the cross of Christ more than of human literature, his speech and preaching was not with the enticing words of man's wisdom. The disappointed expectation of the auditory soon appeared in their countenances, and the discouragement of their non-acceptance made him return to his chamber, not without some sad thoughts of heart: where yet he had not been long before Dr. Preston knocks at his chamber-door, and coming in, acquainted him with his spiritual condition, and tells him how it had pleased God to work effectually upon his heart by that sermon; after which Dr. Preston ever highly prized him: which real seal of God unto his ministry much comforted his soul far above what the present less acceptance of the auditory had dejected him, or their former acceptance had encouraged him.

About the 28th year of his age, he was settled at Boston in Lincolnshire, and at that time he was exercised with some inward troubles, which much dejected him; but this dispensation of the All-wise God, he afterwards found not only to be beneficial unto him in preparing his heart for his work, but also that it became an effectual means of his more peaceable and comfortable settlement in that place, where the people were divided amongst themselves, by reason of a potent man in the town, who adhered to another Cambridge man, whom he would fain have brought in. But when he saw Mr. Cotton wholly taken up with his own exercises of spirit, he was free from all suspicion of his being pragmatistical, or addicted to siding with this or that party; and so both he and his party began to close more fully with him. And so, for three or four years, he preached amongst them without opposition: they accounted themselves happy (as well they might) in the enjoyment of him; both the town and country thereabouts being much bettered and reformed by his labours. But after he was not able to bear the ceremonies imposed: his non-conformity occasioned his trouble in the bishop's court at Lincoln; however, he was advised to appeal to an higher court, which he did, and gained his cause, and so was restored unto Boston.

After this time he was blessed with a successful ministry unto the end of twenty years. He took much pains in private, and read to several young scholars that were in his house, and to some that came out of Germany, and had his house full of auditors. Afterwards seeing some inconvenience in the people's flocking to his house, besides his ordinary lecture on the Thursdays, he preached thrice more in publick on the week days, viz. on Wednesdays and Thursdays early in the morning,

and on Saturdays at three o' clock in the afternoon. He was frequent in duties of humiliation and thanksgiving; sometimes he continued five or six hours in prayer, and opening the word, so indefatigable was he in the Lord's work, so willing to spend and be spent therein. Besides, he answered many letters that were sent him far and near, wherein were handled many difficult cases of conscience, and many doubts cleared to great satisfaction.

The times being now such, that he could not continue in the public exercise of his ministry with a good conscience, and the envy of his maligners having now procured letters missive to convent him before the high-commission-court, Mr. Cotton having intelligence thereof, and well knowing that scorns and imprisonment were to be expected from them, according to the advice of many, (amongst whom Mr. Dod of blessed memory had a singular influence) he kept himself close for a time in and about London; and when he went into New-England, it was not a flight from duty, nor from the profession of the truth, but unto a more opportune place for professing it.

When Mr. Cotton arrived at New England, his manner of entrance unto them was a great blessing; for, at his first coming, he found them not free from troubles about settling the matters both of church and commonwealth; at which time, being requested, he preached before the general court. His text was Haggai ii. 4. "Yet now be strong, O Zerubbabel, saith the Lord; and be strong, O Joshua, the son of Josedech, the high-priest: and be strong all ye people of the land, saith the Lord, and work; for I am with you, saith the Lord of Hosts." And the Lord working mightily by this sermon, all obstructions were presently removed, and the spirits of all sorts, as one man, were excited unanimously and vigorously in the work of the Lord from that very day. In order to which, the court considering that all the members of the Republic were also church-members, and therefore to be governed according to the law of God, they desired Mr. Cotton to draw an abstract of the judicial laws delivered from God to Moses so far forth as they were of perpetual and universal obligation, which accordingly he did. From this time it was an usual thing for the magistrates to consult with the ministers in hard and difficult cases, especially about matters of religion, yet so as religious care was had of avoiding confusion of councils. After which time, how useful Mr. Cotton was to Old England, to New England, to magistrates, to ministers, to people in public, in private, by preaching, by counsel, and by resolving difficult questions, all know that knew him. In the course of his ministry in New Boston, the presence of the Lord being with him, and crowning his labours with the conversion of many souls, and the edification of thousands. Some years after there was brought into Boston a report of the necessitous condition of the poor saints at Sigataca, a little church whereof Mr. White was a faithful pastor, which suffered much extremity by reason of the persecution of their then prevailing adversaries, forcing them from Bermudas into the desert continent. The sound of whole distress was no sooner heard of, but you might have heard the sounding of his bowels, with many others, applying themselves to a speedy

collection, and sending it to them for their seasonable relief; the sum was about seven hundred pounds, two hundred whereof he gathered in the church of Boston, no man in the contribution exceeding, and but one equalling his bounty. And it was remarkable that his contribution arrived there the very day after those poor people were brought to a personal divison of that little meal then remaining in the barrel; and, not seeing, (according to man) but that, after the eating thereof, they must die a lingering death for want of food, and upon the same day, their pastor had preached unto them (it being the Lord's day) upon that text, Psal. xxiii. "The Lord is my Shepherd, I shall not want." At such a time the good hand of the Lord brought this succour to them from afar. Mr. Cotton being now advanced in years, and sickly, did, according to that of James, send for the elders of the church to pray over him, which last solemn duty was performed, not without much affection and many tears. Then (as Polycarp a little before his death said, that he had served Christ fourscore and six years, and had always found him merciful and kind to him) so Mr. Cotton told them, that, through grace, he had now served God forty years, (it being so long time since his conversion) throughout which time he had ever found him a faithful God; and thereupon he took occasion to exhort them to the like effect that Paul sometime did the elders of Ephesus a little before they were to see his face no more: "Take heed therefore to yourselves, and to all the flock over which he hath made you overseers, to feed the church which he hath purchased with his own blood." Particularly he lamented, that the love of many, yea, and of some of their own congregation was grown cold towards the public ordinances, calling upon them so much the more for their watchfulness in that respect; which done, he thanked them for their loving and brotherly assistance to him in their holy fellowship, and commended them to the blessing of God. Then that godly man, Mr. Wilson, the faithful pastor of the church of Boston, taking his last leave of him, and most ardently praying unto God, "That he would lift up the light of his countenance upon him, and shed his love into his soul," he presently answered, "He hath done it already, brother." He died 1652.

19. HILL. In his preaching, he was plain, powerful, spiritual, frequent, and laborious; for, besides what of that kind he did in the university of Cambridge in St. Mary's, and in the College-chapel, who were very happy in his frequent labours: in the town he set up a lecture every sabbath morning in the parish-church of St. Michael, performed only by himself, and cheerfully frequented by a great concourse both of scholars and townsmen, and another in the church of All-hallows every sabbath afternoon, in which he did bear at least the fourth part of the burden, and both of them gratis. And there were many more such lectures there at that time by other pious learned men, more indeed than are in any town or city upon those terms in all England, or are like to be there again: which is mentioned, that God may have the glory in the first place, and then for the honour of that reformation, which so many do traduce, as also of those more noble spirited preachers, who so freely offered their labour unto God.

But Cambridge did not bound the course of our laborious preacher's ministry; but, as it is said of our Saviour, Matth. ix. 35. "That he went about all cities and villages teaching and preaching;" and of St. Paul, Rom. xv. 19. "That from Jerusalem and round about to Illyricum, he did fully preach the gospel of Christ:" so our brother endeavoured to tread in these blessed steps, diligently preaching when he had occasion to be abroad in remoter parts, but especially in many towns and villages nearer hand. And, as our Saviour is observed by some divines, to have preached more frequently the nearer he was to his departure; so this his faithful servant made the more haste in his journey towards his end. He was active for good, going up and down doing good; and, though otherwise modest, yet, when the case required it, bold in a good cause. He was spiritual in communion, and a quickner of those with whom he conversed; of a very public spirit, and much affected with the various conditions of the state, but especially of the church and people of God. He died in 1653.

II. GOUGE. He was minister at Black-Friars in London about forty five years, where his ministry was by the divine blessing very successful. He had a high esteem of the pastoral office; and it was his earnest desire and daily prayer to God for his sons, that they might be preachers of the gospel: for he himself found such comfort and content in his calling, that he thought no greater could be found in any other; and he often professed, for his own part, that the greatest pleasure he took in the world was in the employments about the work of the ministry; inasmuch as he was wont to say to divers honourable persons of his acquaintance, and particularly to the lord Coventry, keeper of the great seal of England: That he envied not his great place and employment.

At his first coming to Black-Friars, being in the thirty third year of his age, he preached constantly, besides twice every Lord's day, a weekly lecture; viz. on the Wednesdays in the forenoon, which for the space of about twenty five years was very much frequented, and that not only by his parishioners, but by divers city members, and by sundry pious and judicious gentlemen of the Inns of Court, besides many other well disposed citizens who in multitudes flocked to hear his heavenly doctrine: yea, such was the fame of Dr. Gouge's ministry, that when any country ministers, and godly Christians came to London about their affairs, they thought not their business fully ended unless they had been at Black-Friars lecture. And it pleased God to give such a blessing to his ministry, that many of his auditors, though living in other parishes have confessed that the first seeds of grace were sown in their hearts by a blessing upon Dr. Gouge's ministry: and indeed God wonderfully honoured his labours, many having been converted, and built up by him. He used also to preach a preparation sermon before the communion, on the eve before each monthly sacrament. He was eminently laborious and faithful in his work even to his dying day; preaching so long as he was able to creep up into the pulpit. He was chosen amongst others to write large annotations upon the bible, being well known to be a judicious interpreter of scripture; and how well he

performed that task, may be evident to all that read his part, which was from the beginning of the first book of the Kings to Job<sup>a</sup>. Such was his conversation, that there was scarce a lord, or lady, or citizen of quality, in, or about the city, that were piously affected, but they sought his acquaintance, and were ambitious to enjoy his company, wherein they took much content, and found much benefit to their souls thereby. And whereas many persons of quality out of their great respect to him, came to visit him, he would so endeavour to order their conference as might tend most to their edification; and if their visits were merely complemental, he soon grew weary, and accounted it a burden to him. He was very inquisitive after the state and condition of the church of Christ both at home, and abroad, that he might accordingly order his prayers in their behalf, of whom he was never unmindful in his addresses unto God. He died 1653<sup>b</sup>.

12. JER. WHITAKER. He was born at Wakefield in Yorkshire, in the year 1599. Even whilst he was a school boy, his affections did flow out towards those who were most religiously disposed; in whose company he used frequently to go eight or ten miles to hear an awakening soul-warming sermon: he used also to join with them in prayers, and other holy exercises; and being able to take sermon notes, both understandingly and largely, he was very helpful to those private Christians in repeating what they had publicly heard; being from his child-hood full of affections in whatsoever business he undertook.

Whilst he was at the grammar-school, though his father endeavoured often, and earnestly to divert his thoughts from the office of the ministry, yet was he unmoveable in his desires to be a minister, and he never after repented of this his choice, but would all his life-long, upon all occasions, magnify that office; insomuch as he hath often been heard to utter this speech: I had much rather be a preacher of the gospel than an emperor. And when a motion was once made to him to be the head of a college in the university, he readily returned this answer: My heart doth more desire to be a constant preacher, than to be the master of any college in the world. Whilst he continued school-master at Okeham, he undertook and preached a weekly lecture there, besides many sermons which he preached occasionally in neighbouring congregations: and during his abode at Stretton, besides his pastoral employment, wherein he preached twice every Lord's-day, he also constantly preached his weekly lecture at Okeham, and was a principal supporter of some other lectures in the neighbourhood.

[ The following note from Neal's History in the year 1657 may be inserted here. ]

a "About the beginning of this year, Dr. Bryan Walton, afterwards bishop of Chester, published the *Biblia Polyglotta*, in six volumes in folio; wherein the sacred text is printed in the Vulgar Latin, Hebrew, Greek, Syriack, Chaldee, Samaritan, Arabick, Æthiopicke, and Persick languages: each having its peculiar Latin translation, with an apparatus for the better understanding those tongues. This laborious performance, by the assistance of several that engaged in it, was completed in about four years, and

was reckoned the most absolute edition of the Bible that the world had ever seen. Several learned persons, both Puritans and others, assisted in correcting the press, and in collecting the copies. Many noblemen and gentlemen of quality, contributed to the expence of printing this work, without which it could not have seen the light."

b It was a frequent saying of his, "When I look upon myself, I see nothing but emptiness and weakness; but in Christ I see nothing but fulness and sufficiency."



Not long after his coming to London, for the most part his task was to preach constantly four sermons every week; two in his own charge, one at Westminster, and one at Christ-church. And after he had laid down his Christ-church lecture, at the importunity of the inhabitants he took up one at Stepney, besides his preaching two lectures quarterly at Michael's, Corn-hill: add to these his preaching monthly at the morning exercises, or else he assisted on the fast days; besides his many occasional sermons, as for preparation to the sacrament, in his own church, and at funerals, both at home and abroad. Yea, it is truly reported of him, that he would never deny any request for preaching and prayers, if God gave him bodily ability, or other unavoidable occasions did not necessarily hinder him. Many weeks he preached twice, even then when he attended the work of the assembly of divines, viz. the morning exercise; and, upon some other occasion, in the afternoon of the same day.

As he was riding with one of his intimate friends by Tyburn (which he had not seen, or not observed before) he asked what that was? and being answered that it was Tyburn, where so many malefactors had been executed; he stopt his horse, and uttered these words with much affection: Oh! what a shame is it that so many thousands should die for the satisfaction of their lusts, and so few be found willing to lay down their lives for Christ? why should not we in a good cause, and upon a good call, be ready to die for Jesus Christ? it would be an everlasting honour, and it is a thousand times better to die for Christ, to be hanged, or to be burnt for Christ, than to die in our beds.

In his addresses unto God, he constantly claimed propriety in God, calling him, my God, and, my Father. His inward peace and joy were the support of his heart under all his grievous and grinding pains of the stone. He was confident of mercy mixed with all his greatest distempers; not at all doubting of the sanctification of them to him through grace. Thus he spake many times in his applications to God: "Consider, and save me, for I am thine. How long, how long, Lord, shall I not be remembered! yea, I am remembered, blessed be thy name. God that hath supported me hitherto, and he that hath delivered me, will yet deliver. Thou Lord never forgettest them that put their trust in thee." Always when the extremity of pain was over, he would with smiles speak of God's mercies. Tho' trembling took hold on him when his violent pains began, yet would he with confidence say: Now in the strength of the mighty God, I will undergo these pains; O my God, put under thine everlasting arms, and strengthen me. Many times he told a bosom friend of his, that notwithstanding all his rentings and roarings, (from which he expected no deliverance but by death) he would not for a thousand worlds change estates with the greatest man on earth, whom he looked upon as in a way of sin, and enthralled thereto. And this much bespeaks God's fatherly indulgence towards him, That Satan could never shake his confidence, nor assault his hopes all the time of his irksome distemper. And when he was by extremity of pains taken off from his ministry, he would sometimes profess to some of his special friends, That the pain he felt was not so grievous to his spirit,

as his inability, by reason thereof, to manage his wonted work: indeed it was his meat and drink to be doing the will of his heavenly Father: Many times these were his words: "If I could but preach, I should be much better." The Sabbath se'nnight before God released him, though his pains were very sharp, yet he bestowed most part of the time of public ordinances in prayer with those that were about him, and his petitions were mostly in the behalf of ministers, that God would cloath his ordinances with his own power, and enable his ministers to speak to the souls of his people. Then did he also with many tears bewail his detainment from the sanctuary, and Sabbath opportunities of doing and receiving good, which had been his delight; and because this apprehension of his present unserviceableness did much afflict him; this was often suggested to him, (which the Lord was pleased to make a release to his spirit) viz. That now by the practice of faith, patience, contentment, and spiritualness, (which he had formerly preached and pressed upon others) he was very profitable unto them who visited him, and might also prove advantageous to others, who might be acquainted therewith, through God's grace. He died 1654.

[ From WESLEY'S Christian Library, Vol. xxvii. page 292. ]

13. USHER<sup>a</sup>. He was born in Dublin, in St. Nicholas parish, in the year 1580. Two of his aunts, who by reason of their blindness never saw letters, taught him first to read. Their readiness in the scripture was marvellous, being able suddenly to repeat any part of the bible. At eight years old he was sent to the grammar-school; Sir James Fullerton (who was afterwards embassador in France, and died in a great office at court) was his school-master. He, with Sir James Hamilton (afterwards lord viscount Clanciboise) who was usher of the school, were sent then out of Scotland by king James upon another design, only disguised in that employment: they came very opportunely for his founding in learning; which he often acknowledged the providence of God in.

At ten years old he found in him the true sense of religion, by a sermon he heard preached upon Rom. xii. 1. His reading then of some notes, taken in writing from Mr. Perkins, concerning the sanctifying of the Lord's day, took so with him, that he was ever after careful to keep it. He then read in Latin St. Augustin's meditations, which so moved him, that he wept often in the reading of them. Upon the accustoming himself thus to good duties in his tender years, the devil endeavoured to nip him in the bud, by divers sorts of terrors and affrightments, sleeping and waking, tending to the discouraging of him in the way of Godliness. But he constantly applied himself to prayer, and at length was heard in that he feared, by some unusual way of support and comfort; which took that impression in him, that it was fresh in his memory in his elder years. When he could not be frightened out of that course, the devil laid a bait of pleasure to withdraw him, by some of his friends teaching him to play at cards, which he found himself so delighted with, that it not only took place of the love of his book, but be-

<sup>a</sup> This Life was published in a sermon at his funeral by Dr. Bernard.

gan to be a rival with that spiritual part in him; upon the apprehension of which, he gave it over, and never played after.

At twelve years old he was so affected with chronology and antiquity, that reading Sleidan of the four empires and other authors, he drew out an exact series of times when each eminent person lived. In the space of five years he was perfectly instructed in grammar, rhetoric, and poetry. He excelled in poetry, which he found himself so delighted with, that he took himself off, lest it should have taken him off from more serious studies. At thirteen he was admitted into the college of Dublin, being the first scholar that was entered into it. And now Sir James Hamilton, hitherto usher of the school, was chosen fellow of the college, and so became his tutor; whom I have often heard admiring his quickness and proficiency.

At fourteen years old he was called to receiving the communion. The afternoon before, his usual custom was to sequester himself, and spend it in strict examination, and penitential humiliation of himself for his sins, which was so operative, that streams of tears ran from him, which he often reflected upon, as an exemplary provocation, and censure of himself, when he was of elder years. I have often heard him speak of a certain place by a water-side, whither he frequently resorted, sorrowfully to recount his sins, and with floods of tears to pour them out in the confession of them; the fruit of which he found to be so sweet to his soul, that he thirsted for all occasions of such a sequestration, and so usually on Saturdays in the afternoon it was his custom. One sin he lamented was, his too much love of human learning, that he should be as glad of Monday to go to that, as of the Lord's day for his service; it cost him many a tear, that he could not be more heavenly minded at that age. At fifteen he had made such a proficiency in chronology, that in Latin he drew up an exact chronicle of the bible, as far as the book of Kings. About that time he had a strong temptation, that God did not love him, because he had no outward afflictions, or troubles of conscience, occasioned by some expressions he read in some writers. Before he was bachelor of arts, he had read Stapleton's Fortrefs of the faith, and finding his confidence in asserting antiquity for the tenets of popery, he was put to a plunge within himself; this he took for a truth, that the antientest church must be the best. His suspicion was, that Stapleton might misquote the fathers, or wrest them to his own sense; hence he then took up a resolution, that if God gave him life and health, he would read the fathers all over; and so, as I take it, he began that work at twenty years of age, and finished it at thirty-eight, strictly observing his proportion each day, what occasions soever diverted him.

But now his father's intention to send him over hither to the Inns of Court for the study of the common law, much disturbed him; yet, in obedience to his father, he assented and resolved it. But not long after his father died, and being then at liberty to make choice of his studies, he devoted himself to divinity, and was chosen fellow of the college; before which he was incapable of taking the oath then given at the admission of them, viz. "That the present intent of their studies

should be for the profession or divinity, unless God should afterwards otherways dispose their minds." Here was given another occasion of disturbance: his father left him a very good estate in land, but finding he must have involved himself in many suits in law before it could have been settled, to the withdrawing him from his studies, he gave it up to his brother and sisters; and suffered his uncle to take letters of administration for that end, being in those years resolved to put himself upon the providence of God, to whose service in the ministry he had devoted himself, and did not doubt but he would provide for him. When he was nineteen years old, he disputed with Henry Fitz Symonds the Jesuit, in the castle of Dublin. He offered to dispute with him thro' the controversies of Bellarmine. The first subject was *de Anti-christo*: twice or thrice they had solemn disputations. He was ready to have proceeded, but the Jesuit was weary of it, yet gives him a tolerable commendation, and much admires the forwardness of him at such young years. Some of his words are, "There came once to me a youth of about eighteen years of age, one of a too soon ripe wit, scarce, as you would think, gone thro' his course of philosophy, or got out of his childhood, yet ready to dispute of the most abstruse points in divinity." And afterwards the same Jesuit living to understand more of him, saith, he was, *A catholicorum doctissimus*, as an unusual, so a tender expression, loth to call him an heretick; but of such as are not catholicks, the most learned. About twenty years of age he commenced master of arts, and was chosen catechist of the college, when he went through a great part of the body of divinity in the chapel.

And now by reason of the scarcity of preachers, (it being then there as in Samuel's time, "The word of God was precious") three young men of the college were appointed to preach in Christ-church before the state. One of whom was this most learned primate; and his part was to handle the controversies for the satisfaction of the Papists, on the Lord's day in the afternoon; which he did so perspicuously, ever concluding with matter of exhortation, that it was much for the confirmation and edification of the Protestants. But after a little space, he refused to continue it, because he had not yet received ordination; and that he also made a scruple of taking yet, by his defect of years, the constitutions of England requiring twenty-four, and he not yet being twenty-one; but by some of the most grave and learned men, he was told the Lord had need of him. Upon their urging him, and his age being dispensed with, he was ordained by his uncle Henry Usher archbishop of Armagh.

The first text he preached on publicly after his ordination, was Rev. iii. 1. "Thou hast a name that thou livest, and art dead;" it fell out to be the same day with the battle of Kinsale, the Friday before Christmas-day 1601; and it being a day specially set a-part for prayer, for a good success upon that engagement, and being his first fruits in that office, might possibly be the more efficacious. He began that epistle to the church of Sardis then, and finished it afterwards. The design was then known, that if the Spaniards had got the better, most of the Protestants had been slain by the Irish Papists, both in Dublin and

elsewhere, but especially the ministers without any distinction; hence arose a temptation in him to have deferred ordination 'till the event of that battle were known, whereby he should not have been in such imminent danger; but he repelled that motion, and resolved the rather upon it, conceiving he should in that office of the ministry, and for that cause, die the next door to martyrdom. After the Spaniards overthrow at Kinsale, the hopes of the Irish being lost, they began to subject themselves to the statute now put in execution, in coming to church; and for their further information in point of religion, the lord lieutenant and council, desired the ministers so to divide themselves, that in each church on the Lord's day in the afternoon, in imitation of what he had already begun at Christ-church, there might be a sermon for that end: a convenient church (St. Catherine's) was assigned for this reverend person, who removed accordingly, and duly observed it. His custom was to draw up the sum of what he had delivered into questions and answers, and the next Sunday persons of good esteem, voluntarily offered themselves to repeat the answers before the whole congregation, which occasioned them to be the more taken notice of by the Papists. By this his labour, and others of his brethren, not only in Dublin, but in other parts of the kingdom, the Papists came to church so diligently, that if they had occasion to absent themselves, they would send their excuse to the church wardens. But notwithstanding these good beginnings, suddenly the statute was again suspended, the power of the high commission was withdrawn: at which the Papists presently withdrew themselves again; and Popery from that time returned to a higher tide than before, and overflowed its former banks in a general deluge over the whole nation. Upon this, the spirit of this holy and eminent person, like Paul's at Athens, was stirred within him, and preaching before the state at Christ-church, Dublin, upon a special solemnity, did with as much prudence and fortitude as might become those younger years, give them his sense of that their toleration of idolatry; and made full and bold application of that passage in the vision of Ezekiel, chap. iv. 6. where the prophet "by lying on his side, was to bear the iniquity of Judah forty days, I have appointed thee a day for a year, even a day for a year," as the old translation of the Bible he then used, reads it. This by consent of interpreters, signifies the time of forty years to the destruction of Jerusalem, and that nation for their idolatry. He made then his direct application in relation to that connivance of Popery, viz. "From this year will I reckon the sin of Ireland, that those whom you now embrace shall be your ruin, and you shall bear this iniquity." Having since occasion further to consider it, we found there were from the year 1601, forty years to the late rebellion and destruction of Ireland, in the year 1641, done by those Papists, and Popish priests connived at. He had reserved the notes of that sermon, with the year and day he preached it; and, it is the more observable, it was one of the last he wrote throughout word for word, but afterwards without writing any thing but the heads, put his meditations wholly upon the strength of his memory, and God's assistance. This is a very observable passage, and if it may be conceived to be a prophetic impulse in those years, he

was the liker Samuel, who in his youth was sent with the like message to Eli, relating the ruin of his native country, "That the Lord would do such a thing in Israel, that whosoever hears it, both his ears should tingle." And what a continued expectation he had of a judgment upon his native country, I can witness from the year 1624, when I had the happiness first to be known to him, and the nearer the time every year, the more confident he was to my admiration; there being nothing visibly tending to the fear of it.

After this, he constantly came over to England once in three years, and thus he spent the Summer, one month at Oxford; another at Cambridge, searching the books, but especially the manuscripts of each university; the third month at London, attending chiefly Sir Thomas Cotton's library, and conversing with learned men, with whom in those younger years he was in great esteem; and in after years, scarce a choice book in any eminent person's library, in France, Italy, Germany, or Rome, but he had his way to have it, or what he desired transcribed; and he was better acquainted with the pope's Vatican, than some that daily visited it. The first church preferment he had, was the chancellorship of St. Patrick's Dublin, unto which he took no other benefice. In this dignity the law might have excused him from preaching, but only sometimes in his course before the state, yet he would not omit it to the place from whence he received the profits, but went thither in person, viz. to Finglas, a mile from Dublin, and preached there every Lord's-day, unless upon extraordinary occasions he were detained; and in having been a constant preacher, he took in his elder years more comfort than in all his other labours and writings. His experiences in prayer were many, and very observable in the return of his desires in kind, and that immediately, when he had been in some distresses; and the providence of God in taking care of him in his younger years, as he did often recount, confirmed his dependence upon him in these his elder.

When he was twenty-seven years old, in the year 1607, he commenced bachelor of divinity, and immediately after was chosen professor of divinity in that university of Dublin. In the year 1612, he proceeded doctor of divinity. One of his lectures, *pro gradu*, was of "the seventy weeks, to the slaying of the Messiah," Dan. ix. 24. The other out of Rev. xx. 4. concerning the sense of that, viz. "The saints reigning with Christ a thousand years." In the year 1613, he published that book *De Ecclesiarum Christianarum successione et statu*, magnified by Casaubon and Scultetus, in their Greek and Latin verses before it; it was solemnly presented by archbishop Abbot to king James, as the eminent first fruits of that college of Dublin. In the year 1615, there was a parliament in Dublin, and a convocation of the clergy; then those learned articles of Ireland were composed and published, he being a member of the synod, was appointed to draw them up; highly approved by the most orthodox divines. I know no cause of some men speaking against them, unless for that they determine according to Augustine's doctrine against the Pelagians, "the Man of Sin," 2 Thes. ii. to be the bishop of Rome, and the "Morality of the Sabbath;" of both which, this most learned primate was very confident, and wished

some learned men of late had spared their pens to the contrary. And now he wanted not enemies in scandalizing him to king James, under the title of a Puritan, to prevent any further promotion of him, but it so fell out, that was the occasion of his advancement, for king James being in some fear of him, upon that score by the eminency of his learning, fell into some full discourse with him, and received such abundant satisfaction of the soundness of his judgment and piety, that notwithstanding the opposition of great ones, without his seeking, he made him bishop of Meath in Ireland, and as I have heard, did often boast, that "he was a bishop of his own making:" but the misinterpretations which some enemies had raised and spread of him moved him voluntarily to declare his judgment, as to the doctrine and discipline of the church of England, which was to all good mens satisfactions. He did not now slack in his constancy of preaching, but bound himself the rather to it, by the motto of his episcopal seal, *Vae mihi si non evangelizavero*, which he continued in the seal of his primacy also.

While he was in England, primate Hampton dying, he was made in the year 1624, primate of Ireland, the hundredth bishop of that see, from the first, supposed to be Patricius, who lived in Augustine's time, four hundred years after Christ, whom we read much of in divers ancient writers; and this reverend primate in his book called the *Religion of the Ancient Irish* hath made it appear very probable, that the doctrine St. Patrick planted, and preached among them at first, was the same now professed by us. When he was thus promoted to the highest step his profession was capable of in his native country, he was the more humble, and laborious in preaching: and it so fell out, that for some weeks together, preaching beyond his strength, to the overmuch wasting of his spirits, at the request of some ministers in Essex to have him preach upon the week days, he fell into a Quartan Ague, which held him three quarters of a year.

After his recovery, the lord Mordant, afterwards earl of Peterborough, being a papist, and desirous to draw his lady to the same religion, was willing there should be a meeting of two prime men of each, to dispute what might be in controversy between them. The lady made choice of the lord primate, and prevailed with him, though newly recovered, and scarce able to take that journey. The Jesuit chosen by the earl, went under the name of Beaumont, but his right name was Rookwood, brother to Ambrose Rookwood, one of the conspirators of the gunpowder-treason, and executed. The place of meeting was at Drayton, in Northamptonshire, where there was a great library, that no books of the ancient fathers were wanting for their view. The points proposed, were concerning transubstantiation, invocation of saints, images, visibility of the church. Three days were spent in disputations, but the conclusion was this. After the third day, the lord primate, hitherto being opponent, and now the Jesuit taking that part upon him, and my lord to be respondent, that morning about the time he was expected, excused his coming to the earl, saying, "That all the arguments he had framed in his own head, and thought he had them as perfect as his *Pater Noster*, he had forgotten, and could not recover them again. That

he believed it was the just judgment of God upon him, thus to desert him in the defence of his cause, for the undertaking of himself to dispute with a man of that eminency and learning, without the licence of his superior." Whereupon the earl upon some further discourse with this lord primate was converted, and became a Protestant, and so continued to his last. Upon this, the countess of Peterborough owed him a great respect, and upon his losses in Ireland, and other distresses here, she took him to her own house, with whom he lived about nine or ten years, and died there.

In the year 1626, in August, he returned into Ireland, where he was received with all the expressions of joy that could be given. The discourses which daily fell from him at his table in the clearing of difficulties in the scripture, and other subjects, was of great advantage to such as were capable of them. It put me often in mind of that speech of the queen of Sheba to Solomon. "Happy are these thy servants that continually stand about thee, and hear thy wisdom." The order in his family as to prayer, was four times a day; in the morning at six, in the evening at eight, and before dinner and supper in the chappel; at all of which he was always present. On Friday in the afternoon constantly an hour in the chappel was spent in going through the principles of religion, for the instruction of the family. And every Sunday evening, we had a repetition of his sermon.

In Michaelmas term, in the year 1626, propositions were made by the Papists, for a more full toleration of their religion, viz. the maintaining 500 horse, and 5000 foot, wherein the Protestants must have born some share also; for the consideration of which a great assembly of the whole nation, Papists and Protestants was called in the lord deputy Falkland's time. The bishops, by this lord primate's invitation met at his house, and he and they unanimously subscribed a protestation against the toleration of Popery, which is as followeth.

"The religion of the Papists is superstitious and idolatrous; their faith and doctrine erroneous and heretical, their church in respect of both, apostatical. To give them therefore a toleration, or to consent that they may freely exercise their religion, and profess their faith and doctrine, is a grievous sin, and that in two respects: For 1. It is to make ourselves accessary not only to their superstitions, idolatries, heresies, and in a word, to all the abominations of Popery; but also (which is a consequent of the former) to the perdition of the seduced people, which perish in the deluge of the catholic apostacy. 2. To grant them toleration, in respect of any money, or contribution to be made by them, is to set religion to sale, and with it the souls of the people whom Christ our Saviour hath redeemed with his most precious blood. And as it is a great sin, so also a matter of dangerous consequence. The consideration whereof, we commend to the wise and judicious. Beseeching the zealous God of truth, to make them who are in authority, zealous of God's glory, and of the advancement of true religion; zealous, resolute, and courageous against all superstition, and idolatry, Amen."



James. *Armachanus.*Mal. *Caschellen.*Anth. *Medensis.*Tho. *Hernsf. & Laughlin.*Thomas, *Kilmere and Ardagh.*Theophilus, *Dromore.*Ro. *Dunensis, &c.*George, *Derenf.*Richard, *Cork, Cloyne, &c.*Andrew, *Alachadensf.*Michael, *Waterford and Lismore.*Francis, *Limerick.*

And here let me give you some of his exemplary injunctions. Every Lord's day he preached in the forenoon, in which he spent himself much. In the afternoon, this was his order to me, that, besides the catechising of the youth before public prayers, I should after the first and second lesson, spend about half an hour in a brief and plain opening the principles of religion in the public catechism; and after that I was to preach. First, He directed me to go through the creed at once, giving but the sum of each article; the next time at thrice; and afterwards, each time an article as they might be more able to bear it; and so proportionably the ten commandments, Lord's prayer and the doctrine of the sacraments. The good fruit of which was apparent in the vulgar, upon their approach to the communion, when, as by the then order, the names of the receivers were to be given in, so some account was constantly taken of their fitness for it. His order throughout his diocese to the ministers, was to go through the body of divinity once a year. When a public fast was enjoined, he kept it very strictly, preached always first himself, at least continuing two hours, and more than ordinarily extending himself in prayer. His expences were much in books: he first procured the Samaritan Bible, which is only the Pentateuch, to the view of these western parts.

It would seem incredible to relate how many years ago, he did confidently foretell the changes that have come to pass in these dominions. And of the poverty he expected himself, which he said often, in the midst of his plenty. Some have much observed that text he took at St. Mary's in Cambridge, in the year 1625, on the late king's day, and the first annual solemnity of it; 1 Sam. xii. 25. "But if ye still do wickedly, you shall be consumed, both you and your king." Others, the last text he preached at court immediately before his return into Ireland. 1 Cor. xiv. 33. "God is not the author of confusion, but of peace, as in all the churches of the saints:" His application to the confusions and divisions, he was confident were at the doors, was then observed. He hath often acknowledged that sometimes that which he hath resolved in his sermon not to utter, was like Jeremiah's fire, shut up in his bones, that he could not forbear the reproving the greatest; even before kings he was not ashamed; and his preaching was with authority; he withstood to the face any toleration of Popery and superstition, by whomsoever attempted. At hearing him I have thought of that speech in the Psalms, "The zeal of thy house hath eaten me up." I remember a speech of his, in the year 1624, which he hath often confirmed: "That he was persuaded the greatest stroke to the reformed church, was to come yet; that the time of the utter ruin of the see of

Rome should be, when she thought herself most secure; according to that of Babylon at her destruction, Rev. xviii. 7. which he thought to be meant of the same, "She shall say, I sit as a queen, and shall see no more sorrow." His farewell sermon, in or very near the place where he lived and preached in England, was much observed; James i. 15. "Sin when it is finished, brings forth death;" his full application of it to the fulness of the sins of this nation, which certainly would bring forth destruction, that the "harvest of the earth was ripe, and the angel putting in his sickle;" applying that of the Ephah in the vision of Zech. v. when it was filled with wickedness; and that of the Amorites, when their iniquities were full, they were destroyed, affected much the auditory. The last time he was in London, he did much lament the deadly hatred kindling in the hearts of men one against another, by the several opinions in matters of religion; some of them in opposition to a ministry, condemning the sacraments: others spreading damnable doctrines, heresies, and blasphemies; he was confident, that the enemy which had sown those up and down the nation, were priests, friars, and jesuites, sent out of their seminaries from beyond seas, in other disguises; who by their numbers multiplying in London and elsewhere, expect a great harvest; and he was persuaded, if not timely weeded out, would tend to Popery, or massacres, or both: adding therewith, how willing he was, if God so pleased, to be taken away before that evil to come. Now, it is not improbable, that one so sanctified from his youth, so knowing, and eminent, might have at some special times, more than ordinary impulses in doing the watchman's part, of giving warning of judgments approaching. In the year 1640, he came out of Ireland hither, being invited by some eminent persons, upon occasion of the difference between the king and parliament; and this I take notice of, it was God's special providence for his preservation, it being the year before the rebellion of Ireland. At taking leave of him, I cannot forget the serious preparative against the heavy sorrows and miseries I should see before I saw him again; and with that confidence, as if it had been within view; it put me in mind of that in Amos iii. 7. "Surely the Lord will do nothing, but he will reveal it to his servants the prophets."

His library the first year of the rebellion of Ireland, 1641, was with us at Drogheda, when besieged four months by those Irish rebels, and when they made no question of devouring us; the priests and friars without, talked much of the prize they should have of it, but the barbarous multitude, of burning it, and me by the flame of the books, instead of faggots; but it pleased God in answer of our prayers, and fasting, wonderfully to deliver us, and it out of their hands; and so the whole, with all his manuscripts, were sent him that summer to Chester. The sufferings he now lay under were many. All his personal estate, and what else belonged to his primacy in Ireland, was destroyed, only at present he was preacher at Covent-Garden church. Upon his losses in Ireland, and straights here, two offers were made him from foreign nations: one from cardinal Richlieu, only in relation to his eminent learning, with a large maintenance, and liberty to have lived where he

pleased in France with the protestants. The other from the Hollanders, offering him the place of being professor at Leyden, which had an ample stipend, but he refused both. And now he was by the disturbance of the times, perpetually removing, having, with St. Paul, no certain dwelling-place: The saying of David was often in his thoughts, "Thou tellest my wanderings; put thou my tears into thy bottle." Some of those evidences St. Paul produceth, to approve himself to be the minister of Christ, 2 Cor. vi. were applicable to him; which, by learned men of other churches, he was often put in mind of. In 1642, he obtained leave of both houses of parliament to go to Oxford for his study. In the year 1644 the king coming thither, he preached before him, November 5. The text was Nehem. iv. 11. "And our adversaries said, they shall not know, neither see, till we come in the midst among them, and slay them, and cause their works to cease." A most apt text for the day; but this passage in his sermon against the papists, advising not to repose any trust in them, that upon the first opportunity they will serve us here, as they did the poor protestants in Ireland, offended some persons there attending. In March following, he went from thence into Wales to Cardiff in Glamorganshire, and abode with his daughter. In 1645, September 16, he removed thence to St. Donnets (the lady Stradlings) when by the way he was barbarously used by some soldiers; and pluckt off his horse; they broke open two of his trunks full of books, and took all away, amongst which he lost two manuscripts of the history of the Waldenses, which he never got again; most of the other books were restored, by the preachers exhorting all sorts in their sermons to that end.

Not long after he fell into a painful sickness, and bled four days together, so that all hope of life was past; but he recovered, and in 1646, he came to London. After some space he was chosen preacher to that honourable society of Lincoln's Inn, where he continued divers years with great honour and respect, 'till having lost his sight and strength, he was advised to forbear, and reserve the remainder of his spirits, like aged Paul, to the writing his books, yet expected. No spectacles could help him, only when the sun shined, he could see at a window, which he hourly followed from room to room. In winter, the window was often open for him to write at. The next winter he intended to have an amanuensis; but God was pleased to prevent it, by taking him to the sight of himself. After he left Lincoln's Inn, he was prevailed with to preach in several places; Gray's Inn on Nov. 5. 1654, at the Temple at Mr. Selden's funeral, and two other places in the city: both which latter were very effectual in the conversion of divers that came unto him: and indeed seldom did that sword drawn by him return empty. The last sermon he preached, was about Michaelmas, at Hammer-smith. He told me how much he was troubled, that he found himself unable to continue it; his dreams were on it: and though he had been about 55 years a preacher, and so, like the Levites, might well be excused from the service of the sanctuary, only employing himself for the directing of others; yet he had resolved that Summer to have returned to it again. He sought no great things for himself. In his distresses, by his

losses in Ireland, the parliament for some years had been bountiful to him in an annual stipend; but the last two years of their sitting suspended it. After their dissolving, the care of him was renewed by the lord Protector; by whose order a competent allowance was given him. All that knew him, found him very communicative, not only of his studies, but of what he had out of his stipend, to persons in want. He was not wanting with St. Paul to magnify his office, which may be seen and read of all men; but he did it without partiality. He was not so severe as to disown the ministry of other reformed churches; but declared, He did love and honour them as true members of the church universal; and was ready, both for the ministers of Holland and France, to testify his communion with them. He was a man of most exemplary moderation, meekness, humility, ingenuity. He had in 1641, drawn up an expedient, by way of accommodation in some ecclesiastical affairs, which some moderate persons of each party were ready to subscribe. In matters of doctrine, for substantials, it was often his charge not to preach any thing "as pleasing men, but God, who hath put us in trust:" that in so "seeking to please men, we should not be the servants of Christ." In the defence of which truths of doctrine, no man was more resolute and constant, not "giving place by way of subjection, no not for an hour;" but he thought the case was altered in circumstantial: that it was our duty, with St. Paul, "to please all men, and not ourselves, in all such things," to edification and concord. In a word, he was "without wavering, always one and the same, holding fast the form of sound words, "and walked in the "old paths and good way; and there is none that hath drunk the old wine, straightway desires new; for, he saith, the old is better."

The night before he left London, Oh! the humble expressions of his own unworthiness, and the demeaning of himself, as if he had been the least of saints; which he uttered with many tears: it wrought much upon us who found ourselves so far beneath him. He did then, as he had often before, wish us to prepare for afflictions and trials; which he was persuaded were not far from us. And the next morning, being Feb. 13, 1655, I took my last leave of him; and he returned to Ryegate to the countess of Peterborough's. The day he first sickened, being March 20, he had been most part of it at his study; he went from thence to visit a gentlewoman sick in the house, gave her most holy advices for three quarters of an hour, in such an heavenly manner, as if, like Moses upon mount Nebo, his eyes had been then strengthened to the sight of that celestial Canaan; or with St. Paul in his rapture, had been within the gate of heaven, to which he was now nearer than he was aware. That night about eight, he first complained of his hip, judging it to be a touch of the Sciatica, which about thirty five years before he had by sitting up late in the college-library of Dublin. That, by an ointment, he was eased of, and got some rest that night. In the morning he complained of a great pain in his side. A physician was sent for; but it continuing, and his spirits decaying, he applied himself to prayer, and upon the abatement of the torture, to advising those about him to provide in their health for death; that then they might have

nothing else to do but to die, which he took a great content to find the approach of. In prayer he had the assistance of a minister, but afterwards desired to be left alone. The last words he was heard to utter, in praying for forgiveness of sins, were these, viz. "But, Lord, in special, forgive my sins of omission." In general, he had his wish, which I have often heard him make, That he might die like Mr. Perkins, who expired with crying for mercy and forgiveness. With this humble expression this holy man of God expired.

[ FROM CLARK'S LIVES. ]

The Lord was pleased to make his labours very successful, some few instances whereof, I shall here set down, some of which I had from my reverend friend Mr. Stanly Gower, the last from my own knowledge. A lord's eldest son, who from his cradle had been trained up in popery, but was of excellent parts, and learning, was at last prevailed with by his father, to sojourn a while with Usher at Drogheda. The prudent man studied nothing more than how he could take him by craft, (as the apostle did the Corinthians, 2 Cor. xii. 16.) and therefore did not presently fall into discourse with him about his religion, but recreated himself for a time in discoursing with him about some philosophical questions, and school points, in which studies he perceived the gentleman was well versed and took much delight in them: this he continued till at last he gained so far upon his affections that of his own accord he moved some discourse about matters of religion; and then finding him studious, he did not presently go about to instruct him in the truth, but sought to puzzle him with doubts about his own religion; by this means the gentleman's conscience began to be awakned; nor were his scruples removed, though he had recourse to a monastery hard by, where they were debated; so that at last he came with tears to Usher for satisfaction, and he promised to deal faithfully with him; but (saith he) those whom you trust do not so, for they will not suffer you to see with your own eyes, nor to understand the scriptures, but according to their church's commentaries. Then did he advise him to go amongst them, and to ask them, whether he that understood the originals, might examine their interpretations; and to bring him word what they said. Accordingly he did so, and brought him word, That they were divided in their judgments. Then did the learned bishop with him no longer to give them implicit faith, and he would demonstrate to him how much they perverted the sense of the scriptures, and abused the writings of the ancient fathers; whilst they sought to make the world believe that the fathers and councils were wholly for them, and against us. And if, (saith he) you distrust your own learning and reading, and will make choice of any other, who you think can say more, I will make this good, which I have said, before the best of them all. This was an introduction to much confidence, which he had in him; and it pleased God, after much temptation which he had to the contrary, (as he confessed) to direct him to betake himself to prayer; after which time, he acknowledged that he understood more of the way of truth, both when he conferred with the primate, and when he meditated a-part, than ever

he could attain to before; and the issue was, that he came into the church unlooked for by the primate, and after sermon, made a confession of his faith, offering to seal the truth of it (if they pleased to admit him) by receiving the sacrament of the Lord's supper, which was then to be administered. The last instance I shall give of the successfulness of his labours, is this; we had an ordination of ministers in our seventh class; at which time (according to our custom) we called in the young men that were to be ordained, one after another, and examining them about the work of God's grace in their hearts, three of them acknowledged, that they were converted by God's blessing upon the labours of archbishop Usher whilst he preached at Oxford, where they then were students. He died 1655.

[ From the Preface to the Notes of his Sermons preached in Oxford. ]

When by reason of that bloody rebellion in Ireland, he was forced from his station there, it pleased the Lord to fix him, as a burning and shining light for some time in Oxon. Whilst here he constantly spent himself and was spent in preaching Christ crucified. This he did like himself, with that soundness, diligence, evidence, faithfulness and zeal, that he seemed not only willing to impart the gospel, but his own soul to us. A film of superstition, and prophaneness was then grown over our university. Our pulpits turned as it were into stages, and sadly prostituted to froth and jests at Godliness. At that time was the Lord pleased to cause this star to shine in our Horizon. An accepted time it was, a time never to be forgotten, especially by those who through grace can from thence date their conversion. His learning, piety and gravity were so remarkable that the students flocked to hear him. It rejoices us to recollect how multitudes of scholars, especially the heads of our tribes, thronged after him. Many received him as the Galatians did Paul. Surely, if ever, it was then that the gospel ran and was glorified at Oxon. Here might you have seen a sturdy Saul changed into a submissive Paul. There a tender hearted Josiah lamenting after the Lord, and with Epluraim, sitting on his thigh, saying what have I done! others with the penitent Jews so stabbed at the heart, as that they were forced to cry out in the bitterness of their souls, men, and brethren, what shall we do?

The following things were very remarkable in him: he was savingly converted at ten years old; was admitted first scholar in the college at Dublin by reason of his extraordinary forwardness at thirteen; he made an exact chronology of good part of the bible, and of some other authors he had read, at fifteen; he encountered a Jesuite at nineteen years old, who afterwards called him *acatholicorum doctissimus*; he was chosen catechist of the college where he went through a great part of the body of divinity, in the chapel, by way of common place, at nineteen years old.

[ From CLARK's Lives. ]

14. HARRIS. He was minister at Hanwell for about forty years, a constant, painful, and faithful preacher, both upon the sabbaths and o-

other occasions, which fell out often; for, when he came thither, he found that there had been an accustomed course of preaching upon such festival days (then so called) which might not interfere with the lecture at Banbury. This he also kept up, especially on Easter and Whitson-Mondays, unto which multitudes of Christians resorted far and near, yet without any superstition. And on the morrow they were entertained with the like feast at Banbury by Mr. Wheatly. O what a fair for souls was held at Hanwell and Banbury by these two brothers! How did religion then flourish! The truth is, these preachers carved out sound and wholesome food, and their hearers came with good stomachs, expecting what they found, viz. milk for babes, and strong meat for strong men, and accordingly did grow thereby. In those days godly preachers stuffed not their sermons with airy notions, and curious speculations, but sought out profitable matter, which they delivered in sound words, and in a plain method of doctrine, reason and use, accommodating themselves to every man's capacity, and God gave them a plentiful harvest in that country.

But now began those cloudy times, when troops and armies marched into those quarters, about Edge-hill, where was fought a bloody battle, October 20th, 1642, upon the Lord's-day; yet every sabbath he held on in the course of his ministry; and most of those who quartered with him being commanders and officers, they shewed themselves civil to him, and his; only, at one time, there was a company who were so outrageous in swearing and blasphemy, that he could not forbear preaching upon that text, James v. 12. "Above all things, my brethren, swear not;" which so nettled some of them, that they damned themselves to hell, if they did not shoot him, in case he preached again upon that text, which they judged to be purposely chosen against them: the next sabbath he proceeded purposely upon the same text; wherein he backed what he had said before; and, as he was preaching, he saw a soldier take his carabin, and fumble about the lock, as if he was preparing to shoot; but Mr. Harris apprehending that he did it only to disturb him, went through his work, and heard no more of it. After a long and laborious life, he fell sick of a pleurisy. In his last illness, when he was asked where his comfort lay? his answer was, "In Christ, and in the free grace of God." One telling him, Sir, You may take comfort in your labours; you have done much good, &c. his answer was, "O! I am ashamed of them, being mixed with so much sin. Oh! I am an unprofitable servant. I have not done any thing for God as I ought; loss of time sits heavy upon my spirits. Work, work apace! Assure yourselves nothing will more trouble you, when you come to die, than that you have done no more for God, who hath done so much for you." Sometimes he used thus to breathe out himself, "I never in all my life saw the worth of a Christ, nor tasted the sweetness of God's love in that measure as now I do." When he was asked what should be done for him? his answer was, "Do not only pray for me, but praise God for his unspeakable mercy to me; and, in particular, that he hath kept Satan from me in this my weakness. O how good is God! Entertain good thoughts of him. However it be with us, we cannot think too well of

him, or too bad of ourselves." In all his wills, this legacy was always renewed. Item, I bequeath to all my children, and to their childrens children, to each of them a Bible, with this inscription, NONE BUT CHRIST. He was mean and low in his own eyes, and had more undervaluing thoughts of himself than all the world besides had of him. He was very sensible of that enemy which he often complained of, viz. Discouragement, which he used to stile the child of pride and unbelief. His usual saying was, that he valued no man for his gifts, but for his humility under them. Neither should he expect much from any man, were his parts never so great, till he was broken with afflictions and temptations. He observed, that the humblest preachers, not the choicest scholars, whilst unbroken, were the instruments of converting most souls. He used to say, that a preacher had three books to study: 1. The Bible. 2. Himself. 3. The People. He looked much to the ordinance and relation between pastor and people, and would say, that preaching to them was but one part of a pastor's duty; he was to live and die for them. He observed, that the best man hath no security from any one sin, or fall, or temptation, any further or longer than he was held up by God's hand, and Christ's mediation. He died December 11th, 1658.

### SECTION III.

*A hint of what was done in the last mentioned period for propagating the gospel in Wales.—And amongst the Indians upon the borders of New-England.*

[ FROM NEAL'S History of the Puritans, in the year 1649. ]

THE inhabitants of the principality of Wales were destitute of the means of Christian knowledge, their language was little understood, their clergy were ignorant and idle; so that they had hardly a sermon from one quarter of a year to another. The people had neither Bibles nor Catechisms; nor was there a sufficient maintenance for such as were capable of instructing them. The parliament taking the case of these people into consideration, pass'd an act, Feb. 22. 1649. For the better propagation and preaching of the gospel in Wales, for the ejecting scandalous ministers and school-masters, and redress of some grievances; to continue in force for three years. What was done in pursuance of this ordinance will be related hereafter; but the parliament were so intent upon the affair of religion at this time, that Mr. Whitlock says, they devoted Friday in every week to consult ways and means for promoting it. A prospect also being opened for spreading the Christian religion among the Indians, upon the borders of New-England, the parliament gave way to a general collection throughout England, and erected a corporation for this service, who purchased an estate in land of between five and six hundred pounds a year; but on the restoration of king Charles second, the charter became void, and colonel Bedingfield, a roman catholic officer in the king's army, of whom a considerable part of the land was purchased, seized it for his own use, pretending he had sold it under the value, in hopes of recovering it upon



the king's return. In order to defeat the colonel's design, the society solicited the king for a new charter, which they obtained by the interest of the earl of Clarendon. It bears date February seventh, in the fourteenth year of his majesty's reign, and differs but little from the old one. The honourable Robert Boyle Esq; was the first governor. They afterwards recovered colonel Bedingfield's estate, and are at this time in possession of about five hundred pounds a year; which they employ for the conversion of the Indians in America. Mr. Richard Baxter and alderman Athurst, were very helpful in obtaining this new charter.

[ FROM THE SAME, in the year 1652. ]

AN act had passed in the year 1649, for propagating the gospel in Wales; and commissioners were appointed for ejecting ignorant and scandalous ministers, and placing others in their room; pursuant to which, Mr. Whitlock writes, that by this time there were one hundred and fifty good preachers in the thirteen Welch counties, most of whom preached three or four times a week; that in every market town there was placed one; and in most great towns, two school-masters able, learned, and university men; that the tithes were all employed to the uses directed by act of parliament; that is to the maintenance of godly ministers; to the payment of taxes and officers; to school-masters; and the fifths to the wives and children of the ejected clergy; of which we shall meet with a more particular relation in its proper place.

[ FROM THE SAME in the year 1654. ]

IT was not in the power of the commissioners to find a succession of pious and learned preachers in the Welsh language; but to remedy this in the best manner they could, they appointed six itinerant preachers of university education for each county, to whom they allowed one hundred pounds a-year: besides which, they sent out thirty two ministers, of whom twenty four were university men, and some of the rest good scholars; but these were too few for the work, though they were indefatigable in their pains. To supply what was further wanting, they approved of several gifted lay-men, members of churches, to travel into the neighbourhood, and to assist the people's devotions; and to these they allowed from seventeen to twenty pounds a-year. In an article of the sequestrators accompts, there appears three hundred and forty pounds a-year distributed among godly members of the church of Lanvacles, and Mynthist Loyn; who had been sent out to exercise their gifts among the Welsh Mountaneers, and to help forward the work of the Lord. Many others of the same quality were approved by the commissioners, who went through great difficulties and hardships in their work. Mr. Powel says, That some hundreds, if not thousands, had been converted and reformed by the propagators.

## SECTION IV.

*The awakening in London in the time of the plague 1665. — Some of the silenced ministers stay in London and preach, visiting the sick, and getting relief to the poor that were shut up. — The happy fruits of their labours. — The godly generally died with extraordinary comfort. — Some account of those who died in the same house where Mr. Vincent was. — The silenced ministers begin to preach in the churches. — Vast concourse of hearers. — Eager looks, greedy attention. — Hundreds, if not thousands had convictions, and many were probably converted. — A sample of the earnest exhortations then given from Mr. Vincent's sermon at the funeral of Mr. Janeway.*

[ FROM BAXTER'S Life, Part iii. page 2. ]

ONE great benefit the plague brought to the city, was, that it occasioned the silenced ministers more openly and laboriously to preach the gospel, to the exceeding comfort and profit of the people; insomuch, that to this day the freedom of preaching, which this occasioned, cannot, by the daily guards of soldiers, nor by the imprisonments of multitudes, be restrained. The ministers that were silenced for non-conformity, had ever since 1662 done their work very privately, and to a few (not so much thro' their timorousness, as their lothness to offend the king; and in hope still that their forbearance might procure them some liberty; and thro' some timorousness of the people that should hear them.

And when the plague grew hot, most of the conformable ministers fled, and left their flocks, in the time of their extremity: whereupon divers non-conformists pitying the dying and distressed people, that had none to call the impenitent to repentance, nor to help men to prepare for another world; nor to comfort them in their terrors, when about ten thousand died in a week, resolved that no obedience to the laws of any mortal men whosoever, could justify them for neglecting of men's souls and bodies in such extremities; no more than they can justify parents for famishing children to death: and that when Christ shall say, "In as much as ye did it not to one of these, ye did it not to me:" it will be a poor excuse to say, [Lord, I was forbidden by the law.] Therefore they resolved to stay with the people, and to go into the forsaken pulpits, though prohibited, and to preach to the poor people before they died; and also to visit the sick, and get what relief they could for the poor, especially those that were shut up. Those that set upon this work, were Mr. Thomas Vincent, late minister in Milk-street, with some strangers that came thither, since they were silenced; as Mr. Chester, Mr. Janeway, Mr. Turner, Mr. Grimes, Mr. Franklin, and some others. Those oft heard them one day, that were sick the next, and quickly died. The face of death did so awaken both the preachers and the hearers, that preachers exceeded themselves in lively, fervent preaching, and the people crowded constantly to hear them; and all was done with so great seriousness, as that, through the blessing of God,

abundance were converted from their encephalosis, impenitency, and youthful lusts and vanities: and religion took that hold on the people's hearts, as could never afterwards be loosed<sup>a</sup>.

[ From Mr. VINGENT'S BOOK, intitled, GOD'S TERRIBLE VOICE IN THE CITY. ]

IT was generally observed amongst us, that God's people who dyed by the plague among the rest, dyed with such peace and comfort, as Christians do not ordinarily arrive unto, except when they are called forth to suffer martyrdom for the testimony of Jesus Christ. Some who have been full of doubts, and fears, and complaints, whilst they have liv'd and been well, have been fill'd with assurance, and comfort, and praise, and joyful expectation of glory, when they have lain on their death-beds by this disease. And not only more grown Christians, who have been more ripe for glory, have had these comforts, but also some younger Christians, whose acquaintance with the Lord hath been of no long standing.

I can speak something of mine own knowledge concerning some of my friends, whom I have been withal: I shall instance only in the house where I lived. We were eight in family, three men, three youths, an old woman, and a maid; all which came to me, hearing of my lay in town, some to accompany me, others to help me. It was the latter end of September before any of us were touch'd; the young ones were not idle, but improved their time in praying and hearing, and were ready to receive instruction, and were strangely born up against the fears of the disease and death, every day so familiar to their view. But at last we were visited, and the plague came in dreadfully upon us; the cup was put into our hand to drink, after a neighbour-family had tasted it, with whom we had much sweet society in this time of sorrow. And first our maid was smitten, it began with a shivering and trembling in her flesh, and quickly seized on her spirits; it was a sad day, which I believe I shall never forget: I had been abroad to see a friend in the city, whose husband was newly dead of the plague, and she herself visited with it; I came back to see another, whose wife was dead of the plague, and he himself under apprehensions that he should die within a few hours: I came home, and the maid was on her death-bed, and another crying out for help, being left alone in a sweating fainting fit. What was an interest in Christ worth then? what a privilege to have a title in the kingdom of heaven?

But I proceed. It was on the Monday when the maid was smitten, on Thursday she died full of tokens: on Friday one of the youths had a swelling in his groin; and on the Lord's-day died with the marks of the distemper upon him: on the same day another youth did sicken, and on the Wednesday following he died: on the Thursday night his master fell sick of the disease, and within a day or two was full of spots,

[ From NEAL'S History in the year 1665. ]

a The face of death, and the arrows that fled among the people in darkness at noon day, awakened both preachers and hearers: many who were at church one day, were

thrown into their graves the next: the cry of great numbers was, What shall we do to be saved? Such an autumn did England never saw!

but strangely beyond his own, and others expectations, recovered. Thus did the plague follow us, and came upon us one by one: as Job's messengers came one upon the heels of another, so the messengers of death came so close one after another, in such dreadful manner, as if we must all follow one another immediately into the pit. Yet the Lord in mercy put a stop to it, and the rest were preserved. But that which was very remarkable in this visitation, was the carriage especially of those youths that died, who I believe were less troubled themselves, than others were troubled for them. The first youth that was visited, being asked by his father about the provision he had made for his death and eternity; told him, he hoped, if he died, he should go to heaven; being asked the grounds of his hopes, said, the Lord had enabled him to look beyond the world; and when he was drawing near to his end, boldly enquired whether the tokens did yet appear, saying, that he was ready for them, and so a hopeful bud was nipt: but let not the father or the mother weep, and be in sadness for him, he is, I don't doubt, with their father, and his heavenly Father, which may be their comfort. The other also was a very sweet hopeful youth, so loving and towardsly, that it could not chuse but attract love from those that were acquainted with him; but the grace he had gotten in those years, being I suppose under seventeen, did above all beautify him, and stand him in the greatest stead; in his sickness he had much quiet and serenity upon his spirit, and lay so unconcerned at the thoughts of approaching death, that I confess I marvelled to see it; the sting and fear of death were strangely taken out, through the hopes which he had of future glory; yet once he told his mother he could desire to live a little longer, if it were the will of God: she asked him why he desired it? he told her, he desired to live till fire and faggot came; and, above all, he would fain die a martyr: she said, if he died now, he should have a crown; he answered, but if he died a martyr, he should have a more glorious crown; yet he was not unwilling to receive his crown presently; and he went away with great peace and sweetness in his looks, to his Father's house; and I could not blame the mother's grief for the loss of such an only son; but to be so immoderate, was not well: now I am sure it is time to dry up tears, and lay aside sorrows for the loss of him who hath been so long filled with joys in the heavenly mansions.

I might speak of the carriage of the master in his sickness, under the apprehensions of death; when the spots did appear on his body, he sent for me, and desired me to pray with him; told me he was now going home, desired me to write to his friends, and let them know, "That it did not repent him of his stay in the city, though they had been so importunate with him to come away; but he had found so much of God's presence in his abode here, that he had no reason to repent: he told me where he would be buried, and desired me to preach his funeral sermon on Psal. xvi. last. "In thy presence is fulness of joy, and at thy right-hand there are pleasures for evermore." But the Lord raised him again beyond the expectation of himself, friends, or physicians. Let him not forget God's mercies, and suffer too much worldly business to croud in upon him, and choak the remembrance and sense of God's goodness so

singular; but let him show by his singularity in meekness, humility, self-denial, and love, zeal, and holy walking, that the Lord hath been singularly gracious unto him. But when I speak of home-concernments, let me not forget to look abroad.

The plague now encreaseth exceedingly, and fears there are amongst us, that within a while there will not be enough alive to bury the dead, and that the city of London will now be quite depopulated by this plague.

Now some ministers (formerly put out of their places, who did abide in the city, when most of ministers in place were fled and gone from the people, as well as from the disease, into the countries) seeing the people croud so fast into the grave and eternity, who seemed to cry as they went, for spiritual physicians; and perceiving the churches to be open, and pulpits to be open, and finding pamphlets flung about the streets, of pulpits to be let; they judged that the law of God and nature did now dispense with, yea, command their preaching in public places, though the law of man (as it is to be supposed in ordinary cases) did forbid them to do it. Surely if there had been a law, that none should practise physic in the city, but such as were licensed by the college of physicians, and most of those when there was the greatest need of them, should in the time of the plague have retired into the country, and other physicians who had as good skill in physic, and no license, should have staid amongst the sick, none would have judged it to have been a breach of law, in such an extraordinary case, to endeavour by their practise, though without a license, to save the lives of those who by good care and physic were capable of a cure; and they could hardly have freed themselves from the guilt of murder of many bodies, if for a nicety of law in such a case of necessity, they should have neglected to administer physic: the case was the same with the unlicensed ministers who stayed, when so many of the licensed ones were gone, and as the need of souls was greater than the need of bodies, the sickness of the one being more universal and dangerous than the sickness of the other; and the saving or losing of the soul being so far beyond the preservation or death of the body; so the obligation upon ministers was stronger, and the motive to preach, greater; and for them to have incurred the guilt of soul-murder, by their neglect to administer soul-physic, would have been more heinous and unanswerable: that they were called by the Lord into public, I suppose that few of any seriousness will deny, when the Lord did so eminently own them, in giving many seals of their ministry unto them.

Now they are preaching, and every sermon was unto them, as if they were preaching their last. Old time seemed now to stand at the head of the pulpit, with its great scythe; saying with a hoarse voice, "Work while it is called to day, at night I will mow thee down." Grim death seems to stand at the side of the pulpit, with its sharp arrows, saying, "Do thou shoot God's arrows, and I will shoot mine."

Ministers now had awakening calls to seriousness and fervour in their ministerial work; to preach on the side and brink of the pit, into which thousands were tumbling; to pray under such near views of eternity, might be a means to stir up the spirits more than ordinary.

Now there is such a vast concourse of people in the churches where their ministers are to be found, that they cannot many times come near the pulpit-doors for the pews, but are forced to climb over the pews to them: and such a face is now seen in the assemblies, as seldom was seen before in London; such eager looks, such open ears, such greedy attention, as if every word would be eaten which dropt from the mouths of the ministers.

If you ever saw a drowning man catch at a rope, you may guess how eagerly many people did catch at the word, when they were ready to be overwhelmed by this over-flowing scourge, which was passing thorough the city; when death was knocking at so many doors, and God was crying aloud by his judgments; and ministers were now sent to knock, cry aloud, and lift up their voice like a trumpet: then, then the people began to open the ear and the heart, which were fast shut and barred before: how did they then hearken, as for their lives, as if every sermon were their last, as if death stood at the door of the church, and would seize upon them so soon as they came forth, as if the arrows which flew so thick in the city would strike them, before they could get to their houses, as if they were immediately to appear before the bar of that God, who by his ministers was now speaking unto them? great were the impressions which the word then made upon many hearts, beyond the power of man to effect, and beyond what the people before ever felt, as some of them have declar'd. When sin is ript up and reprov'd, O the tears that slide down from the eyes! when the judgments of God are denounced, O the tremblings which are upon the conscience! when the Lord Jesus Christ is made known and proffer'd, O the longing desires and openings of heart unto him! when the riches of the gospel are displayed, and the promises of the covenant of grace are set forth and applied, O the inward burnings and sweet flames which were in the affections! now the net is cast, and many fishes are taken; the pool is moved by the angel, and many leprous spirits, and sin-sick souls are cured; many were brought to the birth, and I hope not a few were born again, and brought forth; a strange moving there was upon the hearts of multitudes in the city; and I am persuaded that many were brought over effectually unto a closure with Jesus Christ; whereof some died by the plague with willingness and peace; others remain steadfast in God's ways unto this day, but convictions \* (I

[ The compiler thinks this a proper place for the following passage, which both shews what terror the ungodly are liable to in the view of death; and likewise that the above work was not so distant from mere terror. From DYKE in his book of the deceitfulness of man's heart, ch. 20. ]

a "So that that sweat in the time of King Edward: as long (says one) as the fervency of the plague lasted, there was crying out and lament, mercy good Lord, mercy, mercy. The ministers of God's word were sought for in every corner; they could not rest, they might not sleep: ye must come to my bed, ye must come to my lady; come if ye love God, and if ye love their salvation tarry not; for God's sake minister (say

the sick folks) tell us what we shall do to avoid God's wrath: take these bags, pay so much to such a man; for I deceived him: give him so much, for I got it of him by usury: I made a crafty bargain with such an one, restore him so much, and desire him to forgive me. Divide this bag among the poor, carry this to the hospital, pray for me for God's sake, good Lord forgive me &c. This was the dissimulation of the people, for three

believe) many hundreds had, if not thousands, which I wish that none have stilled, and with the dog returned to their vomit, and with the sow, have wallowed again in the mire of their former sins. The work was the more great, because the instruments made use of were more obscure and unlikely, whom the Lord did make choice of the rather, that the glory by ministers and people might be ascribed in full unto himself.

*Follows a Sample of the earnest Exhortations given at that time, from a Sermon by the said Mr. Vincent, at the Funeral of the Reverend Mr. Abr. Juneway, 18th September 1665.—The Text is Iſa. lvii. 1, 2.*

Use 2. If the righteous are liable to death, surely then the wicked are much more liable; your danger is great at all times, but much more in such a year of visitation as this, and in such a place as London, where the evil arrows of pestilence do fly so thick about your ears. Sinners, have you not read the black bill of six thousand nine hundred and eighty eight who died by the plague the first week of this month, and six thousand five hundred and forty four who died by the plague the second week? and do the bells sound a retreat of this enemy death which hath got amongst us? do the multitude of coffins which you see carried every hour to the grave, speak a decrease of the plague? many thousands are fallen, and more thousands are like to fall; and who of you all, that are in your sins, can reasonably hope to escape? some of the righteous themselves do fall, and if God spareth not his own people, how can you think of preservation? if you have not entered into covenant with God, can you now make covenant with death? what security can you have now? what peace can you find, when you have not made your peace with God, and you are in such danger every hour of being sent for to his judgment-seat, by this grim messenger, whom none can resist?

Sinners, your condition is very sad, your straits are very great; God hath hedged you in, and you cannot get away; he hath you at his mercy, his bow is now bent, his arrow is upon the string; he may smite you while you sit in those pews, or stand in those isles, or so soon as your feet shall carry you forth of these church-doors: hark! do you not hear the knells which are ringing in every place for your dying friends, and fellow sinners? the next knell may be for you: look! do you not see the mouth of the pit open, and before it be shut again, you may be put in; you see the righteous perish, but you are in danger of a far worse perishing; their bodies perish, but you are in danger of your souls perishing; their souls are taken away by angels, and conveyed to Heaven, but when your bodies drop into the grave, your souls will be dragged by devils into hell.

Sinners, this night you may be in hell; hell receiveth many guests to

or four days, whilst the execution was, but after when the rage was somewhat swaged, then returned they to their vomit, worse than ever they were. Then, that they had

before caused to be restored, and given in alms, they seek to recover by more evil devouring chequifaunes."

night, and the stoutest of you may help to fill up their number this night; and what do you think to do? will you go on still in the way of sin? will nothing stop you in your course of wickedness? will not you yet lay down your weapons, whereby you have been fighting against the King of Heaven? can you make your party good against him? can you defend yourselves, or fly from him? is it good to provoke him still, when he is so furious? will you run to the utmost line of his patience? consider, that the next sin you wilfully commit, God's patience may be quite spent, and be come to an end, and then all the world cannot save you from the stroke of death; venture then no farther, stand, stand sinners, stir not a foot in the way of sin, but retire your pace, and return to God, and make your peace with him, and peradventure he may hide you in this day of his fierce anger.

Use 3. Are the righteous, and by consequence, all liable to death? let me then exhort you all to think and prepare for death. Methinks you should hardly be able to think of any thing else in such a day as this, when the plague is so hot in and about the city; when death walks in every street, breaks in at so many doors, and sits in so many windows, and hath already dragged more bodies into the grave within this four months, than, I believe, this whole church would hold, were they heaped up from the pavement to the roof; and still this tyrant rageth and prevaiileth; and it is not very unlikely, but all of you which are here this day, may be taken captive by death, and within a few weeks or days go down into the pit. Think, O think seriously, how near death may be unto you, and how suddenly these bodies which you take care daily to feed and clothe, may become food for worms, and put on an earthen garment! think what a thin vail of flesh is between you and eternity, how small and weak the thread of life is, which ties soul and body together, and how easily death can break and tear the vail, untie or cut the thread; that this may be done before to morrow, and then your naked souls must appear before the highest Majesty, unto your everlasting joy or sorrow: think, that the same hands which digged the grave for our dear brother, may be employed before this week is ended in digging graves for you; that the same feet which brought him to this place, may bring you in like manner. Think how quickly you may be smitten by the poisonous arrows, when you next enter your houses, the plague may follow you at your heels, and seize upon you with such strength, as you shall not be able to make any resistance. Fancy to yourselves a dizziness in your heads, a pain in your backs, a trembling in your flesh and joints, your blood all corrupted, and spirits poisoned by this disease, and after many convulsions, and much anguish, the spots breaking forth in your arms and breasts, the (almost) certain forerunners of death, and then death appearing with a grim look, and rending away your souls from your bodies: then fancy your bodies cold, stiff, stark, and stretched out to their full length in a coffin; your fallen-jaws bound up with a napkin, your eyes closed, your blood chill and settled, your spirits gone, your soul departed: then fancy your bodies brought to the sides of the pit by your weeping friends, and cast into a cold grave, and covered presently with earth, and your friends



walking over your heads, soon forgetting that they had such a friend, except the thoughts of their soon following after you should put them in mind: then fancy, when your bodies are in the earth, the invasion of them by worms, their creeping into your eyes, mouths, necks, breasts, bellies, and every part, and eating you through and through, turning your whole carcase into putrefaction: and then think of the appearance of your souls before the bar of God (which will be immediately upon their separation) think of the account which you must then give, and the sentence which then you must receive, according to your works.

And now, beloved, examine yourselves, whether you be prepared for such a change, whether you be ready for such an appearance and account; and let me exhort you, without any further delay, to prepare.

Suppose you were now lying upon your death-beds, and groaning out your last breath, what would you wish you had been? O that I had been a regenerate converted person! O that I had been a true believer, and righteous person! Would not this be the language of your wishes, the breathing of your desires? O labour now that you may be so; then it may be too late to be made so, but now it is not too late. O pray earnestly unto the Lord to make you such persons. What would you in such an hour wish you had done? O that I had made my peace with God! O that I had made it my business to be religious! O that I had lived in a course of obedience to the commandments of the Lord! Beloved, if you have neglected this hitherto, neglect it no longer; as yet God stretcheth forth the hand, and holds forth the scepter of grace to you; apply yourselves to him, and cry for mercy, and pardon, and grace, to serve him the short remainder of your days, and give up yourselves to God in covenant, with full purpose of heart to stick close to him as long as you live.

What would be the grief of your hearts, and wound your consciences in the dying hour? O my sins they trouble me; they are like a heavy load upon me, which I fear will sink me into the bottomless pit! O my drunkenness! my uncleanness! O how bitter are my sweet pleasures of sin which I have reaped! my covetousness, my unrighteousness: O how unprofitable are my riches in this day of calamity! Beloved, take heed of those sins now, which at the last will bite like an adder, and sting like a serpent: get your sins pardoned, and your sins mortified. Sin is the sting of death, get it removed.

What would you wish on your death-bed that you had obtained? O that I had an interest in Christ! O that I had my heart furnished with grace! O that I had laid up my treasure in heaven! Beloved, let me tell you, that a sick-bed, and a death-bed, is a very unlikely place to obtain these things, if you do not get them before; such a time is a spending time, not a gaining time; it is a time for the using of grace, few do obtain it then; ten thousand to one but you are undone for ever, if you have these things to get then. Now fly to Christ, and lay hold on him by faith; now cry for grace, and be ready to receive it, now lay up your treasure above, and get your affections set upon them, and then you will be happy in your death.

## SECTION V.

*More Instances of diligent and zealous Ministers of Christ in England and Wales: who died towards the End of this Century, after 1660, viz.* 1. *Joseph Woodward.* 2. *Ambrose.* 3. *Mackin.* 4. *Samuel Hammond.* 5. *Jackson.* 6. *Joseph Allein.* 7. *Richard Mather.* 8. *Vincent.* 9. *Stanton.* 10. *Powel.* 11. *Tregoss.* 12. *Alanton.* 13. *Fairclough.* 14. *Stubbes.* 15. *Goodwin.* 16. *Pool.* 17. *John Rogers.* 18. *Nathanael Ball.* 19. *Maurice.* 20. *John Owen.* 21. *Cock.* 22. *Lye.* 23. *Knowles.* 24. *Staples.* 25. *Hughes.* 26. *Bunym.* 27. *Swain.* 28. *Flavel.* 29. *Baxter.* 30. *Batt.* 31. *Wills.* 32. *Shaw.* 33. *Ainslie.* 34. *Firmin.* 35. *Hugh Owen.* 36. *Fairfax.* 37. *Baughaw.* 38. *How.* 39. *Pomfret.* 40. *Hardy.* 41. *Pearse.* 42. *Brooks.*

[ FROM WESLEY'S Christian Library, Vol. xxvii. page 5. ]

1. **MR. JOSEPH WOODWARD.** He was born at Upper-Cam in Gloucester; and was bred in Oxon, where he was M. A. Then he was master of the free-school at Wotton-under-edge. His carriage was very obliging, but he had at that time but little seriousness, and was wont to frequent the company of some gentlemen, whose character for virtue or sobriety was not very eminent: but it pleased God, by a seemingly little accident, to awaken him to a serious consideration of the things of another world. Being out one evening late, returning home, the dogs fell a-fighting about him, not without danger; which caused a serious reflection in him, what would have become of his soul, if he should have been torn in pieces by them: and so leaving his former company, he changed it for those in Wooton, who used to pray, and repeat sermons, and sing together; which society he found so beneficial to him, that he us'd to say, Though Oxford made him a scholar, yet Wooton fitted him for the ministry. I am told by another, that he did not so much as handle a Bible, 'till Mr. Samuel Sprint (afterwards minister in Andover, Hampshire) his scholar, was privately reading the scripture, and praying, as his father had charged him. His master found him thus busy in his chamber, and was thereby struck with shame and concern, that he that was the master should do less than a young boy. Hereupon he got him a Bible, and read and studied it: and shortly after, whereas the school had only Latin prayers, he brought in English prayers, reading of scripture, and singing of psalms, and all pious exercises.

Some time after this he was ordained, and became very serviceable, and Durtley sought him to be their minister, all with one consent voting for him; whereupon he fixed with them, and resolved to stay with them. He took a great deal of pains among that people: first he shewed them the privileges of gospel times, and then of gospel things, and the absolute necessity of Christ, and then opened the nature of the two covenants.

After some time he vigorously set about the reformation of many

disorders in discipline and manners among the people; aiming at which, he met with many discouragements. Some withdrew from his ministry, others withheld their part of his stipend solemnly promis'd him, and others refused to pray and sing, and receive the sacrament. These troubles, and the disorders which they brought upon him, who was sensibly disturbed at the sad interruption of his work, so discomposed him, that he fell into fits, and was taken with a fever; and the grief of his mind had such an influence on his body, that it was thought he received his mortal stroke by the disturbances among his people, and their carriage towards him.

He hereupon determined to leave them; and once there came about ten men, with a design to carry him to another place, where he might have a better prospect; and he was inclined to go with them: but the very men that oppos'd and slighted him before, when they found he was going, came and begg'd his pardon, and promis'd a better carriage for the future; and so he stay'd. Some time after there were about seven men that resolved to ruin him, some by swearing against him, and some in other ways: but it pleas'd God that several of them died, and his principal enemy fell desperately ill, and upon his death-bed sent for him to pray with him, and desired him to preach his funeral sermon; and confess'd that he and his companions had resolved to ruin him: but he now saw he must die, and he warn'd all his associates to desist from their design, as they would not provoke God to visit them with his judgments. And so at last he was delivered from their malice; and he had the comfort to see his people become teachable, and conformable to the rules of the gospel. His labours among them were very great. Besides the toil of a school, he preached twice every Lord's-day, expounding in the morning, and catechizing in the afternoon, before sermon. Every Tuesday he expounded for an hour or two, and carried on a lecture every Thursday, usually without any assistance from other ministers. On Lord's-day evenings he repeated with his scholars, and many of his auditors at his own house. And at funerals, he either preached or expounded; and was always very plain and warm in maintaining the foundations of religion. Twice a-year he kept a publick fast, besides many in private. Every Monday after dinner he used to visit ten families, to instruct the ignorant, reprove the scandalous, and comfort the afflicted. He was very diligent in instilling the principles of religion into the younger sort, and collected money for teaching poor children to read. He himself also was very liberal in works of mercy. He was a very strict observer of the Sabbath; and used on that day to rise very early. He was a man of a very large soul, and publick spirit; one of unshaken constancy and resolution, and sincere plain-heartedness. He took great pains to oppose the sectaries, and disputed with them openly as an occasion offer'd, all round the country, and silenced them. He protested and preached against taking the Engagement. Oliver upon some occasion, appointing a day of public thanksgiving, he thinking there was more need of fasting, appointed a solemn public fast, and kept it with his people.

When he declared his resolution to admit none to the sacrament of

the Lord's-supper, but who, together with a visible probity of conversation, had also a competent knowledge; a certain person said, He would not submit to examination, and yet he would come; and if Mr. Woodward would not give him the sacrament, he would take it. In pursuance of his resolution, he was coming to church on the sacrament-day, but he had scarce set one foot over the threshold, before he fell down dead; at which many were much affected.

At length Mr. Woodward being-overborn with labour, and his infirmities growing upon him, by reason of a wasting consumption, he went to rest a little before the Act of Uniformity took place.

Some in the country having a design to publish his life, Dr. Woodward his son, sent them this account of his father in a letter:

"I AM assured that very few (at least in these degenerate days) are blessed with such eminency of grace as he was; which seemed always to be in the height of pious zeal, without any considerable abatements at any time. In truth, such a pitch of ardor seemed to many to be above the common state of humanity itself, and to have a tendency to decay the health and course of nature. But the power of God bore him up for many years, 'till at last indeed the rising soul grew too big for the body, and by degrees rent it into pieces, to make way for a happy dissolution.

About the twenty third year of his age, he was so smitten in his breast with a sense of the evil of sin, (through what particular means I do not perfectly remember) that he has profess'd he thought himself the vilest creature breathing. He fancy'd the very dogs in the street were by their Maker set against him; and when they barked, probably on various instigations, he thought every yelp was a mark of his odiousness and monstrousness as a sinner. So that he was constrained to forbear company for a while, and to retire from the public, to set himself to the most important work of life, viz. to spread the wounds and ulcers of his soul, before the Physician of souls; and to seek the healing balm of his Redeemer's blood: to which he apply'd himself (through the grace of God) with such earnestness, and to so good effect, that all his life after shew'd he was saved through faith; there appearing little concern in him for any thing but the glory of God, and the insuring eternal life. Yet he did not presently step forth into the ministry. He rather dreaded that awful and tremendous charge, in which above all the employments beneath the skies, men ought to appear with the highest advancements of holiness, prudence, and diligence. He rather retired from such a work, which needs the zeal, purity, and wisdom of an angel, if men could attain it. And like Nazianzen, Chrysostom, and most of the primitive divines, he was by much intreaty drawn to so solemn an office, after he had spent a considerable time in the university of Oxford.

But when his thirtieth year was come, God was pleased to send an inward warmth into his soul, which was more compulsive than all outward persuasion: for he seemed to have such a zeal for God, and the souls of men, as burnt like fire, (and like that of the prophet Jeremiah xx. 9.) was no way to be made easy and tolerable, but by giving it outward vent; which the subject he first preached upon did plainly shew.

For his first sermon was delivered in the church of his native village, and in these words of St. Peter and John, Acts iv. 20. "For we cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard." He had indeed such a readiness, or rather exuberance in delivering the will of God, upon any subject before him, that tho' he always wrote his sermons at large, yet he has often confessed, he has been carried into a field of doctrine, which he had never committed to writing; not in a roving and injudicious discourse, but in such melting and close argument, as seldom failed to reach the mark he principally aimed at, viz. the softening and reducing obstinate hearts.

The course of my good father's labours in the ministry, was suitable to this careful entrance upon it. He was earnest even as St. Paul (beyond strength) and would never preach a sermon to others, but what had first warmed his own breast: for which cause, he sometimes either razed out a part of a sermon, or wholly threw it by. He was most affectionate and devout in prayer, earnest in preaching, bold in reproof, kind in admonishing, ready to advise and succour, and comfort the feeble and disconsolate: and in a word, he spent, and was spent in his ministerial labours. He made frequent visits to all under his care at their own dwellings. He would pry into most of their failures and neglects, and would compassionate all their wants of soul, body, and estate.

I know not why it was that he particularly fixed his desires of exercising his ministry in Dursley; a place at that time very dissolute; in so much that it had the nickname of drunken Dursley: but if he found it so, it was very much altered by his labours of many years there; and it became one of the most wealthy and trading towns in the neighbourhood. Some of them having told me, that they cleared a thousand pounds a year by the trade of clothing, in the time of his residence there. His presence in the streets, made the youth grave, and the aged circumspect. It made the sober to rejoice, and the guilty to hide themselves in corners. He seldom went to church, but with a multitude with him: for his house being distant from the church the length of a long street, every one got their families ready as he came by, and stood in their doors, and so fell in with those that followed; so that he went with the multitude to the house of God. And every one's zeal seemed inflamed, by the flame he beheld in his neighbour: so that I have heard, that there was the most composed and affected congregation that could any where be seen. I must indeed lament the fewness of those years of mine which passed under his excellent conduct. O! what a blessing had such a guide been to my youth, when it came to any dawns of understanding. But the good God who took him, has not left me nor my relations comfortless. We now enjoy the blessings of so happy a descent, and of so many earnest prayers laid up in store for us. The Lord grant that we may not act unworthy of so good a relation, but so tread in his steps, that we may at last be partakers with him in glory. His sorrow for the death of king Charles the First, his lamenting for want of a good foundation in the *inter-regnum*; and his joy at the return of king Charles the Second, ought to be inserted; and also the raptures of his death.

Thus, Sir, I have complied with your desire, not to give materials for a book, so much as to give some hints to a friend.

Sir, Yours, &c.

Josiah Woodward.

\* \* \* He gave me my name in desire of reformation: and named my younger brother Jeremiah, when he saw the little hopes of it.

[ FROM WESLEY'S *Christian Library* Vol. xiii. page 51. ]

2. MR. ISAAC AMBROSE<sup>a</sup>. He was sometime at Preston; but afterwards removed to Garstang, where the act of uniformity found him in the year 1662. He was a man of that substantial worth, that eminent piety, and that exemplary life, both as a minister and a Christian, that 'tis to be lamented that the world should not have the benefit of particular memoirs concerning him, from some able hand. One thing that was peculiar in him, deserves to be mentioned here. 'Twas his usual custom once in a year, for the space of a month to retire into a hut in a wood, and avoiding all human converse, to devote himself to contemplation. Possibly by this practice, he was the fitter for his sacred ministration all the rest of the year. He lived in the latter part of his life at Preston, and when his end drew near, was very sensible of it. Having taken his leave of many of his friends abroad, with unusual solemnity, as if he foresaw that he should see them no more, he came home to Preston from Bolton, and set all things in order. In a little time some of his hearers came from Garstang to visit him. He discoursed freely with them, gave them good counsel, told them, He was now ready whenever his Lord should call, and that he had finished all he designed to write; having the night before sent away his discourse concerning ANGELS to the press. He accompanied his friends to their horses, and when he came back, shut himself in his parlour, the place of his soliloquy, meditation and prayer; they thought he staid long, and so opened the door, and found him just expiring, in the seventy-second year of his age. He was holy in his life, happy in his death, and honoured by God, and all good men. He died 1663-4.

[ FROM CALAMY'S *Life of BAXTER*, Vol. ii. ]

3. MR. JOHN MACHIN. He was born in Staffordshire, and educated at Cambridge. While at the university, he had the benefit of the excellent labours of Dr. Hill, and Dr. Arrowsmith, under whom he received such impressions of seriousness, as he retained to his dying day. In 1650, he settled at Ashburn in Derbyshire, where, for the space of two years, he was a painful and laborious preacher, and exceeding useful, not confining his care and concern to that particular town, but making frequent excursions into the Moorlands, and other dark corners in Staffordshire, where his occasional labours were exceeding useful to many souls. From thence he was called to Atherston in Warwickshire, where he spent a year in a lecturer's place, and had many converts. A-

<sup>a</sup> See Extracts from his Works in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth Volumes of Wesley's *Christian Library*.

mong many other instances of his fervent desire of the good of souls, this was one, that he set up a monthly lecture, to be preached in several towns of great concourse, by the most eminent ministers; as in Newcastle, Leek, Uttoxeter, Litchfield, Tamworth, Walsal, Wolverhampton, Pentridge, Stafford, Ecclethall, Stone and Muckleston, which lecture he set and kept up at his own charge; and he had settled an yearly income in his will for the upholding it. He died 1664<sup>a</sup>.

4. MR. SAMUEL HAMMOND. He was born in York, and educated in Cambridge. By the earl of Manchester's interest, he, in time, obtained a fellowship in Magdalen-college, and was an happy instrument in the reforming and raising that society. He had many pupils; and several of them were afterwards of great repute, both in church and state. He began to preach in the neighbouring church of St. Giles, with that pious zeal, pungency, and Christian experience, that from all parts of the town, and from the distant colleges, his useful ministry was attended on; and it was crowned with the conversion of some scores, I might (says Mr. Stancliff) have said, some hundreds of scholars. It was the general opinion, that there was not a more convincing and successful minister in Cambridge, from the time of Mr. William Perkins, than he was. He died 1666.

5. MR. ARTHUR JACKSON. He was one of unwearied diligence, who studied fourteen or sixteen hours a day at the university, and constantly rose at three or four of the clock in the morning, Summer and Winter, to redeem his time; and held it to the age of 73. He was minister of St. Michael's, Woodstreet, in the year 1624, when a pestilential sickness raged in the city; and continued all the time of it, discharging all the offices and duties of a faithful pastor to his flock, visiting infected persons without fear, though to the hazarding of his own life, for the good of souls, in the service of his Master, who preserved him from all infection, when thousands fell on either hand of him. He was very successful in his ministry, and exceeding useful, by his profitable and familiar way of catechizing. He died 1666.

[ FROM WESLEY'S Christian Library, Vol. xxiv. Page 107. ]

6. MR. JOSEPH ALLEIN<sup>b</sup> was born in Wiltshire, in the year 1633. In his childhood he shewed a singular sweetness of disposition, and a remarkable diligence in every thing. When he was about eleven years old he was very constant in private prayer, and so serious and intent

a To the same year died Mr. Sabbath Clark, who was minister at Tarvin near sixty years. He was the spiritual father of many in that place. He was a very grave person, exceedingly beloved by that Phoenix of his age, Mr. John Bruen of Stapleford, of whom see in Clark's Lives, or in Wesley's Christian Library, Vol. twenty-sixth. And, the year after died Mr. Hall of King's-norton, in the county of Worcester, a man of a very lively and active spirit, never cast down with discouragements. When he was near his end, he thus expressed him-

self: "I am now going where I shall have rest from sin and Satan, from all fear, weariness, and watching, and from all the evils and errors of a wicked world; even so come Lord Jesus; for I long for thy coming! And when the pangs of death were upon him, he spake thus: all the joys of this life are nothing, nothing to the joys I have in Jesus Christ.

b See Extracts from his Works in the twenty fourth and twenty fifth Volumes of the Christian Library.

on it, that he would not be taken off by the coming of any accidentally into the places of his retirement. About this time, his brother (Mr. Edward Allein) a worthy minister of the gospel died; whereupon Joseph earnestly desired that he might be trained up to succeed him in the work of the ministry; which request was readily hearkened to by his father, who accordingly sent him to school. When he was about sixteen years old he went to the university, and was placed in Lincoln college in Oxford; where he had not been long, before a Wiltshire place becoming void in Corpus Christi college, he was chosen scholar of that house. Being settled there, he gave early and excellent proofs of his indefatigableness in his studies, accounting it his great happiness that he had gained this opportunity of improving his learning: and truly he spared no labour day nor night; he thought no pains too great which he employed for that end; by his good will he would do nothing else but pray and study: if friends came to visit him in studying times, (though at other times he was very civil and sociable) they were sure to find him within, but not sure that he would let them in. He could seldom be found in bed after four in the morning, though sometimes he went not to bed 'till about one.

So covetous was he of time, that as he could scarce spare any for sleep, so neither for food: it was common for him to give away his commons, at least once a day, that he might gain the more time to his study. His early accomplishments were so taken notice of, that no sooner was he a bachelor of arts, but he was even compelled to become a tutor, and presently was intrusted with as great a number of pupils as any in the house: some of his scholars were Graduates in divinity, singular ornaments to that society, and profitable instruments in the church of Christ. During his abode there, a chaplain's place falling void, he chose that before a fellowship, which, he knew in a little time would fall to him of course; and this choice he never repented of; yea, he often reflected upon it with a great deal of comfort; for he had always an ardent affection for prayer, insomuch as he and his friend could hardly meet, but before they parted, they must pray together: what a pleasure then was it to him, twice a day to engage a whole society in so beloved an exercise: and well was it for the college that he so esteemed it: scarce was it possible that any could have performed that office better: he did not trouble them with a great deal of noise, vain tautologies, crude effusions, instead of prayer: his spirit was serious, his gesture reverent, his words few, but premeditated and well weighed, pithy, solid, and fully expressive of his truly humble and earnest desires: he hated the sauciness, which some miscall holy boldness, and drew near to God, not as if he had been going to play, but as became a creature over-awed with the majesty of his great Creator: he prayed with the spirit, and with the understanding also: he confessed sin with real grief, inward hatred and detestation of it: he craved mercies like one that felt the want and worth of what he begged, with faith, fervency and humble importunity; his affections working, but working rationally as well as strongly.

He was of a sweet disposition, and of as highly civil a conversation,



as a man subject to the common frailties of human nature could be: he had scarce a gesture which did not seem to speak, and by a powerful and charming rhetoric, affect all whom he conversed with: besides other moral perfections that he was endowed with, it might be truly said (as the historian said of the emperor) that he was *totus ex comitate*, made up of nothing but courtesy and affability.

His love and affection to the souls of others was most admirable, to whom he desired and endeavoured to do all the good possible, inso-much as some there were, and are, who verily think they should never have found the way to eternal life, if he had lived to himself. His charity to the poor prisoners in Oxford goal was very eminent, amongst whom (as Mr. Perkins did at Cambridge) of his own accord, he began to preach, and held on constantly (whilst he remained in the town) once a fortnight, for above the space of twelve months; encouraging them to give attendance upon his ministry, by a considerable allowance of bread (that week he preached) at his own cost. He used also at other times, frequently to visit others, who in the world were but mean and low: his main design (together with the relieving of their temporal wants) being to assist their souls in the way to heaven. Indeed in all his converses, where-ever he came, he was like fire, warming, refreshing, and quickening all that were about him; kindling in them the like zeal for God and goodness, which he had in himself. None there were that came to visit, or to be acquainted with him, but (if the fault were not in themselves) they might get much good by him; yea, so much as to be for ever the better for him. It was hardly possible to be in his company, and not to hear such things from him, as (if well weighed) might have been enough to make one out of conceit with sin, and in love with virtue.

He had much delightful communion with God; his soul was much exercised in divine contemplation: and, to provoke others to the like exercise, he would often speak what ineffable sweetness his soul had found in his stated meditations upon the divine attributes. In prayer he was not ordinarily so much in confessing of sin, and complaining of corruption and infirmities (though he expressed a due sense of these) as in admiring and praising God in his infinite glorious perfections, and in the mention of his wonderful works, particularly of the wonders of his love in Jesus Christ.

Whilst he lay sick at the Bath, he sent for many poor persons, both aged and children, and gave them Catechisms, engaging them to learn, and to give him an account of their proficiency therein, and they came cheerfully to him, being encouraged thereto by his winning carriage, his giving them money, and by feeding them.

As a minister, besides his labours in that great congregation where the Lord had placed him, the care of many other churches lay daily upon him. He went abroad frequently into other parishes about the country, amongst poor ignorant people that lived in dark corners, having none to take care of their souls, preached to them himself, and stirred up many of his brethren to do the like. He had an eye to the poor Welsh, and had an influence upon sending some ministers among

them, intending also to have spent some time among them himself, and was hardly with-held from it by all the persuasions of his friends, who told him his inability to travel by reason of the great weakness that he lay under. The reading of this did so inflame the zeal of Mr. Thomas Gouge, that he was restless in his spirit, till (having settled his affairs about London) he had opportunity to prosecute this design: since which time he hath made many journies both into South and North Wales, where he hath done much good, and by the help of divers of his reverend brethren, and many others, hath placed out many hundreds of poor children to school to learn English, hath given them Catechisms, and other good books: besides Bibles and New-Testaments in Welsh, and hath procured the printing of Welsh Bibles (whereof there were very few to be had) of the Practice of Piety, &c. to be distributed among them.

Much of his time he spent in private converse with God and his own soul: he much delighted to perform secret devotions in the sight of heaven, and in the open air, when his opportunities served. Many days he kept alone, and then (by his good-will) he would betake himself to a solitary house, probably, that he might freely use his voice as his affections led him to (which he could not have done where there were inhabitants) and that he might converse with God without distraction. His society with others was always mingled with holy and heavenly discourses. He took all opportunities to instruct, exhort, and reprove, which he never failed to do (when he judged it necessary) whatever the event might prove. And truly his reproofs were accompanied with such humility, tenderness, and compassion, that they seldom, if ever did miscarry.

In the houses where he sojourned, his lips fed many. God freely gave it to him, and he gave it to others. None could live quietly in any open sin under his inspection. When he came to abide in any house, he brought a blessing with him, and when he departed, he left a blessing behind him. When he was transplanting himself from one family to another (as his occasions sometimes required) he would call all the people, one by one into his chamber, from whence (it was observed) that scarce any one returned with dry eyes.

In matters doubtful and disputable, he was not peremptory: he laid not more stress upon opinions in religion than belonged to them: he was not like many who are so confident in their determinations, that they will hardly hold communion, nay, scarce so much as a pleasing conversation, with any man who cannot think, and speak, and act as they do in every thing. He would freely and familiarly converse with those who were sound in the faith (as to the fundamentals of religion) and holy in their lives, of all persuasions.

He was insatiably greedy of the conversion of souls, wherein he had no small success in the course of his ministry; and to promote this end, he poured out his very heart in prayer and preaching. He imparted not the gospel only, but his own soul to his hearers. His supplications and exhortations were many times so affectionate, so full of holy zeal and life, that they quite overcame his auditors. He so melted over

them, that he thawed, mollified, and sometimes dissolved the hardest hearts. But while he melted others, he waxed, and at last consumed himself.

He was not satisfied with these his publick employments, but constantly went from house to house, and there dealt both with governors, children, and servants, instructing them especially in the fundamentals both of the law and gospel, whom he found to be ignorant; gently reproving where he found any thing amiss: exhorting them to diligence, both in their general and particular callings. He inspected, so far as he could, into the state of every particular person, and accordingly reprov'd, comforted, and encouraged, as he found occasion; yet all with so much tenderness, humility, and self-denial, that he gained much upon the affections of all that entertained him, insomuch as such as were not visited at first, at length came forth and called upon him to come and help them also.

When he went from house to house, he used to give them notice the day before, desiring that they would have their whole family together against he came; which being done, he used to instruct the younger sort in the principles of religion, by asking questions out of the catechism, the answers whereunto he used to open and explain. He used also to enquire of them about their spiritual estate, labouring to make them sensible of the evil and danger of sin, of the corruption of our natures, the misery of an unconverted state; provoking them to look after the true Remedy, to turn from all their sins to God, to close with Christ upon his own terms, to follow after holiness, to watch over their hearts and lives, to mortify their lusts, to redeem their time, and to prepare for eternity. These things he explained to their understandings, and pressed upon their consciences with the most cogent arguments and considerations; shewing what great privileges they did enjoy, the many gospel-sermons they did or might hear, the many talents they were intrusted with, and the great account they were to give to God of the same. Besides, he left with them several counsels and directions to be carefully remembered and practised for the good of their souls.

Such as were serious and religious, he used to help forward in holiness, by answering their doubts, and encouraging them against their difficulties and discouragements; and before he left them, he used to deal with the governors, and with such as were grown up to the years of discretion singly, that so, (as much as possibly he could) he might know the condition of each particular person, and the better apply himself to each of them. If he found them to neglect family-duties, he used to press them to set them up, by reading the word of God and prayer, giving them directions therein, and exhorting them to the practice of secret duties. He also persuaded mistresses of families to give their children and servants time for such secret duties, and to encourage them therein: if the family where he came was ignorant, he would insist the longer in instructing and catechizing; if loose, in reproving and convincing; if godly, in encouraging and directing.

He used to spend five afternoons every week in these exercises, from one or two o' clock, 'till seven: in which space he used to visit three or

four families, sometimes more, as they were greater or less. Thus he went through the whole town, and then presently began again: and he did often bless God for the great success he found in those exercises; saying, that God made him hereby as instrumental to the good of souls as by his public ministry.

He was full of holy projects by what means he might most effectually promote the honour of Christ, and the salvation of souls; and what he judged to be conducing to these ends, he prosecuted with such wisdom and vigour, that he seldom failed to accomplish it. Considering how much conscientious and frequent self-examination might tend to the weakening of sin, and to the furtherance of holiness both in heart and life, he earnestly pressed this practice in his public ministry, directing his hearers for the performance of it; he dealt also with them in private about it, and drew a promise from most of them, that they would every night, before they went to sleep, spend some time in secret, to call themselves to an account how they had spent that day, by proposing several questions to their own hearts, which he had drawn in writing, and communicated unto them under several heads, and many confessed that this practice had been very advantageous to them in their Christian-walk.

Before the act of uniformity came forth, he was very earnest with God day and night, to make his way plain unto him, that he might not be deprived of his present advantages of saving souls, by any scruple upon his conscience: but when he saw those clauses of assent and consent, he was fully satisfied against it; whereas before he was so doubtful that his intimate friends thought he would have conformed, saying, he would not leave his ministry for small and dubious matters: yet though he must quit his station, he judged that the ejection of ministers did not disoblige them from preaching to their people. He went also frequently into the villages, and places about the town, whence most of their ministers were fled, and wherever he came, the Lord was pleased to give him great success: many were converted, and the generality encouraged to cleave close to the Lord. This much heightened the rage of some neighbour justices, who much threatened and oft sought for him: but it pleased God he was preserved out of their hands longer than he expected. His usual saying was, that if it pleased the Lord to grant him three months liberty before he went to prison, he should account it a great favour, and should more willingly submit to it when he had done some work. Then did he sell off his goods, the better to prepare for a goal or banishment, only he was desirous that his wife should accompany him, which also was her great desire, it being more grievous to her to think of being absent from him, than to suffer with him. The Lord was pleased so far to indulge him, that he went on in this course from Bartholomew-day, 'till May the 26th following; tho' he was often threatened, yet was he never interrupted; tho' many, both of town and country, came flocking to his meetings, at what time soever they were held. He seldom missed of preaching twice a sabbath, and often in the week. Sometimes he preached fourteen times in eight days; often ten, and ordinarily six or seven, either

at home or abroad, during all this time, besides his frequent discouragements, with such as resorted to him: and for the better enabling him hereunto, he laid aside all his other studies, expecting that his time and liberty would be but short. And truly the Lord did more than ordinarily assist him, as himself took notice, as well as all that heard him.

Upon a Saturday in the evening, about six o'clock, he was seized upon by an officer of Taunton, who professed that he had rather have been otherwise employed, but that he was urged to a speedy execution of the warrant, by one who was sent on purpose to see it executed, because they feared that none in the town would do it.

So soon as Mr. Allein came into prison, he prayed and preached, which he called the consecration of it. And as there were several other ministers in prison at the same time, they preached once a day constantly, sometimes twice; and many resorted to their sermons, of which some came eight or ten miles round about out of the country, and multitudes came to visit them. Their friends were exceeding kind to them, by their frequent visits and supplies. Mr. Allein's labours were the greatest, who spent almost all the day in conversing with his friends, and a great part of the night in his studies and secret duties.

At his enlargement from prison, he was more earnest in his work than before; yet willing to preserve his liberty among his people, who had no minister that had the oversight of them, tho' some came and preached to them in his absence; and such multitudes resorted to him, that he judged it necessary to divide them into four parts, resolving to preach to them four times each sabbath; but finding that to be beyond his strength, which was much decayed, he was fain to forbear it, and preached only twice on the sabbaths, yet oft on the week-days besides, at home or abroad. He pressed all that feared God, especially such as were of a timorous spirit, to be courageous and active for God, and to be much in conversing together, now their ministers were withdrawn; much in praises and thanksgivings to God, delighting themselves in him, and denying themselves for him, and resigning themselves, and all they did enjoy, to him, that the world might see they could live comfortably on God alone, on his attributes and promises, tho' they should have nothing else left. But it pleased the all-wise God to take him off from this eager pursuit of his work, by visiting him with much weakness. Some of his friends of Taunton coming to Dorchester to see him, he was much revived, and causing his curtains to be withdrawn, he desired them to stand round the bed, and causing his wife to hold forth his hand to them, that they might shake him by it, as he was able, he spake thus to them. "O how it rejoices me to see your faces and hear your voices, tho' I cannot as heretofore speak to you. Methinks I am now like old Jacob, with all his sons about him. You now see my weak estate, and thus I have been for many weeks, since I parted from Taunton; but God hath been with me, and I hope with you. Your prayers for me have been answered many ways. The Lord return them into your own bosoms. My friends, life is mine, death is mine; in that covenant I was preaching to you is all my salvation, and all my desire: altho' my body doth not prosper, I hope my soul doth. I have lived a

sweet life by the promises, and I hope (through grace) I can die by a promise. The promises of God are everlasting, and will stand by us. Nothing but God in them will stand us in stead in a day of affliction. My dear friends, I feel the power of those doctrines which I preached unto you, upon my heart. the doctrines of faith, of repentance, of self-denial. O that you would live them over, now I cannot preach to you. It is a shame for a believer to be cast down under afflictions, who hath so many glorious privileges, justification, sanctification, and eternal glory. We shall be as the angels of God within a little while; nay, to say the truth, believers are, as it were, angels already, that live in the power of faith. O my friends! live like believers: trample this world under your feet. Be not taken with its comforts, nor disquieted with its crosses! you will be gone out of it shortly."

A proposal was made by his wife to the doctors, whether the Bath was not fit for him? some were for it, others against it; but he himself was very eager for it. And a horse litter being provided for him, tho' he had not for many days been out of his bed, yet did the Lord so strengthen him that in two days after he went almost forty miles to the bath. During his stay there he grew exceedingly in grace, to the joy of those about him. He had much communion with God, and often such ravishments of spirit from the consolation of the Holy Ghost, that he was not able to express them, nor his weak body to bear them. He was more cheerful than formerly, and exceeding affectionate to his wife, and to all his friends, especially to such as were most heavenly: and the Lord was pleased to order it so by his providence, that many such came to make use of the bath, as Mr. Fairclough, Mr. How of Torrington, Mr. Joseph Bernard, and divers of his Taunton friends, which was a great comfort to him. Here he had many visitors, both friends and strangers, who came to see and discourse with him, having heard what a monument of mercy he was; and to all of them he could so enlarge himself upon all the passages of God's dealing with him, as gave much content to all that heard him: and it did much affect many, who were strangers to God and religion as well as to him. He found much favour even among the worst, both gentry and others: such as would make a scold at religion in others, would hearken to him; yea tho' he faithfully reprov'd them for their oaths, excessive drinking, wanton carriage. And there was none of them but did most thankfully accept it from him, and shew'd him more respect after than they had done before. In which he observed much of God's goodness to him, and would often say, "O how good is it to be faithful unto God:" one of the vilest of these persons said of him, that he never spake with such a man in his life. His reproofs were managed with so much respect to their persons and places, that they said, they could not but take them well, tho' they were sharp and plain: and his manner was before he intended to reprove them, often in the Bath to discourse with them of such things as might be pleasing to them, which did so engage their affections that they delighted to converse with him, who was furnished with matter of discourse for any company, designing to make use of it for spiritual ends, by which means he caught many. Here tho' he had many diversions,

by his constant bathing every day, and frequent visits, besides his weakness, yet he kept his constant season, four times a day, for his holy retirements. First in the morning from five o'clock 'till seven, at which time he was carried to the bath, and again before dinner, but then he spent less time, and about half an hour before two, just before he went abroad, he appointed his chair man, that carried him to the bath, to fetch him about three o'clock, and to carry him to the schools and alms-houses, and to the godly poor, especially the widows, to whom he gave money; and he would pray and confer with them about their spiritual state, engaging the teachers and governors to teach them the catechism, whereof he bought and gave them many dozens for the use of their scholars, and many other small books which he judged useful for them; and about a week or fortnight after he would again visit them to see what progress they had made.

He also engaged several persons to send their children once a week to him to be catechized by him; and he had about sixty or seventy children that came to him every Lord's day, who profited much by his instructions, 'till some took such offence at it, that he was forced to desist, and the schoolmaster was threatened to be brought into the bishop's court at Wells for it. He also sent for all the godly poor he could hear of in the city, whom he entertained at his chamber, and gave them money according to his ability, as a thank-offering unto God for his mercy to him, and procured two of the afore-named ministers to assist him in keeping a day of thanksgiving for the same. Tho' his sickness had been long and his expences great; yet, he thought he could never do enough for him from whom he had received all. He always gave money or apples to all the children that came to be catechized by him, besides what he gave to their teachers and the poor; and having made provision for his wife, he resolved to lay up the rest in heaven; often saying, "that having no children of his own, God's children should have his estate." His next work was to send letters to all his relations and intimate friends, whom he exhorted to observe his counsel, for it was like to be his last. He had a great desire to go to Mr. Joseph Bernard's, which was about five miles from Bath, to promote the exercise of catechizing in Somerset and Wiltshire. Mr. Bernard having had a great deliverance as well as himself, he proposed to him, that by way of thank-offering unto God, they should engage to join in the printing six thousand of the assemblies catechisms, and to raise some money among other friends to send to every minister in those counties that would engage in the work, and also to give to the children for their encouragement in learning it; which was effected by Mr. Bernard, after Mr. Allein's decease.

When he looked upon his weak and consumed hands, he said, these shall be changed; "This vile body shall be made like unto Christ's glorious body." And again, O what a glorious day will the day of the resurrection be! methinks I see it by faith. How will the saints then lift up their heads and rejoice? and how sadly will the wicked world look then? O come, let us make haste! our Lord will come shortly, let us prepare for him. If we long to be in heaven, let us hasten with our work; for when that is done, away we shall be fetch'd. He was out in

commending the love of Christ, and from that, exciting himself and others to obedience to Christ; often speaking of his sufferings and of his glory: as also of his love-letters; for so he stiled the history of his life, death, resurrection, ascension, and of his second coming; his thoughts of which, he was oft much ravished with.

In brief, his whole life was a continued sermon, holding forth the doctrines which he preached, of humility, self-denial, patience, meekness, content, faith, love to God, his church, and people, the blessed fruit of all which he now reaps in heaven, where he is singing praises unto God and the lamb, which was his great delight whilst he lived in this world.

[ From Mr. WESLEY's Christian Library, Vol. xxvi. page 249. ]

7. MR. RICHARD MATHER. He was born in the village called Lowton, in the parish of Winwick, in the county of Lancaster, in 1596. After he had spent sundry years in the school, some Popish merchants coming out of Wales to Warrington, which is but two miles from Winwick, made diligent inquiry whether there were not some in that school whom they might procure for apprentices. Presently Richard Mather was mentioned to them; whereupon application was made to his father to know whether he would thus dispose of him; who was inclinable to accept of the motion, because now his estate was so decayed, that he almost despaired of bringing up this his son as he intended; but here Divine Providence was very observable; for when the father was thus ready to part with his son, and the child to go, the Lord raised up the heart of his master to be importunate to keep him at school, professing that it was great pity that a wit so prone to learning should be taken from it; or that he should be undone by Popish education: and the persuasions of the master so far prevailed, that his scholar was continued under his care, until the fifteenth year of his age.

His conversion was occasioned partly by observing a strange difference between himself and sundry in the godly family of Mr. Edward Aspinwal, which caused fears to rise in his soul, lest haply he might not be in the right way; partly by one Mr. Harrison's preaching upon John iii. 3. concerning the necessity of regeneration. This was in 1614. The pangs of the new birth were very terrible in him, insomuch as many times when others were at their meals in the family he absented himself, to retire under hedges, and in other secret places, there to lament his misery before God: but after some time, the Lord revived his broken heart, by sending the Holy Spirit to accompany the ministry of the word, and to enable him to apply the precious promises of the gospel to his soul. After some years he went to Oxford.

But having not spent so much time there as he could have wished, the people in Toxteth, whose children had been trained up by him, sent to him, desiring that he would return, to instruct, not so much their children as themselves; and that not in mere human literature, but in the things of God: and this call, after mature deliberation, he accepted of.

Being returned to Toxteth, he preached his first sermon, November



30th, 1618. There was a very great concourse of people to hear him, and his labours were highly accepted of by those who were judicious. The people having now had some trial of his gifts were the more importunate to have him fix amongst them; and because that could not be done without ordination, they urged him to accept thereof. He yielded to the motion, and accordingly was ordained by Dr. Morton, the then bishop of Chester. The ordination being ended, the bishop singled out Mr. Mather from among the rest, saying, "I have something to say to you, between you and me alone." Mr. Mather was hereupon afraid that some informations had been given in against him, because of his Puritanism. But it fell out far otherwise; for when the bishop had him alone, he spake thus unto him: "I have an earnest request unto you, and you must not deny me; it is, that you will pray for me: for I know, said he, the prayers of men that fear God will avail much; and such an one I believe you to be."

After he had spent painfully and faithfully fifteen years in the work of the ministry, he that holds the stars in his right hand, had more work for him to do elsewhere, and therefore Satan's rage was fullered to break forth to the stopping of his mouth,

The case being thus, he betook himself to a private life; and no hope appearing that he should enjoy his liberty in the land of his nativity, foreseeing also the approaching calamities of England, he meditated a removal into New-England. Being fully satisfied concerning the clearness of his call to New-England, after many prayers, and extraordinary seeking of God, he resolved upon the transportation of himself and family thither. His parting with his friends in Lancashire was like St. Paul's taking his leave of Ephesus with much sorrow, many tears being shed by those that expected to see his face no more.

He began his journey in April, 1635; and travelled to Bristol, purposing to take ship there. In this journey he was forced to change his outward habit, because pursuivants were designed to apprehend him; but by this means he came safe and unmolested to Bristol. From Bristol they set sail for New-England, May 23, 1635: and the Lord, after manifold trials of their faith and patience, brought them in safety to their desired haven. It is seldom known, that a man designed in God's council to any special services, doth not at one time or other experience eminent deliverances of God's providence; and so it was with this servant of the Lord, not once or twice. But the most remarkable of all others was that which happened to him on the mighty waters, where he that sits upon the floods, and stilleth the raging of the sea, shewed himself wonderful in goodness. The relation of this signal providence, we will here set down in Mr. Mather's own words.

AUGUST 15, 1635. "The Lord had not yet done with us, nor had he let us see all his power and goodness: and therefore about break of day he sent a most terrible storm of rain and easterly wind, whereby we were in as much danger, as I think ever people were. When we came to land we found many mighty trees rent in pieces in the midst of their bodies, and others turned up by the roots by the fierceness of the tempest. That morning we lost three anchors and cables, one of

them having never been in the water before. Two were broken by the strength and violence of the storm, and the third was cut off by the mariners in extremity of distress, to save the ship, and their own, and our lives. And when our cables and anchors were all lost and gone, we had no visible means of deliverance, but by hoisting sail, if so be we might get to sea from among the islands and rocks where we had anchored. But the Lord let us see that our sails could not save us neither, no more than the cables and anchors; for by the force of the storm the sails were rent in pieces, as if they had been rotten rags; of divers of them there was scarce left so much as an hands-breadth that was not torn in pieces, or blown away into the sea: so that at that time all hope that we should be saved, in all outward appearance, was utterly taken away, and the rather, because we seemed to drive with full force of wind directly upon a mighty rock, standing out in sight above water, so that we did but continually wait when we should hear and feel the crashing of the ship upon the rock. In this extremity we cried unto the Lord, and he was pleased to have compassion upon us: for, by his over-ruling providence, he guided the ship by the rock, assuaged the violence of the sea and of the wind. So God granted us as wonderful a deliverance, as I think ever any people had felt: the seamen confessed that they never knew the like. In all this, the Lord's holy name be blessed for it, he gave us hearts contented and willing that he should do with us and ours what he pleased, and what might be most for the glory of his great Name."

This deliverance was the more remarkable, in that several vessels were cast away in the storm. As, A ship which set out from Bristol with the vessel wherein Mr. Mather was, being then at anchor, was broke in pieces. Also there was then a ship going between Pascataqua and the bay, which was cast away in this storm, and all the people therein lost, except two. Among others in that vessel, there was a minister, Mr. Avery, who every moment expecting that the next wave would be a wave of death, lifted up his eyes to heaven and said, "Lord, I cannot challenge a promise of the preservation of my life, but according to thy covenant, I challenge heaven." Which he had no sooner spoken, but a wave came immediately and swept him away, and so waisted him to heaven indeed. And by the way, let it be noted, that this was the only vessel which at that time had miscarried with passengers from Old-England to New; so signally did the Lord in his providence own the plantation of New-England. The storm being allayed, the Lord brought them safe to an anchor before Boston, August 17, 1635. And Mr. Mather abode with his family in Boston for some months; and both he and his consort joined to the church there.

Being thus by a mighty hand, and out-stretched arm, brought safe into New-England, sundry towns sent to him, desiring that he would employ the talents which the Lord had enriched him with, for the work of the ministry amongst them. At the same time he was desired at Plymouth, Dorchester, and Roxbury. Being in a great strait which of these invitations to accept of, he referred himself to the advice of some judicious friends, among whom Mr. Cotton and Mr. Thomas Hooker

were the chief, who met to consult of this affair. And the result of their advice was, that he should accept of the motion from Dorchester. Which accordingly being accepted of by him, he did by the help of Christ, set upon the gathering of a church there; the church which was first planted in that place being removed with the reverend Mr. Warham to Connecticut. Being thus again settled in the Lord's work, he therein continued to his dying day; the Lord making him an eminent blessing, not only to Dorchester, but to all the churches and plantations round about him, for the space of almost four and thirty years. Before, and for some years after, his accepting the office of a pastor in Dorchester, he was in much spiritual distress, by reason of uncertainty concerning his spiritual estate. He kept these troubles secret from men, only he revealed the distress of his soul to that great divine Mr. Norton, then teacher of the church in Ipswich, unto whom God gave the tongue of the learned to speak a word in season, whereby his soul was comforted.

He did not speak much in his last sickness, either to friends that visited him, or to his own children; only his son, who is now teacher of a church in Boston, coming to visit his father, said unto him, Sir, if there be any special thing which you would have me to do, in case the Lord should spare me upon earth after you are in heaven, I would entreat you express it: at which, his father making a little pause, and lifting up his eyes and hands towards heaven, replied, "A special thing which I would commend to you, is, care concerning the rising generation in this country, that they be brought under the government of Christ in his church; and that when they are grown up and qualified, they have baptism for their children." He died 1669.

[ FROM CALAMY'S Life of BAXTER, Vol. ii. ]

8. MR. THO. VINCENT. He was a worthy, humble, pious man, of sober principles, and great zeal and diligence. He had the whole New Testament and Psalms by heart. He continued in the city the whole time of the plague in 1665. The awfulness of that desolating judgment, and the numerous sudden instances of mortality, then every where obvious, gave a peculiar edge to the spirit of the preacher and his auditors: so that labouring constantly, and with great fervour, to set in with Divine Providence, he was an instrument of good to very many, as was mentioned in the preceding section. He died 1671.

9. MR. EDMUND STANTON. Mr. Mayo in his printed life, among other passages, tells this remarkable story of him: that preaching once at Warborough, not far from Oxford, one in the congregation was so affected with his first prayer, that he ran to his house (which was near) and told his wife that she should make her ready and come to church, for there was one in the pulpit that prayed like an angel, so as he never heard the like. The woman hastened away with her husband; and God so ordered it, that the sermon proved a means of her conversion, and she proved afterwards a serious and eminent Christian. He died 1671.

[ From NEAL's History of the Puritans, in 1671. ]

10. MR. VAVASOR POWEL. He was born in Radnorshire. When he left the university he preached up and down in Wales, till being driven from thence for want of presbyterial ordination, which he scrupled, he came to London, and soon after settled at Dartford in Kent. In the year 1646, he obtained a testimonial of his religious and blameless conversation, and of his abilities for the work of the ministry, signed by Mr. Herle and seventeen of the assembly of divines. Furnished with these testimonials he returned to Wales, and became a most indefatigable and active instrument of propagating the gospel in those parts. There were but few, if any of the churches or chapels in Wales, in which he did not preach; yea, very often he preached to the poor Welch in the mountains, at fairs, and in market places. He died 1671.

[ From CALAMY's Life of BAXTER, Vol. ii. ]

11. MR. THOMAS TREGOSS. He was born at St. Ives, near to the lands end in Cornwall. He was one of eminent piety, and yet (which is remarkable) dated his conversion, after he had been some time in the ministry. And it is a circumstance that deserves a remark, (whether the good man was mistaken or not) that he took a sermon composed and preached by himself to be the means of his conversion. The text was Luke xii. 47. "And that servant that knew his Lord's will, and prepar'd not himself, neither did according to his will, shall be beaten with many stripes." He was one whom God signally owned; not only by his being instrumental in the conversion of many souls, but also by remarkable judgments which befel several that were instrumental in his troubles: for a particular account of which, the reader is referred to the printed narrative of his life. He died 1671<sup>a</sup>.

[ From WESLEY's Christian Library, Vol. xii. Page 145. ]

12. DR. THOMAS MANTON<sup>b</sup>. He was born in 1620, in the county of Somerset. Both his father and grandfather were ministers. He went to Oxon at fifteen years of age. He was first minister of Culliton, in Devon; and afterwards of Stoke-Newington in Middlesex, before he came to Covent-Garden; where he succeeded Mr. Sedgwick. He was in great reputation at the time of king Charles' return; one of the Savoy commissioners; and very earnest in his endeavours to get the declaration for ecclesiastical affairs passed into a law: and had it been compassed would have accepted the deanry that was offered him. He was a man of great learning, judgment and integrity; and an excellent unwearied preacher: one of great temper and moderation, and respected by all that knew him, whose spirits were not incurably cankered. Dr. Bates, in his sermon at his funeral, gives this account of him: "A clear judgment, rich fancy, strong memory, and happy elocution met in him, and were excellently improved by his diligent study." In

a A few years after died Mr. James Jancway who had a meeting at Redriff, near London, and preached to a very numerous auditory. He was a man of eminent piety: and yet in his last sickness he was under

great concern, upon his reflecting on his aptness to flubber over private duties, when he was much engaged in public work.

b See Extracts from his Works, in Vol. 12th and 13th Vols. of the Christian Library.

preaching he was of that conspicuous eminence, that none could detract from him, but from ignorance or envy. He abounded in the work of the Lord; and tho' a very frequent preacher, yet was always superior to most others and equal to himself. Archbishop Usher was wont to say of him, "That he was a voluminous preacher:" not as if he was tedious for length, but because he had the art of reducing the substance of volumes of divinity into a narrow compass. And Mr. Charnock oft represented him as the best collector of sense of the age. He was no fomenter of faction, but studious of the public tranquillity. His generous constancy of mind in resisting the current of popular humour, declared his loyalty to his Divine Master. He was imprisoned for non-conformity, and many ways a sufferer; and yet kept up a considerable interest at court, and with men of note and figure. The noble earl (afterwards duke of Bedford, who had for sometime been his parishioner at Covent-Garden, was his cordial friend unto his death; and so also was my lord Wharton, and many other persons of considerable quality. He generally had the chair in the meetings of the dissenting ministers of the city; who found the want of his prudence, activity and interest joined together, when he was taken from them. He died October the 18th, 1677<sup>a</sup>, leaving behind him the general reputation of as excellent a preacher, as this city or nation hath produced.

<sup>a</sup> This year died abroad Mr. David Anderson, who had been minister at Walton upon Thames, but apprehensive of a return of Popery, had gone over to Zealand and settled at Middleburgh with his wife and five small children. Having no employment there, he soon consumed the little money he carried over with him, and owed a year's rent for his house, and was reduced so low as to want bread: and such was his modesty, that he knew not how to make his case known in a strange country. In this condition, after he had been one morning at prayer with his family, his children desired some bread for their breakfast: but having none, nor money to buy any, they all burst out into tears. In this sorrowful case, the bell at their door rung, and Mrs. Anderson went to see who was there, in a mean and mournful habit. The person that rang the bell, asked for the mistress: she answered that her name was Anderson. Here, says he, a gentleman has sent you this paper, and will send you in some provisions presently: when they had opened the paper, they found forty pieces of gold in it. The messenger went away, without telling his name, or whence he came. Soon after came a country man with a horse load of provisions, of flesh, fish, herbs, and bread, and all things necessary to their living plentifully, as long as what was brought would keep good. Neither did he tell them from whence he came, nor did they know till their dying day, who it was that so seasonably relieved them. But Mr. John

Quick (from whose memoirs the account is taken) being in 1681, pastor of the English church at Middleburgh, came accidentally to the knowledge of the whole matter. For being at the country-house of one Mijne Heer de Koning a magistrate, and mentioning this story, M. de Koning told him he was the person that carried the gold from Mijne Heer de Hoste, a pious merchant of that place, with whom he was then an apprentice. He added that Mijne Heer de Hoste observing a grave English minister walk the streets frequently, with a dejected countenance, enquired privately into his circumstances, and apprehending he might be in want, sent him the gold by M. de Koning, and the provisions by his country servant, saying with a Christian tenderness, "God forbid that any of Christ's ambassadors should be strangers, and we not visit them, or in distress, and we not assist them." But he expressly charged both his servants to conceal his name. This relief, besides present provision, enabled Mr. Anderson to pay his debts: and he could not help communicating this instance of the great goodness of God to his friends and acquaintance of that city. This coming to the ears of M. de Hoste, he afterwards found a secret way of paying Mr. Anderson's rent for him yearly; and of conveying to him besides ten pound Sterling every quarter; which he managed so as that he never could or did know his benefactor. M. de Koning kept the whole matter secret as long as his master lived,

[ FROM CALAMY'S LIFE OF BAXTER, Vol. ii. ]

13. MR. SAM. FAIRCLOUGH sen. He was born at Haveril (where his father was minister) 1504. Sir Nathanael Barnardiston, (that ornament of his country for piety and integrity) settled him at Ketton. In this place he continued near thirty five years, preaching four times a week; twice on the Lord's day, a Thursday lecture (which was attended by all the ministers for many miles compass) and a sermon on the Saturday evening in his own house; and all the country round flock'd to him. When he first came to this place, he found it ignorant and profane, not so much as one family in twenty calling upon the name of the Lord; but when he had been there sometime, so great was the alteration that there was not a family in twenty, but professed godliness, but their governors offered up to God their morning and evening sacrifice. Great at that time was the advantage of that town: magistracy and ministry joined both together, and concurred in all things for the promoting of true piety and godliness. Mr. Fairclough and his patron acted by concert. He died 1678.

14. MR. HENRY STUBBES. He was minister at Horsley. He set apart some time every day to pray for the church of God, without the narrow distinction of this or that, or the other party. The preface to his last will, with his prayer for the king and the nation, and a learned faithful ministry, is published in Turner of Providence, chap. 143. p. 99. The last Lord's day he preached at Horsley he told his auditory, he desired to see them the next morning before his journey, and take his leave of them in the church, where he preached most affectionately, from Prov. iii. 6. Upon his arrival at London he preached almost every day; and some days twice. He fell down in the pulpit; but recovering went on: and so again afterwards, till he was quite disabled by a fever and dysentery. That which much emboldned him was, that he had often gone ill into the pulpit, and came better out. This holy and peaceable man, who lived like an incarnate angel, was a minister of the gospel about fifty years.

Mr. Baxter preached his funeral sermon, in which his character may be seen at large. Among other things said there, he has these words:

but thought himself at liberty to give this account of it, after his death. Upon the decease of Mr. Spang minister of the English church at Middleburgh, Mr. Anderson was unexpectedly chosen in his stead; when the messenger came from the church to acquaint him with it, his wife was so overcome with joy at the goodness of God in providing them a fixed and honourable maintenance, that it threw her into a fever of which she died. Mr. Anderson also in some time grew sickly, and died March 1677. None of all the ministers in that city, English, French, or Dutch, came near him in the gift of prayer, in which he had a peculiar fulness and fluency, that was animated with very melting affections. The lords of the city became guardians to the five orphans which he left behind him. The famous Anna Ma-

ria Scharman took one of his daughters, and two other Dutch gentlewomen the two others, and became mothers to them. And the unknown benefactor continued his kind offices to them all. M. de Hoste took his two sons under his own charge, and by his last will bequeathed a good portion to each of his daughters. He ordered that the eldest son, who was very hopeful and pious, should be brought up a scholar, and settled a liberal exhibition upon him of 60 l. a year for his education at one of their universities, where he afterwards died of a consumption; and appointed the youngest son to be bound apprentice, and when he should be out with his time, to receive 60 l. Sterl. to begin the world with. So wonderful a providence attended this pious minister and his children after him.

"I scarce remember the man that ever I knew that served God with more absolute resignation and devotedness, in simplicity and godly sincerity; living like the primitive Christians, without any pride or worldly motives; or in whose case I had rather die." He died 1678.<sup>a</sup>

[ From Wesley's Christian Library, Vol. x. p. 5. ]

15. DR. THOMAS GOODWIN. He was born at Rolesby in Norfolk, Oct. 5th, 1600, and was first of Christi-college, and then of Katherine-Hall in Cambridge. He was in the University a frequent hearer of Dr. Preston and Dr. Hill, and afterwards himself a celebrated preacher there, and an instrument in turning many to the love and practice of serious religion. In 1628, he was chosen to preach the lecture to the town of Cambridge at Trinity-church, and he held it 'till 1634, when he left the University. In 1639, he went over to Holland, and became pastor of a church in the city of Arnheim. He returned into England at the beginning of the long-parliament, and became pastor of a church in London, and one of the assembly of divines. He took a brief account of the transactions there, in fourteen or fifteen volumes in octavo, that are yet preserved. Oliver Cromwel made him president of Magdalen-college in Oxford, and one of the tryers of ministers. In the common register of the university, he is said to be *in scriptis in re theologica quamplurimis orbi notus*. He was removed from his presidentship quickly after the king's return in 1660, and afterwards retired to London, where he continued the exercise of his ministry as long as he lived. He was a very considerable scholar, and an eminent divine; and had a very happy faculty in descanting upon scripture, so as to bring forth surprizing remarks, which yet generally tended to illustration. He died Feb. 23, 1679<sup>b</sup>.

[ From Calamy's Life of Baxter. ]

16. MR. MATTHEW POOL. He was born in York, and had his education under Dr. Worthington, universally acknowledged a very learned man. He was very facetious in his conversation, very true to his friend, very strict in his piety, and universal in his charity. He set on foot a good and great project for maintaining youths of great parts, studiousness and piety, and hopeful proficiencie, at the universities. He had the approbation of the heads of houses in both of them, and nominated such excellent persons for trustees, and solicited so earnestly, that in a little time, about nine hundred pounds a-year was

a The same year died Mr. Gabriel Sangar, son of Mr. Thomas Sangar, minister of Sutton. He once very remarkably escaped being seized and imprisoned; for in the latter end of 1665, there came some troopers to the house to apprehend him: and some of them alighting and going in to search for him, as they were running eagerly up stairs, the servant of a gentleman that was sick in the house, met the first of them and desired they would not make such a noise, and give such disturbance, because one of the family was visited with sickness. Upon hearing that, they immediately ran

down, and got out of the house, and mounted their horses, and rode away with all speed, apprehending that the sick gentleman had the plague. He thought it his duty, after he was silenced, to abide in the parish, with those of his ancient flock who desired him, and to visit them, especially in the time of sickness: at which time, many thought the help of such ministers as he needful enough, who were not very fond of their preaching while they were well.

b See Extracts from Goodwin's Works, in Vols. eleventh and twelfth of Mr. Wesley's Christian Library.

procured for that purpose. Dr. Sherlock, afterwards dean of St. Paul's, I am inform'd, was one of them, but this design was quash'd by the restoration. He with ten years indefatigable study, finished his *Synopsis Criticorum*. He died at Amsterdam in Holland, in October 1679, leaving behind him (says Wood, the Oxford critick, without any cavil) the character of a celebrated critick and casuist.

17. MR. JOHN ROGERS. He was the son of Mr. Rogers minister of Chacombe in Northamptonshire. In his youth he was well acquainted with Mr. Dod and Dr. Harris, of whom he was used often to speak with great respect; as also of Dr. Prideaux and Dr. Cheynel: but no name did he mention with so great pleasure as that of Mr. William Wheatly of Banbury, whom he always styled his spiritual father. He took great pains of poor children, that they might live usefully, and not be trained up in ignorance and idleness.

When the indulgence expired, he preached at his own house at Startford, one Lord's-day, and the other he would spend either in Teesdale or in Waredale, among those who wrought in the lead mines. Many a troublesome journey hath he taken to these poor people through very-deep snows, and over high mountains, when the ways have been extremely bad, and the cold very sharp and pinching; but he made nothing of his fatigue, through his love to souls, especially being encouraged by the mighty eagerness of those honest people to hear the word. And he used to preach frequently in the week days also; and yet for all his pains he did not receive above ten pounds a-year, but lived upon what he had of his own, and had some room left both for generosity and charity too. He used to take all occasions for good discourse. It being the custom in the North after a funeral to have an arval (as they call it) or dinner, he would so suitably speak of divine things in the midst of the entertainment, that some bitter people would refuse to be present there, when they knew he would be one of the company; because (said they) we shall find Rogers preaching there. He died 1680<sup>a</sup>.

a The same year died Mr. Thomas Rowe a native of North Petherwin in the county of Devon. While he lived at Mr. Moor's in Somersetshire, he came to Madam Trenchard's at Litchet, to make a visit, intending, while he was there, to preach in one of the poor parishioner's cottages. Several knew of it, and came to hear him: one of the parish getting intelligence of it, turned informer, and bringing a constable and another with him, demanded the doors of the house to be opened, tho' the exercise was over. The officious informer set down the names of all that were present, both minister and people; and the next day procured a warrant to take them up. Mr. Rowe was too quick for them, and soon got out of the reach of the warrant into another country: but they actually served the warrant on many of the hearers, and carried them before Justice L— in the isle of Purbeck, who bound them over to the quarter

sessions. The justice, to divert himself, asked some of the women what the text was that was preached on at the conventicle they were at. The text really preached upon was Rom. viii. 13. "If ye through the spirit do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live." But one of them through mistake mentioned another text, viz. Col. iii. 5. "Mortify therefore your members which are upon the earth:" which text being recited, the justice burlesqu'd it, and poured forth his profane jells upon it very plentifully. And it so happened, that not many years after, before the justice died, his members were perfectly mortified; insomuch that his very conscience reproached him for it, and made him frankly acknowledge that this distemper (which proved his death) was a just judgment from God upon him for burlesquing as he did that very scripture. But that was not the only thing that was remarkable in this case: for the busy inform-



18. MR. NATHANAEL BALL. He was sometime minister at Royston, a market-town of great profaneness. There his zeal for God, and love to souls, made him lay out himself in an extraordinary manner. He set up a lecture on the market-day, which was blessed with great success. The trade of wickedness was spoiled. And some of the worst of sinners were wrought on, and proved eminent in grace. He died 1681.

19. MR. HENRY MAURICE. He was sometime minister at Brompsfield in Herefordshire. He was of a considerable family in Carnarvan-shire. His childhood and youth were vanity. When he became a preacher, the popular applause that attended him proved a great temptation to him, as he afterwards complained, calling himself a vain-glorious fellow, till it pleased God to visit the town in which he lived with a malignant fever, whereby many of his parishioners were cut off; by which providence he was much awakened, and very solicitous about his everlasting state, if he should be seized by death. Afterwards he was chosen pastor of a considerable body of people, at Lanignon and Merthur. But his services were not confined to them: from the time of his coming into these parts, he, as long as he was able, spent his time in travelling all over Wales; so that preaching the gospel of Christ in those dark parts became his daily work. And God blessed his endeavours to the conviction and conversion too (as there is good reason to hope and believe) of many souls. The poor people travelled far to hear the word, and attended it in vast numbers, and with an extraordinary earnestness, and diligence. He endured many hardships, travelling all weathers in those mountainous tracts, and oftentimes but indifferently accommodated, both in respect to diet and lodging. 'Twas his ordinary custom, both at home and abroad, to expound the scriptures, mornings and evenings; by which method good and lasting impressions of an early piety were sometimes conveyed. Of this there was a remarkable instance in a gentleman's daughter, at seven years of age. Her father had sent for Mr. Maurice, as a physician to attempt her cure as to a bodily distemper, which had made her a cripple. She continued so; but, by the grace of God, received a far greater benefit than a cure would have been. In that tender age, she learned, in an extraordinary manner, to remember her Creator and Redeemer. He had also another practice that was very common with him: when he knew of any one person in a family or congregation, tho' but a child, (if there was a capacity of knowledge and devotion) that did not understand the language in which he was obliged to speak for the sake of all the rest, a part of what he said, whether in prayer, exposition, or sermons, should

er had the use of his right side taken from him, which began soon after, and at length proved his death. The officer also that assisted in disturbing the meeting, was in a very few weeks after killed with his own cart. And that which renders this awful providence the more remarkable, was that the cart overturned upon him as it was go-

ing up an hill, directly over against the very house and door where the meeting was, that he assisted in disturbing. The compiler is sensible that it is a very difficult thing to interpret afflicting providences, but the complication of circumstances here makes this instance very singular.

be in one language, and a part in the other. For he used to say, he would not have one soul lose the benefit of a duty. He died 1682.

[ FROM WESLEY'S Christian Library, Vol. xvii. page 163. ]

20. DR. JOHN OWEN<sup>a</sup>. He was a great man, and generally respected as a scholar, a gentleman, and a divine. He was cast out of his deanry of Christ-church in Oxford, in 1659, not long after Richard's being made protector; and lived privately afterwards at Stadham 'till he came to London. Mr. Wood, the Oxonian, who bore him no good-will, thinks fit to own, "That the doctor was a person well skilled in the tongues, Rabbinical learning, and Jewish rites and customs; that he had a great command of his English pen, and was one of the most genteel and fairest writers that appeared against the church of England. But such as were not blinded with prejudice, have freely owned the eminency of the doctor's learning and abilities. He was a man of universal reading; and he had digested it. He was especially conversant in those sciences that are assistant to divinity, and master of them in an unusual degree. He was reckoned the brightest ornament of the university of Oxford, and for several years successively was vice-chancellor there. When laid aside here, he had thoughts of going into New England, where he was invited to the government of their university; but he was stopped by particular orders from king Charles. He was also invited to be a professor of divinity in the United Provinces, but refused. He lived the latter part of his life in great reputation, in and about the city of London; where he had a considerable congregation, and was much respected by many persons of note and eminence. On St. Bartholomew's-day, 1683, he departed this life, with a cheerful hope of a better; and left behind him a great many valuable writings.

[ FROM CALAMY'S Life of BAXTER, Vol. ii. ]

21. MR WILLIAM COOK. He was sometime minister in Chester, and was bred under the famous Mr. John Ball. He was a man of a most godly life, and unwearied labour. One of the primitive stamp; who could go in poor clothing, live on a little, travel on foot, preach and pray almost all the week when he had opportunity; in season and out of season; trampling on this world as dirt, and living a mortified and laborious life. He kept many public fasts in his congregation, and many private fasts in his own closet, and family. He usually set apart one afternoon every week to visit the families of his congregation, and to catechize their children and servants, and discourse with them personally about their souls. In worldly matters he was not very conversable, but in discourse of God, none more free and affable, or more ready to do good. He lived and died a great example of strict and close walking with God, and a heavenly conversation; and his memory is to this day precious with many. When he lay on his death bed, an aged friend of his asking him, if he had not comfort in reflection upon his labours in

<sup>a</sup> See Extracts from his Works in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth Volumes of Wesley's Christian Library.

the work of God, he presently replied, I have nothing to boast of. He died 1684.

22. MR. THOMAS LYE. He was one who was eminently useful by his excellent art of catechising young ones, whom he by many artifices enticed to delight in the getting knowledge in the best things, many to this day recount with pleasure his unusual method of instructing them in the first principles of religion, wherein he had a marvellous dexterity: and I have heard of several that owe their first serious impressions to his pains in a catechetical way; in which he was not satisfied with conveying a little notional knowledge, without doing his utmost to set things home upon the heart, according to the capacity of his young auditory, to whom he always discovered a most tender affection. He died 1684.

23. MR. JOHN KNOWLES. He was born in Lincolnshire, and bred in Magdalen-college in Cambridge, where he was chamber fellow to Mr. Vines. In 1639 he went for New-England, and became teacher to the church of Watertown, of which Mr. George Philips was Pastor, and there he continued for about ten years in comfortable service in a cold wilderness; and then he was sent to Virginia, to preach the gospel there, in conjunction with Mr. Thompson of Braintry. There Mr. Harrison, that was the governour's chaplain, openly moved they might have full liberty, but secretly endeavoured they might be dismissed, as he owned afterwards with concern and sorrow. This was that Mr. Harrison that was afterwards so useful a man in England and Ireland. Mr. Knowles and Mr. Thompson being discharged from public preaching in Virginia, continued a while preaching privately, and did much good; and Mr. Knowles has often been heard to say, that he never saw so much of the blessing of God upon his ministry as there, and at Colchester. But they could not be allowed to stay; they were driven away. And (which is remarkable) they were no sooner gone, nay, whilst they were yet upon the river in the ship in which they were to depart, but there was an hideous cry of the general rising of the Indians upon the English, whom they miserably massacred, sparing neither old nor young; murdering such as appeared abroad in the streets; and burning such as thought themselves secure in their houses. Five hundred are reported to have been murdered upon this occasion, besides other mischief done to the plantation. Among those that escaped this miserable massacre, some were gathered into church order by Mr. Harrison, who became quite another man after this providence than he was before. But the governor dismissed his chaplain, who was now grown too serious for him: and he coming for England, left the poor people to the care of one Mr. Duren. Mr. Knowles returned for some time to Watertown, and afterwards came back into old England, where he was a preacher in the cathedral of Bristol. He came afterwards to London where he continued preaching, as he had opportunity. When some of his friends dissuaded him for fear of a prison, he answered them thus: "in truth I had rather be in a goal, where I might have a number of souls to whom I might preach the truths of my blessed Master, than live idle in my own house, without any such opportunities." And indeed he went up

and down doing good. His very discourse about God's dealings with him, his temptations, and afflictions, and deliverances, and supports, were so many affecting melting sermons in all the companies into which he came; and during king Charles's indulgence, he preached stately to a people at St. Catharines. During the sickness in 1665, he was very useful to such as stayed in the city, visiting rich and poor, without fear, where he was capable of any service. He lived to a good old age; and died 1685.

24. **MR. HENRY STAPLES.** He was minister at South-stoak in Suffex, afterwards in Ireland. There were but few either Christians or ministers but might have learned of him to make a spiritual improvement of common conversation. His ordinary discourses were short sermons. A person of quality to whom, besides plenty of other blessings God had given many children, being by him observed to be very subject to excessive passions, he applied himself thus to him: "Sir, if you don't learn meekness of the Lord Jesus Christ, you may fear lest your own children should learn madness of you." He was not content to converse with the heads of the families he came into, but would be dealing even with the meanest servants about their soul-concerns. Nay as he happened to meet with strangers on the road, he endeavoured to drop something that might be for their good: and sometimes would even be-late himself in his journey, when he was engaged in serious discourse. And when his companion has minded him of it, he would say, "I am in my master's business." Having occasion to attend at the assizes at Molingar, the county town of West-meath in Ireland, upon business which he transacted for a friend in England: a sturdy butcher had a stall under the window of that room in the inn, which Mr. Staples had taken up. Mr. Staples hearing him swear, opened the casement, and having given him a reproof shut it again. But the butcher continuing to multiply his oaths, Mr. Staples set the casement open, that he might the more readily continue his reproofs, which the poor man entertained at first with all imaginable contempt, both in words and gestures. At last Mr. Staples observed that the butcher when he had dropped an oath, cast his eye toward the window, to see whether Mr. Staples took notice of it. This was an encouragement to him to persist: and he did so, to good purpose. For there not only was some present reformation, but he was led into close reflection on his ways, and a change was produced; when Mr. Staples afterwards came to the same place, the butcher used at his alighting to take his horse, and be very officious to attend upon him with all possible respect: often would he acknowledge his past folly, and thank Mr. Staples for his kind reproof. And he told another; "This good man has saved my soul from hell." Mr. Staples died 1686.

25. **MR. STEPHEN HUGHES.** He was born in Carmarthen. He was of a public spirit, and printed several Welch books at his own charge, and among others, the excellent Welch poems of Mr. Rees Pritchard, vicar of Llanyddfre, which contain the summary of Christian duties in British verse. This book of which he published several editions, has occasioned many hundreds of the ignorant Welch who

delight in songs, to learn to read their own language. He assisted in the correction of the Welch Bible, which Mr. Gouge published; and was very instrumental in getting subscriptions towards that impression, which is the best edition extant of the old British Bible. He was a plain, methodical, affectionate preacher, and insisted much upon the great and substantial things of religion. He seldom preached without melting into tears, which often drew tears from his auditors. He affected to preach in the darkeſt corners, and in the places where the people had ignorant readers, that could not preach. His moderation and lively preaching, recommended him to the esteem of the sober part of the genery, by whose connivance he often preached in the public churches, which were much thronged, by the vast numbers that came to hear him from neighbouring parishes. He generally preached twice on a Lord's day in distant places; and often rode eight or ten miles, between the sermons, which much impaired his health, and in all probability shortened his days. He had very great seals to his ministry; great numbers were reclaimed from their sinful and wicked ways, and became serious Christians. In most of his sermons he pressed faith and repentance, and exhorted the illiterate to learn to read their own language, which great numbers did, and many of them at forty and fifty years of age and above. He would in a very affectionate address, expose the sinful and damnable nature of ignorance, recommend the usefulness, amiableness and necessity of knowledge, and excite heads of families to teach their children and servants, and one neighbour to teach another. He published near a score of Welch books, most of them translations out of the English: such books for instance as Mr. Baxter's Call to the Unconverted, his Now or Never, Mr. Allein of Conversion, the Plain Man's Path-Way to Heaven, &c. And at the end of most of them, he added the Welch alphabet, to direct people to read. He used upon all occasions to speak to the people with great freedom about their souls. When he came to an house, or met people occasionally upon the road, he would direct some suitable exhortation to them: and if there were several present, he would apply himself to each particularly; and when he saw them again, would ask them what they remembered of what he spake last to them. He died 1687.

[ From the Preface to the Folio Edition of BUNYAN's Works, 1692. a ]

26. BUNYAN. For human learning, 'tis true, he had none; but let it not be therefore said, that what was done by him, is not worth our time or pains to read; for, as conversion-work, or the new-birth, is not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God; so our author's knowledge, and insight into gospel mysteries, was given to him by God himself; not by immediate inspiration, but by prayer and study, without any other external helps. His business was to converse much with the word of God, and to pray over it; his labours therein were indefatigable, and God blessed him in so doing, with a more than ordinary degree of knowledge. Learning, in its place, is of ex-

a By two ministers, Mr. Wilſon of Hitchin, and Mr. Chandler of Bedford.

cellent use (if sanctified) yet certainly, as those men are justly chargeable with folly, and some degree of madness, that will reject wholesome food, if not brought in a silver dish; so those are besides the rule, that will despise all those works in which there is not the savour of logical exactness, or academical preparations; though much of the anointing of the Spirit may be seen to have been on the heads of the authors, which doth clearly appear to have been on the head of this author, by the spirituality, soundness, and clearness of his writings. We shall not here detain thee with an account of the author's pedigree, education, conversion, or call to the ministry, it being done by his own hand, in his *Treatise of Grace* abounding to the chief of Sinners: but give us leave to say, his natural parts and abilities were not mean; his fancy and invention were very pregnant and fertile; the use he made of them was good, converting them to spiritual objects; his wit was sharp and quick, his memory tenacious, it being customary with him to commit his sermons to writing after he had preached them. His judgment was sound and deep in the fundamentals of the gospel, as his writings evidence: also his experience of Satan's temptations, in the power and policy of them, and of Christ's presence in and by his word and Spirit to succour and comfort him, was more than ordinary; the grace of God was magnified in him and by him, and a rich anointing of the Spirit was upon him; and yet this great saint was always in his own eyes the chiefest of sinners, and the least of saints, esteeming any, where he did believe the truth of grace, better than himself. There was indeed in him all the parts of an accomplished man; and, for his piety and sincerity towards God, it was apparent to all that conversed with him: he was not only well furnished with the helps and endowments of nature, beyond ordinary, but eminent in the graces and gifts of the Spirit, and fruits of holiness. He was from first to last of (and established in, and ready to maintain) that God-like principle of having communion with saints as such, without any respect to difference in opinion in things disputable among the godly; a true lover of all that love our Lord Jesus Christ, and did often bewail the different and distinguishing appellations that are among the godly, saying, he did believe a time would come, when they should be all buried. His courage was condescending, affable and meek to all, yet bold and resolute for Christ and the gospel's sake. He was much struck at in the late times of persecution, and his sufferings were great, he enduring, first and last, above twelve years imprisonment; under all which he behaved himself like Christ's soldier, being far from any sinful compliance to save himself, but did cheerfully bear the cross of Christ; and when, by reason of imprisonment, he was restrained from preaching, he then spent his time (much of it) in composing that which might be useful and beneficial to the church of God, when in person he could not be so. His countenance was grave and sedate, and did so to the life discover the inward frame of his heart, that it was convincing to the beholders, and did strike something of awe into them that had nothing of the fear of God; and though his enemies and persecutors, in his life-time, did what they could to vilify and reproach him; yet, being gone, he that before had

the testimony of their consciences, hath now their actual commendation and applause. His conversation was as becomes the gospel, Eph. v. 6. Col. ii. 6. He was eminent as a Christian, and as a minister of Christ, making that which God had called him to his business with delight. He was laborious in his work of preaching at home and abroad, and diligent in his preparation for it, not doing the work of the Lord negligently. Where he saw cause of reproof, he did not spare for outward circumstances, whether in the pulpit or no; and as ready to administer comfort and succour to the tempted; a son of Consolation to the broken-hearted and afflicted; yet a son of thunder to secure and dead sinners. He knew the worth of an interest in Christ, by his own experiences of the goodness of God, shewing him, on the one hand, his natural pollution, guilt and enmity, and that wrath that was due to him thereby; and the virtue of the blood of Christ on the other, to free from all. And from that experimental knowledge did flow hearty desires, and fervent prayers, that the work of God might be effectually wrought on sinners, especially those among whom he laboured in the word and doctrine; and matter of grief was it to him, when he did not see conversion-work on foot. Indeed, in the beginning of his ministry, God did own him in that work beyond what is ordinary: and, in his latter years, few, if any, were more successful in their work, we mean, with respect to conversion. God was with him from first to last: and it may be said of him, as of David, 2 Sam. vii. 3, 9. Some are now gone to glory with him; others are yet in the body, who own him as the external instrument, in God's hand, of their conversion. His so long continuance in the work of the ministry was a great blessing to the church of Christ in and about Bedford in particular, over which the Holy Ghost made him overseer, his ministry being blest to the edification, comfort, and establishment of the saints, as well as the conversion of sinners. And he was also very useful, as he was an elder or pastor: first, by his example; he being full of zeal and affection, at all times, (according to knowledge) more especially at his administration of the Lord's supper, it was observable, that tears came from his eyes in abundance, from the sense of the sufferings of Christ that are in that ordinance shadowed forth: and then, as a pastor, he was useful also, by the accuracy of his knowledge in church-discipline, and readiness to put that in practice in the church, (as occasion offered) which he saw was agreeable to the word of God, whether admonition, or excommunication, or making up differences, or filling up vacancies, or paring off excrescencies. And as he was useful to that church, so to the whole country round, and to other churches where he did frequently spend his labours.

[ From the Appendix to Mr. Bunyan's first Volume. ]

Thousands of Christians in country and city can testify that their comfort under his ministry hath been to admiration, so that their joy hath shewed itself by much weeping. And I reckon I shall not be out of the way, if I ask, What hath the devil or his agents got by putting our great gospel-minister Bunyan in prison? for in prison he wrote many excellent books, that have published to the world his great grace,

and great ingenuity. To instance one, the Pilgrim's Progress he hath suited to the life of a traveller so exactly and pleasantly, and to the life of a Christian, that this very book, besides the rest, hath done the superstitious sort of men and their practice more harm, or rather good, (as I may call it) than if he had been let alone at his meeting at Bedford, to preach the gospel to his own auditory, as it might have fallen out. And it hath been printed in France, Holland, New-England, and in Welsh, and about a hundred thousand of it in England.

When Mr. Bunyan preached in London, if there were but one day's notice given, there would be more people come together to hear him preach, than the meeting-house would hold: I have seen (by my computation) about twelve-hundred come to hear him preach at a morning lecture by seven o' clock, on a working day, in the dark Winter-time. I also computed about three thousand that came to hear him one Lord's-day at London, at a Towns-end meeting house, so that one half were forced to go back again for want of room. He died in London, at the house of his very loving friend Mr. Strudwick, at Holborn-bridge, in the year 1688, aged 60.

[ FROM CALAMY'S *Life of BAXTER*. ]

27. MR. SWAIN. He was apprentice to a trade in Coventry, and afterwards set up for himself. He was in Coventry in the time of the civil wars, when so many worthy ministers took shelter there, and was very conversant with them; among the rest, with Mr. Vines, Mr. Baxter, Mr. Stephens, and Mr. Gradock. They finding him a man of more than ordinary knowledge and piety, persuaded him, laying all other cares aside, to apply himself to the ministry, in which they apprehended, in a suitable place, he might be very useful. He listened to them, and was in some time fixed in Withybrook, a place inhabited by about fifty families, six miles from Coventry. He was tried, approved by the presbytery at Killingworth, and ordained by Dr. Grew, and Dr. Bryan, and others, in the parish church of Withybrook. At the time of his ordination, he not only made the usual confession of faith, but gave such an account of the manner and degrees in which God wrought a work of grace in his heart, as affected many; and particularly was influential to the conversion of a very wicked woman, who was afterwards a very serious humble Christian. The place had been disused to preaching, and the people were generally very ignorant and loose; but it pleased God to bless his ministry by the conversion of many souls, both in his own town, and in the neighbourhood; and he had in six or seven years time a set of as judicious, godly, and peaceable Christians about him, as could easily be met with. He died 1690.

[ FROM FLAVEL'S *Life* prefixed to his Works. ]

28. MR. JOHN FLAVEL. He was minister at Dartmouth in Devon. Here God blessed his labours to the conviction of many<sup>a</sup>, and 'tis

[ FROM PRINCE'S *Christian History* N<sup>o</sup> 29. ]

<sup>a</sup> Mr. Luke Short, who formerly lived | lived and died at Middleborough in New-  
under the ministry of Mr. Flavel, but lately ; England, used to be often speaking with



hoped to their conversion also: particularly by his sermons on Rev. iii. 20. "Behold I stand at the door and knock." And this encouraged him to print these sermons, under the title of England's duty, &c. hoping that they might do good abroad, as well as in his own congregation<sup>a</sup>. He was much in self-examination, and by grace attained to a well grounded assurance, the ravishing comforts of which were many times shed abroad in his soul. We may guess what a sweet and blessed intercourse he had with Heaven from that history we meet with in his Πνευματολογία<sup>b</sup>. He was a mighty wrestler with God in secret prayer, and

great affection of Mr. Flavel's powerful and successful preaching. And among other instances, gave this. That one Lord's-day, Mr. Flavel began his sermon with an introduction of this importance—"My dear hearers! you know I have been long endeavouring to set forth the Lord Jesus Christ in his amiable excellencies and all-sufficiency before you, that if possible you might be allured to love him; and I have used all the powerful arguments and motives I could think of to persuade you to come to him and heartily embrace him. And these winning methods you know are most agreeable to my natural temper and disposition. And I desire to rejoice in the hope that through the grace of Christ, there are some among you who have been allured and persuaded to love and embrace him. But alas! alas! I have sufficient reason to fear that there are others among you, who have not yielded to all my alluring representations of him, nor all the cogent arguments and motives, which I have been so long using and so frequently and earnestly pressing upon you: but, O! after all I can say and do, you will not love him! and now alas! I must change my note! I must deliver a message to you, that I am loth to deliver; but my Lord and Master requires it of me, in order to deliver the whole counsel of God—It is that dreadful message in 1 Cor. xvi. 22. "If any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be Anathema, Maranatha;" i. e. Let him be accursed of God, till God shall come and judge him: if any man, or any one, whether male or female, high or low, rich or poor, old or young—love not the Lord Jesus Christ, above every thing in the world—let them—says the word and majesty of God—be Anathema Maranatha—accursed of God, and the curse of God, until the Lord shall come and execute the fulness of his wrath upon them"—or words to this purpose. Upon which the whole assembly was struck into a very great and visible consternation; some deeply affected for themselves, and some for their children. And among the rest a gentleman of wealth and figure, fell down as dead in his pew, tho' he

revived, in great distress of soul. See in the same author N<sup>o</sup> 29. a like instance under Mr. Doolittle's ministry just before he pronounced the blessing at dismissing the congregation.

<sup>a</sup> Mr. Increase Mather in his epistle before Flavel's sermons, says, "I am informed, by unquestionable hands, that there was a remarkable pouring out of the Spirit when these sermons were *viva voce* delivered, a great number of souls having been brought home to Christ thereby. The Lord grant that the second preaching of them to far greater multitudes, by this way of the press, may, by the same Spirit, be made abundantly successful for the conversion and salvation of God's elect!"

<sup>b</sup> I have with good assurance this account of a minister, who being alone in a journey, and willing to make the best improvement he could of that day's solitude, set himself to a close examination of the state of his soul, and then of the life to come, and the manner of its being and living in heaven, in the views of all those things which are now pure objects of faith and hope. After a while he perceived his thoughts begin to fix, and come closer to these great and astonishing things than was usual; and, as his mind settled upon them, his affections began to rise with answerable liveliness and vigour; he therefore (whilst he was yet master of his own thoughts) lifted up his heart to God, in a short ejaculation, that God would so order it in his providence, that he might meet with no interruption from company, or any other accident in that journey; which was granted him; for, in all that day's journey, he neither met, overtook, or was overtaken by any. Thus, going on his way, his thoughts began to swell, and rise higher and higher, like the waters in Ezekiel's vision, till at last they became an overflowing flood. Such was the intention of his mind, such the ravishing tastes of heavenly joys, and such the full assurance of his interest therein, that he utterly lost the sight and sense of this world, and all the concerns thereof, and for some hours knew no more where he was, than if he had been in a deep sleep upon his bed: at last, he be-

particularly begged of him to crown his sermons, printed books and private discourses, with the conversion of poor sinners, a work which his heart was much set upon. It pleased God to answer him by many instances, of which two that follow deserve peculiar notice.

In 1673, there came into Dartmouth port a ship of Pool, in her return from Virginia; the chirurgeon of this ship, a lusty young man of 23 years of age, fell into a deep melancholy which the devil improved to make him murder himself. This he attempted on the Lord's day early in the morning, when he was in bed with his brother; he first cut his own throat with a knife he had prepared on purpose, and leaping out of the bed, thrust it likewise into his stomach, and so lay wallowing in his own blood, till his brother awaked and cried for help. A physician and chirurgeon were brought, who concluded the wound in his throat mortal: they stitched it up however, and applied a plaister, but without hopes of cure, because he already breathed through the wound, and his voice was become inarticulate. Mr. Flavel came to visit him in this condition, and apprehending him to be within a few minutes of eternity, laboured to prepare him for it; he asked him his own apprehensions of his condition, and the young man answered, that he hoped in God for eternal life. Mr. Flavel replied, that he feared his hopes were ill grounded: the scripture tells us, that no murderer hath eternal life abiding in him; self-murder was the grossest of all murder, &c. Mr. Flavel insisted so much upon the aggravation of the crime, that the

gan to perceive himself very faint, and almost choked with blood, which running in abundance from his nose, had discoloured his clothes, and his horse from the shoulder to the hoof. He found himself almost spent, and nature to faint under the pressure of joy unspeakable and unsupportable. And at last perceiving a spring of water in his way, he with some difficulty alighted to cleanse, and cool his face and hands, which were drenched in blood, tears and sweat. By that spring he sat down, and washed, earnestly desiring, if it were the pleasure of God, that it might be his parting place from this world. He said, death had the most amiable face in his eye that ever he beheld, except the face of Jesus Christ which made it so; and that he could not remember (though he believed he should die there) that he had one thought of his dear wife or children, or any other earthly concernment. But having drunk of that spring, his spirit revived, the blood stench, and he mounted his horse again; and on he went in the same frame of spirit, till he had finished a journey of near thirty miles, and came at night to his inn; where being come, he greatly admired how he came thither, that his horse, without his direction, had brought him thither, and that he felt not all that day, which past not without several trances of considerable continuance. Being alighted, the inn-keeper came to him, with some astonishment (being ac-

quainted with him formerly) O Sir, said he, what's the matter with you? you look like a dead man. Friend, replied he, I was never better in my life. Shew me my chamber; cause my cloak to be cleaned; burn me a little wine, and that is all I desire of you at present. Accordingly it was done, and a supper sent up, which he could not touch; but requested of the people, they would not trouble or disturb him for that night. All this night passed without one wink of sleep, tho' he had never a sweeter night's rest in all his life. Still, still, the joy of the Lord overflowed him, and he seemed to be an inhabitant of the other world. The next morning being come, he was early on horse-back, fearing the diversions in the inn might bereave him of his joy; for he said, it was now with him, as with a man that carries a rich treasure about him, who suspects every passenger to be a thief. But within a few hours he was sensible of the ebbing of the tide; and, before night, though there was a heavenly serenity, and sweet peace upon his spirit, which continued long with him; yet the transports of joy were over. He many years after called that day one of the days of Heaven; and professed he understood more of the life of Heaven by it than by all the books he ever read, or discourses he ever entertained about it.

young man's conscience began to fail, his heart began to melt, and then he broke out into tears, bewailing his sin and misery, and asked Mr. Flavel if there might yet be any hope for him? he told him there might; and finding him altogether unacquainted with the nature of faith and repentance, he opened them to him. The poor man sucked in this doctrine greedily, prayed with great vehemence to God that he would work them on his soul, and intreated Mr. Flavel to pray with him, and for him, that he might be, tho' late, a sincere gospel penitent, and sound believer: Mr. Flavel prayed with him accordingly, and it pleased God exceedingly to melt the young man's heart, during the performance of that duty. He was very loth to part with Mr. Flavel, but the duty of the day obliging him to be gone, in a few words he summed up those counsels that he thought most necessary, and so took his farewell of him, never expecting to see him any more in this world. But it pleased God to order it otherwise; the young man continued alive contrary to all expectation, panted earnestly after the Lord Jesus, and no discourse was pleasing to him, but that of Christ and faith. In this frame Mr. Flavel found him in the evening; he rejoiced greatly when he saw him come again, intreated him to continue his discourse upon those subjects, and told him, Sir, the Lord hath given me repentance for this and for all my other sins; I see the evil of them now, so as I never saw them before! O I lothe myself! I do also believe; Lord, help my unbelief: I am heartily willing to take Christ upon his own terms; but one thing troubles me, I doubt this bloody sin will not be pardoned: will Jesus Christ, said he, apply his blood to me, that have shed my own blood? Mr. Flavel told him, that the Lord Jesus shed his blood for them that with wicked hands had shed his own blood, which was a greater sin than the shedding of his; to which the wounded man replied, I will cast myself upon Christ, let him do what he will. In this condition Mr. Flavel left him that night. Next-morning his wounds were to be opened, and the chirurgeon's opinion was, that he would immediately expire; Mr. Flavel was again requested to give him a visit, which he did, found him in a very serious frame, and prayed with him. The wound in his stomach was afterwards opened, when the ventricle was so much swollen, that it came out at the orifice of the wound, and lay like a livid discoloured tripe upon his body, and was also cut through: every one thought it impossible for him to live; however the chirurgeon enlarged the orifice of the wound, fomented it, and wrought the ventricle again into his body, and stitching up the wound, left his patient to the disposal of Providence. It pleased God that he was cured of these dangerous wounds in his body; and, upon solid grounds of a rational charity, there was reason to believe that he was also cured of that more dangerous wound which sin had made in his soul. Mr. Flavel spent many hours with him during his sickness, and when the chirurgeon returned to Pool, after his recovery, Mr. Samuel Hardy that worthy minister there, thanked Mr. Flavel in a letter for the great pains he had taken with that young man, and congratulated his success, assuring him, that if ever a great and thorough work was wrought, it was upon that man.

The second instance is this: Mr. Flavel being in London in 1673, his old bookseller, Mr. Boulter, gave him this following relation, viz. That some time before, there came into his shop a sparkish gentleman to enquire for some play-books; Mr. Boulter told him he had none, but shewed him Mr. Flavel's little treatise *Of keeping the heart*, entreated him to read it, and assured him it would do him more good than play-books. The gentleman read the title, and glancing upon several pages here and there, broke out into these and such other expressions, 'What a damnable fanatick was he who made this book? Mr. Boulter begg'd of him to buy and read it, and told him he had no cause to censure it so bitterly; at last he bought it, but told him he would not read it. What will you do with it then, said Mr. Boulter? I will tear and burn it, said he, and send it to the devil: Mr. Boulter told him then, he should not have it; upon this the gentleman promised to read it, and Mr. Boulter told him, if he disliked it upon reading, he would return him his money. About a month after, the gentleman came to the shop again in a very modest habit, and with a serious countenance bespeaks Mr. Boulter thus: "Sir, I most heartily thank you for putting this book into my hands; I bless God that moved you to do it, it hath saved my soul; blessed be God that ever I came into your shop." And then he bought a hundred more of those books from him, told him he would give them to the poor, who could not buy them, and so left him, praising and admiring the goodness of God. Mr. Flavel died 1691<sup>a</sup>.

[ FROM CALAMY'S Life of BAXTER, Vol. i. ]

29. MR. RICHARD BAXTER. In 1650 he published his *Saints Everlasting Rest*. This is a book for which multitudes will have cause to bless God for ever. Among others Mr. Janeway was thereby converted<sup>b</sup>. In 1657, he published his *Call to the Unconverted*: a book blessed by God with marvellous success in reclaiming persons from their impieties. Six brothers were once converted by reading that book<sup>c</sup>. Twenty thousand of them were printed and dispersed in little more than a year. It was translated into French and Dutch, and other European languages: and Mr. Eliot translated it into the Indian language: and Mr. Mather, in Eliot's life, gives an account of an Indian prince, who was so affected with this book, that he sat reading it with tears in his eyes till he died, not suffering it to be taken from him. It was translated also into Welch<sup>d</sup>. A good man said of this book, that he thought it sufficient to persuade a man to any thing but to holiness<sup>e</sup>.

a See in his life a remarkable instance of the hearing of prayer in a storm at sea.

b See his life page 6.

c Dr. Bates' sermon, at Mr. Baxter's funeral.

d Since the year 1748, it has been translated into the language used in the Highlands of Scotland, and a considerable number of copies of it dispersed there: both at the expence of a gentleman in Ireland.

e What an affectionate preacher Mr. Baxter was, may be partly gathered from the

following passage in his sermon, on making light of Christ and salvation, quoted in PRINCE'S Christian History N<sup>o</sup> 29. "You know not what it is that you flight; had you well known, you could not have done it. As Christ said to the woman of Samaria, John iv. 10. "Hadst thou known who it is that speaketh to thee, thou wouldst have asked of him the waters of life:" had they known, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory, 1 Cor. ii. 8. "So, had you known what Christ is, you would not have

Many a time he was brought very low, while he was minister at Kederminster, so as to receive the sentence of death in himself, when his poor honest praying neighbours there met together, and upon their fasting and earnest prayers, he hath been recovered. Once when he had been very low for three weeks together, and was unable to go abroad, the very day that they prayed for him, he suddenly recovered, so as to be able to preach and administer the sacrament to them the next Lord's day. Another time, he had a tumour rose on one of the tendons of his throat, white and hard like a bone, above the hardness of any schyrrous tumour. He feared a cancer, and applied such remedies by the physicians advice as were thought fittest; but without alteration, for it remained hard as at first. At the end of a quarter of an year, he was under some concern that he had never praised God particularly for any of the deliverances he had formerly afforded him. And there-

made light of him?" Had you been one day in heaven, and but seen what they possess, and seen also what miserable souls must endure that are shut out, you would never fure have made so light of Christ again.

"Oh Sirs, They are no trifles or jelling matters that the gospel speaks of. I must needs profess to you that when I have the most serious thoughts of these things myself, I am ready to marvel that such amazing matters do not overwhelm the souls of men: that the greatness of the subjects doth not so overmatch our understandings and affections, as even to drive men beside themselves, but that God hath always somewhat allayed it by the distance; much more that men should be blockish as to make light of them. Oh Lord! that men did but know what everlasting glory, and everlasting torments are; would they then hear us as they do? would they read and think of these things as they do? I profess I have been ready to wonder, when I have heard such weighty things delivered, how people can forbear crying out in the congregation: much more, how they can rest till they have gone to their ministers, and learned what they should do. Oh that heaven and hell should work no more on men! Oh that everlastingness should work no more! O how can you forbear when you are alone to think with your selves what it is to be everlastingly in joy or in torment! I wonder that such thoughts do not break your sleep; and that they come not in your mind when you are about your labour! I wonder how you can almost do any thing else: how you can have any quietness in your minds: how you can eat or drink, or rest till you have got some ground of everlasting consolations! Is that a man or a corps that is not affected with matters of this moment? that can be readier to sleep, than to tremble, when he heareth how he must stand at the bar of

God? Is that a man or a clod of clay, that can rise and lie down without being deeply affected with his everlasting estate? that can follow his worldly business, and make nothing of the great business of salvation or damnation; and that, when they know it is hard at hand? Truly Sirs, when I think of the weight of the matter, I wonder at the very best of God's saints upon earth, that they are no better, and do no more in so weighty a case. I wonder at those whom the world accounteth more holy than needs, and scorns for making too much ado, that they can put off Christ and their souls with so little: that they pour not out their souls in every supplication: that they are not more taken up with God; that their thoughts be not more serious in preparation of their accounts. I wonder that they be not an hundred times more strict in their lives, and more laborious and unwearied in striving for the crown than they are. And for my self as I am ashamed of my dull and careless heart, and of my slow and unprofitable course of life; so, the Lord knows, I am ashamed of every sermon I preach: when I think what I have been speaking of, and who sent me, and that men's salvation or damnation is so much concerned in it, I am ready to tremble, lest God should judge me as a slihter of his truths and the souls of men, and lest in the best sermon I should be guilty of their blood. Methinks we should not speak a word to men in matters of such consequence, without tears, or the greatest earnestness that possibly we can: were not we too much guilty of the sin which we reprove, it would be so. Whether we are alone, or in company, methinks our end, and such an end, should still be in our mind, and as before our eyes; and we should sooner forget any thing, and set light by any thing, or by all things, than by this.

upon as he was speaking of God's confirming our belief of his word, by his fulfilling his promises, and hearing prayers (as it is published in the second part of his *Saints Rest*) he annexed some thankful mention of his own experiences, and suddenly the tumour vanished leaving no sign where it had been remaining: tho' he neither swallowed it down, nor spit it out, nor could ever tell what became of it. Another time being in danger of an aegilops, he had also sudden relief by their prayers. God marvellously honoured his praying neighbours at Kederminster, by hearing their prayers in other instances. One Mistress Giles had a son of about fourteen or fifteen, who upon the removal of a fever fell into a violent epilepsy; and had four or five violent fits in a day, in which they were forced to hold a key between his teeth, to save his tongue. The physicians used all ordinary means for a long time, in vain, but at last the people of the town, at her request, kept a day of fasting and prayer at her house; and the second day, he was suddenly cured, and never had a fit afterwards. One Mr. Cook, removing from Kinvar to Kederminster, and meeting with difficulties in his concerns, fell into melancholy, which afterwards turned to madness. He continued in it several years; the best means that could be, being used to little purpose. Some were for setting upon fasting and prayer on his account; but Mr. Baxter discouraged it, having no hope of cure, his distemper being natural or hereditary to him; his father, having much about his age fallen mad before him, and never recovered. When he had continued in this condition about ten or twelve years, some would not be dissuaded, but fasted and prayed at his house with great importunity; and continued it once a fortnight, for several months: at length he sensibly mended, and by degrees finely recovered.

In the whole course of his life, Mr. Baxter had scarce a friend whom he more valued and respected, and by whom he was more beloved, than that noted citizen Henry Ashhurst Esq; commonly called alderman Ashhurst, who was the most exemplary person for eminent sobriety, self-denial, piety and charity, that London could glory of. He was a Christian of the primitive stamp, and did good to all as he was able, especially needy ministers: to whom in Lancashire alone, he allowed an hundred pounds a year. He left behind him the perfume of a most honoured name, and the memorials of a most exemplary life, to be imitated by all his descendants. His true character may be seen in his funeral sermon preached by Mr. Baxter. Mr. Baxter himself died in 1691<sup>a</sup>.

a This year 1691 died Mr. Thomas Brand, born at Leaden Roothing in Essex. Meeting a poor man, that was wont to attend his lectures, but had for some time absented, he enquired of him, the reason. The poor man replied, it was not for want of good will, but for that he could not spare the time; his whole week-days yearnings hardly supplying the necessities of his family. Mr. Brand told him, that rather than his soul should suffer, he would allow

him six-pence a week, which the man acknowledged was more than he could earn in the time omitted from his employment. This man had at last let his allowance run into a longer arrear than ordinary; which Mr. Brand questioning him about, he thanked him for his last supply, acknowledging he now found God so to bless his labours, that he had no further necessity of that aid.

[ FROM CALAMY'S *Life of BAXTER*, Vol. ii. ]

30. MR. TIMOTHY BATT. He was a native of Somerset. His delight was in his master's work, in which he continued as he had opportunity, till within a few months of his death; tho' he was blind for two years and more. And God owned him even in his latter years: one instance of it (not unworthy to remark) has been given me, by one whose account may be depended on. He used to preach once in five or six weeks, at a place near Columpton in Devonshire. A profane and lewd young man came thither one Lord's day to hear him, on purpose to scoff at, and make a jest of what he said. But it pleased God to meet with him, and make that sermon of Mr. Batt's, which was upon that saying of the wise man, that fools make a mock at sin, the means of his conversion, and he became thenceforward a serious Christian. He died in 1692, with those words in his mouth, 2 Tim. iv. 7, 8.

31. MR. JONATHAN WILLS. He was the son of a pious old puritan, Mr. John Wills Rector of Morvall near Loo. That old gentleman was an eminent instance of devotion, and of the success of his prayers, and endeavours for the conversion of his people, and children, which led him to break out in a transport of joy upon his death-bed: "The blessing (said he) of my father hath prevailed above the blessings of my progenitors. Of my ten children, nine have a work of grace, I hope: and for my youngest son, I die in the faith of a plentiful harvest; he shall be converted also, after my decease." There was great reason to hope this prov'd true of his youngest son afterwards, who was a worthy conformist minister. His eldest son was this Mr. Jonathan Wills, whose conversion in his father's life-time was also very remarkable. He had been wild and extravagant, and had committed some offence, for which he was forced to fly from the king's army. His father had prevailed with several ministers, then at Plymouth, and other good people, to spend a day in prayer, in behalf of this prodigal son. While they were in this exercise, his son flies thither, and finds them together, actually praying for him. As soon as they had done, he dissolved into tears, and falling on his knees, begs his father's pardon; and from that day proved eminently serious. After the wars he went to Exeter-college in Oxon, where he, in a little time, obtained a fellowship; and was at length presented to this living, where he was a diligent and successful preacher. He died 1695.

32. MR. SAMUEL SHAW<sup>a</sup>. He was born of religious parents, at Repton in Derbyshire, in the year 1635; and educated at the free school there, then the best in those parts of England. At fourteen years of age he left that place, and went to St. John's-college in Cambridge. When he had compleated his studies there, he removed to Tamworth in Warwickshire, and was master of the free school there in 1656.

From Tamworth he removed to Mosely, a small place in the borders of Worcestershire, at the desire of colonel Greavis of that place, who had a singular esteem and affection for him. At his coming thither, he was ordained; and in 1658 he obtained a presentation to the rectory of Long-Whaddon, worth one hundred and fifty pounds a-year. In

<sup>a</sup> See Extracts from his works, in vol. twenty fifth of WESLEY'S Christian Library.

June this year, he had full and peaceable possession of this place, and continued so to have, 'till the restoration of king Charles, in 1660. After this he never had any public living, for he could not satisfy himself to conform. When he left Long-Whatton, he removed to Cotes, a small village near Loughborough in the same county. During his stay there, his family was afflicted with the plague, being infected by some relations from London, who came from thence to avoid it: it was about harvest 1665. At that time he preached in his family, and afterwards published that excellent book, called, *The welcome to the plague*. He buried two children, two friends, and one servant, of that distemper: but he and his wife, who both had it, escaped; and, not being ill both at once, looked after one another, and the rest of the family; which was a great mercy: for none durst come to his assistance; but he was in a manner shut up for about three months together. He was forced to attend his sick, and bury his dead himself in his own garden.

Towards the latter end of the year 1666, he removed to Ashby-de-la-Zouch, in the same county, where he was chosen school-master of the free school there, in 1668. The revenue was then but small, and the school-buildings quite out of repair, and the number of scholars few. But by his diligence he soon got the salary augmented, not only for himself, but all succeeding school-masters; and by his interest among gentlemen, all attached to him, on account of his merit, he collected money for the building of a good school, and a school-house, and a gallery for the use of the scholars in the church. He had another difficulty however to contest with in this matter, which was, how to get a licence, without subscription to such things as his conscience did not allow of. But he was brought thro' that also; for, by the lord Conway, he obtained from the archbishop of Canterbury a licence to teach school any where in his whole province: and this without so much as once seeing or waiting upon the archbishop. And needing also a licence from the bishop of the diocese, he got a friend to make his application to Dr. Fuller, then bishop of Lincoln, who put his late book, occasioned by the plague in his family, into his hands. The bishop was so pleased with his piety, peaceableness, humility, and learning, there displayed, that he gave him a licence upon such a subscription as his own sense dictated and inserted; and added, "That he was glad to have so worthy a man in his diocese, upon any terms."

His piety, learning, and temper, soon raised the reputation of his school, and the number of his scholars above any in those parts; so that he always kept one, and for a great while two ushers to assist him; having often an hundred and sixty boys, or more, under his charge. His house and the town were continually full of boarders from London, and other distant parts of the kingdom.

Here he did excellent service in educating youth. Several divines of the church of England, and many gentlemen, eminent in their several professions, were his scholars. He endeavoured to make the youth, that were under his care, in love with piety, and to principle them betimes, by his good advice, and allure them by his good example. Afterwards, when the dissenting ministers were allowed a toleration, and liberty to



preach, confirmed by act of parliament, he licensed his school for a place of religious worship; and the first time he used it, preached from Acts xix. 9. "Disputing daily in the school of one Tyrannus." Here he continued to his death. His conversation was enlivened with a thorough insight into the several branches of polite learning, especially poetry and history. But his greatest excellence was in religious discourse, in his rational and pious sentiments, both in his sermons and his prayers.

In the place where he lived, he was universally esteemed, being frequently employed in reconciling differences; was universal in his charity; had a public and generous spirit, ready to encourage any good design; much given to hospitality; of a peaceable disposition, and moderate in his principles. In short, a mixture of so much learning and modesty, wit and judgment, piety and pleasantness, are rarely found together, as met in him. And he lived beloved, and died lamented, by all that had the happiness of his acquaintance. He died 1696<sup>1</sup>.

33. DR. SAMUEL ANNESLY. He was a sincere godly humble man: an Israelite indeed. One that may be said to be sanctified from the womb; in as much as he was so early under serious impressions. A little after his first entrance on the ministry, he was fixed at Clif in Kent, in the room of an ejected minister, whose life and conversation was notoriously scandalous: the rude and ignorant people were upon this account extremely fond of him, and prejudiced against his successor, whom they assaulted not long after his coming among them, with spits, forks, and stones; threatening him with death: but God steeled him with such courage, that he told them, "Let them use him how they would, he was resolved to continue with them, 'till God had fitted them by his ministry to entertain a better who should succeed him; but yet solemnly declared, that when they became so prepared, he would leave the place." In a few years the people were greatly reformed, and his labours had marvellous success; and, to keep his word, he left them, left any seeming lightness of his might prove a scandal to his young converts. And the four hundred pound-a-year, which he had there coming in was no temptation to him. When he came to the city, he had two of the

a Calamy in his life of Baxter, vol. ii. says of SHAW: "His greatest excellency was in religious discourse, in praying, and preaching. I cannot forbear here adding the words of one that knew him well: I have known him (says he) spend part of many days and nights too in religious exercises, when the times were so dangerous, that it would hazard an imprisonment (not to be drunk, or be in a bawdy house, or tavern, but) to be worshipping God with five or six people, like-minded with himself. I have sometimes been in his company for a whole night together, when we have been fain to sit to the place in the dark, put out the light, and keep in the voice, by cloathing and fast closing the windows, 'till the first day-break down a chimney has given us notice to be gone, I bless God for such seasons. If some

say it was needless to do so much, I reply, The care of our souls, and eternity, which only was minded there, requires more: I say, I bless God for the remembrance of them, and for Mr. Shaw at them, whose melting words at prayer, I can never forget. He had a most excellent faculty in speaking to God with reverence, humility, and an holy awe of his presence, filling his mouth with arguments: by his strength he had power with God; he wept and made supplication; he found him in Bethel (such were our assemblies) and there he spake with us. I have heard him for three or four hours together pour out prayer to God, without vain repetition, with that vigour and fervour, and those holy words that imported faith and humble boldness, as has dissolved the whole company into tears."

largest auditories to preach to; which were St. Paul's where he was lecturer, and Cripplegate where he was rector<sup>a</sup>. He had a large soul, and flaming zeal, and his usefulness was very extensive. He had the care of all the churches upon him; and was the chief (oft the sole) instrument in the education and subsistence of several ministers<sup>b</sup>, whose useful labours the church had otherwise wanted. He was the main support of the morning lecture, for which so many have cause to be thankful to God, and after the death of old Mr. Case, he took the care of it upon himself. Of all gifts, salary and incomes, he always laid aside the tenths for charity, even before any part was spent; and by this means had a fund always at hand, for charitable uses; besides, what others furnished him with for the same purposes, to whom he was a faithful almoner. His nonconformity created him troubles; but no inward uneasiness. God often remarkably appeared for him; one died signing a warrant to apprehend him. He never feared any of his enemies, or their utmost malice; and nothing that he met with from men, abated his cheerfulness. He had uninterrupted peace in his spirit, and assurance of God's covenant love for the last thirty years of his life<sup>c</sup>; for several years indeed before that, he walked in darkness, and was disconsolate; which is no unusual thing with such as are converted in their childhood, whose change being not so remarkable as that of many others, is therefore the more liable to be questioned: but in his last sickness he was full of comfort. And in seventeen weeks pain (which might well be supposed peculiarly troublesome to one, that had had such an uninterrupted course of health and ease, throughout his whole life) he never discovered the least discontent. At length he cheerfully resigned his soul to God, in the 77th year of his age. His funeral sermon was preached by Dr. Daniel Williams, who hath added an account of his life and character. He died 1696<sup>d</sup>.

34. Mr. GILES FIRMIN. He was a native of Suffolk, educated at Cambridge, under the tuition of Dr. Hill. He at first applied himself to the study of physick, and practised it afterwards several years in New-England, whither he retired with several pious persons, who in those days left their native country, that they might have liberty of acting according to the light of their consciences. Returning into England a-

<sup>a</sup> Dr. Annesly was Mr. Wesley's grandfather. When the plague raged in London, he sent his family into the country and staid himself in town, and preached constantly in the churches all the time of that great mortality, God being pleased to spare his life when many were visited as they were hearing him, and were carried out dead, or dying.

<sup>b</sup> He took great care of the widows and children of the dissenting clergy who were left in distress. He used to maintain them and put them to school, until they were old enough to go apprentice, and then bound them to trades, at his own expence. When any of his friends endeavoured to dissuade him from that practice, on account of charge

and his own numerous family, his common answer was that "Then he was laying up portions for his children;" nor did the event contradict his expectation.

<sup>c</sup> I am well informed the author might have said forty or fifty.

<sup>d</sup> When he felt death approach he ordered all his children (at home) to stand round his bed, and fixing his eyes stedfastly on them, one after another, he prayed for every one singly, a considerable time, as they judged by the moving of his lips, and when he had finished, said, "Come Lord Jesus! come quickly! the nearer the sweeter!" and expired. See more of him in chap. 6. of this book.

about the latter end of the civil wars, he suffered shipwreck on the coast of Spain. At that very time when he was in extreme danger of being drowned, a little child of his about four years old, then with her mother, and the rest of the family in New-England, lay crying out by times, all night, my father, my father; and could not be satisfied, which moved them to pray heartily for his safety. This passage being well attested, is related because of its peculiarity. He did most excel in practical divinity, especially in that part of it, which directs a sinner how to get his peace made with God, and how to judge of his estate: of which his excellent book called the *Real Christian*, will be a sufficient proof, in the judgment of such, as in earnest seek the salvation of their souls. Tho' he was one of eminent holiness and zeal for God's glory, and most sincere and plain-hearted in the whole course of his conversation, yet he was exercised with various temptations, and was in very perplexing fears, as to his spiritualestate; which had this effect upon him, that they made him very humble and meek, (tho' naturally a man of a very great spirit) and careful in his preaching and writing, as not to encourage hypocrites, or embolden any in sin, so neither to create any causeless trouble, to truly gracious persons. And herein lay much of his excellence. In his life he had much spiritual trouble; but in his death he had much comfort. Then he told those about him, how he had been converted when he was a school-boy, by Mr. John Rogers of Dedham. He went late on a lecture-day, and crowded to get in: Mr. Rogers taking notice of his earnestness, with a youth or two more, for room, with his usual freedom cried out. "Here are some young ones come for a Christ: will nothing serve you but you must have a Christ? then you shall have him," &c. which sermon made such an impression upon him, that he thence dated his conversion. He died 1697<sup>a</sup>.

35. MR. HUGH OWEN. He was born in Merionethshire in North-Wales. He was a candidate for the ministry, when the Bartholomew act came forth. And not long after he fixed in his native country, and lived upon a little estate of his own there, and preached the gospel to the poor ignorant people, without taking any thing of them. His preaching was affectionate and moving, and many were wrought upon by it. He was a burning and shining light in an obscure corner of the world. He went about preaching the gospel of salvation, through that and the neighbouring county of Montgomery, and sometimes stept into Carnarvanthire, and other parts. He had five or six places where he used to preach in Merionethshire, and some of them twenty miles distant from him. He had near as many in Montgomeryshire, of which some were about thirty miles from his habitation. He performed his circuit in about three months time, and then began again. Great numbers of people attended his ministry, and were much affected with it. He laboured indefatigably, and much impaired his health, by riding often in the night, and cold rains, over the mountains.

<sup>a</sup> The year after (1698) died Mr. John Weeks minister of a congregation in Bristol. He was a most fervent expositor with sinners. With what life and warmth, would

he utter these words, "I beseech you by the bowels of Jesus Christ, hear a poor dying worm, upon the account of your immortal souls."

His principal food was milk, to which he had used himself by lodging in poor houses, where they had no malt-drink, and only beds of straw to ly upon. He was a primitive apostolical Christian, eminently meek and humble; and would often stile himself less than the least of all the ministers of Jesus Christ. He would say he envied no man's gifts, but desired faithfully to improve his own little talent for the service of his Lord. He was tender of grieving any person, and tho' strict in his own person, was yet candid and charitable towards those who differed from him. He would often say, that he valued no man for his opinion, or his adherence to this or that party, but for what he saw of the grace of God in him. His unblemished conversation, and inoffensive deportment, procured him the esteem of the gentlemen of the country, to several of whom he was nearly allied. One time, going to preach in a frosty snowy season, he was benighted on the hills, and a sudden storm arose, and drove the snow so violently in his face, that the horse could not go forward. He let him move as he would, until he found himself in danger of the bogs, and that it was not safe riding further. After he had committed himself unto God by prayer, he left his horse to shift for himself, and walked in his boots in a deep snow, till it was midnight; and he was so spent, and so near starved with cold, that he despaired of life; but it pleased God, he, in a little time, unexpectedly, came to a cow-house, which was at a distance from the dwelling-house of the owners, as is usual in that country. When he got to the door, he found it barred within; so that he could not enter. He scrambled about the house for above an hour, attempting to get in, but to no purpose. At length, when all hopes were gone, he discovered a hole at one end, that opened to an hay-loft, which he got into with much difficulty, and so lay between the cattle until morning. When it was day, he crept out of his brutish lodging, and discovered a house near, at which he knocked; the master of the house arose, and opened the door, and found his hair and beard frozen, his hands benumbed, his clothes stiff with frost and snow, and himself scarce able to speak. He made a good fire for him, gave him hot milk, and put him into a warm bed, where he lay some hours; and then got up so well refreshed, that he went that morning to the meeting place, and preached without any sensible prejudice. All that knew him, own him to have been an Israelite indeed, without guile. He died 1699, aged 62.

36. MR. JOHN FAIRFAX. He was minister at Barking in Suffolk. He stately preached seven times in a fortnight for many years together, besides occasional sermons, which were not few. He often ventured into the pulpit, when many of his hearers could scarce expect him alive out of it; and he ordinarily found relief by it, as to his bodily disorder; and therefore called preaching his remedy. He was much delighted in his work; tho' he made it his business, yet it was his pleasure to preach the gospel: yea, so much was his heart set upon this work, that he was actually preaching to his family and friends about him, when a-dying, till his speech began to falter. He was the happy instrument of converting many souls. He died 1700.

37. MR. WILLIAM BAGSHAW. He was minister at Glossop in

Derbyshire. He published *De Spiritualibus Peccis*, notes or notices concerning the work of God, and some that have been workers together with God in the High-Peak 1702. It is an amazing thing to consider the work that this good man went through. He preached often every week, and sometimes every day in the week. After which he usually sat up late in his closet, and yet was an early riser. He usually spent an hour in secret wrestling with God in the morning, while the rest of the family were in bed. He spent much time in writing books for particular persons of his congregation, suitable to their circumstances, which he gave them, hoping they would be of use to them when he was dead. Besides which he left behind him fifty volumes, some in folio, and many in quarto, written fair with his own hand, on several subjects. At the end of every year, he usually repeated to his people the substance of his sermons he had preached on all the Lord's days in the year: and, in the beginning of the new year, he went to the houses of his hearers, and preached a suitable sermon in each. He once parted with his right, of a considerable value, to his brother, because he would not contend with him. He was the chief instrument in gathering the congregations at Ashford, Malcoffe, Middleton, Bradwall, Chalmarton, and Hucklow, besides lectures that he began in several places that are still kept up. He died 1702<sup>a</sup>.

38. MR. JOHN HOW. He was born May 17, 1630, at Loughborough in Leicester-shire, where his father was minister; whom the severities at that time used against the puritans, compelled to remove into Ireland, taking this son (who was then very young) with him. During their stay there, the rebellion broke out, by which they were exposed to very threatening danger, that place being for several weeks besieged and assaulted by the rebels, but without success. A very special providence on this occasion did guard that life, which was afterwards made very serviceable. During the civil war he returned to England, where he passed thro' his school education in Lancashire. He was early sent to Christ college in Cambridge, after which he removed to Oxford. His great attainments in learning, joined with exemplary piety, so recommended him, that he was duly elected fellow of Magdalen-College; of which famous society, he was a bright ornament; and by unusual application furnished himself with a large fund of rational and theological learning, in both which he had very few equals. Being by an unexpected conduct of providence called to Torrington, tho' he was very young, he worthily filled the ministerial station, in which his labours were blessed with an uncommon success. It was with great reluctance that he was prevailed on to exercise his ministry in the protector's court, which station he never abused, either to enrich himself, or do any ill offices to others, tho' of known differing sentiments. He readily embraced every occasion of serving the interest of religion and learning, opposing the errors and designs which at that time threatened both. Among many instances of his excellent and generous temper,

<sup>a</sup> Some years after died Mr. Richard Hilton at Walsal. He had drawn up a covenant between God and his own soul, which

it was his custom to read over seriously every Lord's-day morning, to quicken him in his work.

his seasonable service to Dr. Seth Ward (afterwards bishop of Sarum) was an evidence of his zeal for the interest of learning, and those who were eminent in it. This character (which he always retained) gained him the friendship of the great Dr. Wilkins, and several others, who were great supports of real piety and goodness in those times. Some years after Bartholomew day 1662 (when from a principle of undissembled conscience, he laid down his public station) being invited by the lord Massacrene, he removed his family into Ireland, in the parish of Antrim; where his great learning, and Christian temper, procured him the particular friendship of the bishop, who (together with his metropolitan, without demanding any conformity) gave him liberty of preaching in the church of Antrim; where he approved his truly peaceable and Christian spirit, both in his preaching and conversation. By his two useful books, of *delighting in God*, and *the living Temple*, which he published at this time,<sup>a</sup> it plainly appears, how his holy mind was little disposed to contend about lesser differences, which some are wholly taken up with; but most intent to advance solid and vital religion in the world. After his return to London, he peaceably used the indulgence granted in the reign of Charles II. And when that was changed into a violent severity, he silently withdrew into Germany first, and after to Utrecht, where he greatly assisted, both the learned studies, and the piety of his countrymen; and was not only respected by them, but greatly valued by others who knew him. There the late king William (then prince of Orange) did admit him to frequent converse, and always after continued to have a particular respect to him. Many others of eminent character (some of them reverend prelates) might be mentioned, who cultivated a friendship with him, which he always improved for the purposes which are proper to an unfeigned lover of men, whose best advantages he always endeavoured to promote. And having employed his time and strength in most valuable services, being wasted by several diseases (which he always bore with joyful patience) he finished his course with joy, April 2 1705.

[ FROM PRINCE'S Christian History, No 28. ]

39. MR. SAMUEL POMFRET. Mr. Thomas Reynolds, who writes his life, says: 'The Lord did not suffer this his faithful servant to labour in vain, or spend his strength for nought. He had a wide door of service opened unto him. His audience at home was always numerous. When he preached abroad, whether in city or country, if it was known, multitudes would flock to hear him: and they are few whose ministry was attended with more remarkable success than his was. I am assured it would be endless to enumerate all the particulars. However I shall conclude this short account of his life, with relating some instances of the great success, which God gave to his unwearied labours. In conversion work he seemed to be honoured above most; and the words of Mr. Baxter were verified concerning him, who, discoursing with a

<sup>a</sup> See a catalogue of his works in Calamy vol. ii. page 236. There is also a small vol. of his sermons published on the duty of fa-

mily religion, which he (in concert with some other ministers I think) endeavoured to promote in London.

friend about his zeal, and courage, and pains, delivered it as his opinion, "That God would own him, and such as he was, more than others who excelled them in reputation as judicious preachers."

'He had a marvellous way of striking the consciences of sinners. Few could attend his ministry without strong convictions and awakenings. Multitudes of young people were greatly affected by him. The reverend Mr. Joseph Kentish, my old friend and acquaintance, who preached for some time in London with great acceptance, and was afterwards pastor at Bristol to as great a congregation, as any in England, told me many years ago when a young man, That he received the first impressions of his seriousness under his ministry, and that he knew of many others who had done the like. He would set before sinners the terrors of the Lord in such a manner as if hell-fire were flashing in their faces, and has pressed things so home upon the conscience, that some have not been able to contain themselves, but have cried out in the midst of the congregation, even whilst he hath been preaching, "I am the man, guilty! guilty! What shall I do to be saved! For the Lord's sake pray for me?" They have been convinced before all, have taken public shame to themselves, and in the after course of their lives have given proofs of a sound conversion. Of these I am assured there are now some instances living. Mr. Pomfret died 1722.'

[ From CALAMY'S Life of BAXTER, Vol. ii. ]

40. MR. SAMUEL HARDY. He was minister of Charmister, near Dorchester. The little book, supposed to be his, called, *THE GUIDE TO HEAVEN*, was written and published in haste; yet I don't know whether any one book has been oftner printed, or done more good, than that little homely book.

41. MR. EDWARD PEARSE. He was a most affectionate and useful preacher, but died at about forty years of age. He lay for some time in a consumption; and finding himself going off the stage, when he had done little comparatively of that service which his heart was so warmly inclined to, he made it the matter of hearty prayer to God, that something of his might be useful after his decease; which prayer was remarkably answered in the signal success of his little book, which he styled *THE GREAT CONCERN, OR PREPARATION FOR DEATH*; which book hath been printed one-and-twenty times. He hath also another tract extant, styled, *THE BEST MATCH, OR THE SOUL'S ESPOUSAL TO CHRIST*, in twelves. And a third, styled, *BEAMS OF DIVINE GLORY, OR GOD'S UNCHANGEABLENESS*, in twelves.

42. MR. THOMAS BROOKS. He was a very affecting preacher, and useful to many. And though he used many homely phrases, and sometimes too familiar resemblances, which to nice critics appear ridiculous; yet he did more good to souls than many of the exactest composers. He published many books; that of *HOLINESS* is the most considerable.

## C H A P. II.

*A short Account of several Ministers remarkable for their Zeal and Diligence in the Work of the Gospel in Scotland. With some Hints of the religious Concern in the West of Scotland about the Years 1625, 1630, 1638, and in Ireland about the Year 1628.*

[ INTRODUCTION. From the Fulfilling of the Scriptures, page 188, Folio. ]

**I**T is known what extraordinary instruments, how wonderfully called and qualified, Luther, Zuinglius, Calvin, Wishart, and Knox were, whom God sent in these latter days to grapple with Antichrist, and found a retreat to his church from Babylon; likewise Melancton, Bucer, Beza, Martyr, with divers in England; such as Latimer, Ridley, Bradford, &c. who indeed were burning and shining lights in their time, mighty in the scriptures, fervent in spirit, were clothed with the power and authority of God, before which the world could not stand. But, beside these famous witnesses, of whose life we have something this day on public record, I must crave liberty to set down a few more late instances of our own church in Scotland, to confirm this truth, such as are but little known to the world, nor any thing of their lives published<sup>a</sup>, which I think a great loss to after-generations; of whom we may say, and this with a warrant, and in sobriety, that they were men truly extraordinary, eminently serviceable in the work of the Lord.

## SECTION I.

*Of Mr. JOHN WELCH, Minister at Air, who died about 1622<sup>b</sup>.*

[ From his Life. ]

**MR. JOHN WELCH.** He was son to the laird of Colliestoun, in the shire of Nithisdale, and was born about the year 1570. He was a

<sup>a</sup> Some few of their lives are since published.

<sup>b</sup> In Clark's Lives, I find the following account of one Mr. William Cooper, who died before Mr. Welch: "He was born in Scotland, and studied at St. Andrews. Being twenty years old, he was sent by the authority of the general assembly, which then was met at Edinburgh, to be the pastor at Bothkenner in Stirlingshire; but when he came thither, he found in the church, besides ruinous walls, neither roof, nor doors, nor windows; yet it pleased God to give such a blessing to his ministry, that within half a year, the parishioners, of their own accord, built and adorned the church in as good a quality as any round about it. There he continued seven or eight years, yet subject to great bodily infirmities, by reason of the wetness of the soil, and moistness of the air; and in that time did God begin to acquaint

him with his terrors, and with inward temptations, so that his life was almost wasted with heaviness; yet thereby he learned more and more to know Christ Jesus. About that time there was a general assembly of the church at Perth, unto which some that lived in the North of Scotland, sent to desire that a minister might be sent unto them; whereupon the assembly appointed Mr. Cowper for that place; and accordingly wrote to him by Mr. Patrick Simpson, who coming to Stirling, delivered to him the letters from the assembly, and those from the town, containing his calling to the work of the ministry in that place: and so, shortly after, the town sent their commissioners to transport him and his family thither. In that place he continued, doing the work of the Lord for nineteen years together, where he was a comfort to the best, and a wound to the worse sort. Besides the sabbath-days,



rich example of grace and mercy; but the night went before the day, being a most hopeless extravagant boy; it was not enough to him, frequently to run away from the school, but after he had past his grammar, he left his father's house, and went and joined himself to the thieves on the borders, who lived by robbing the two nations; and amongst them he stayed till he spent a suit of cloathes. Then, when he was clothed only with rags, the prodigal's misery brought him to the prodigal's resolutions, he resolved to return to his father's house; but durst not adventure, till he should interpose a reconciler; so in his return homeward, he took Dumfries in his way, where he had a friend, one Agnes Forsyth, and with her he diverted some days, earnestly entreating her to reconcile him to his father. While he lurked in her house, his father came providentially to the house to salute his cousin, Mrs. Forsyth; and after they had talked a while, she asked him, Whether ever he heard any news of his son John? He replied with great grief, O how can you name his name to me! the first news I expect to hear of him, is, that he is hanged for a thief. She answered, many a profligate boy has become a virtuous man, and comforted him. He insisted upon his sad complaint, but asked, Whether she knew his lost son was yet alive? She answered, Yes, he was; and she hoped he would prove a better man than he was a boy; and with that she called upon him to his father; he came weeping, and kneeled, beseeching his father, for Christ's sake, to pardon his misbehaviour, and deeply engaged

he chose thrice a week to convene the people together in the evenings, viz. Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays, for preparations to the Sabbath; upon which days they had no preaching in the morning; concerning which meetings himself writes, "That it would have done a Christian's heart good to have seen those glorious and joyful assemblies, to have heard the zealous cryings to God amongst that people, with sighings and tears, and melting hearts, and mourning eyes." And concerning himself, he saith, "My witness is in heaven, that the love of Jesus and his people made continual preaching my pleasure; and I had no such joy as in doing his work." And besides that he preached five times a week, he penned also whatsoever he preached; many of which holy and godly sermons are extant in print. All the time of his abode there (except some little intermissions and breathing times) the Lord still exercised him with inward temptations, and great variety of spiritual combats, the end of all which (through God's mercy) was joy unspeakable, as himself testifies; "Yea once (saith he) in greatest extremity of horror, and anguish of spirit, when I had utterly given over, and looked for nothing but confusion, suddenly there did shine, in the very twinkling of an eye, the bright and lightsome countenance of God proclaiming peace, and confirming it with invincible reasons; O what a change

was there in a moment! The silly soul that was even now at the brink of the pit, looking for nothing but to be swallowed up, was instantly raised up to heaven to have fellowship with God in Christ Jesus; and from this day forward my soul was never troubled with such extremity of terrors. This confirmation was given unto me on a Saturday in the morning: there found I the power of religion, the certainty of the word: there was I touched with such a lively sense of a Divinity, and power of a God-head, in mercy reconciled with man, and with me in Christ, as I trust my soul shall never forget; glory, glory, glory be to the joyful deliverer of my soul out of all adversities for ever." In the midst of these wrestlings with God he wanted not combats with wicked men also, but the greatness of his inward conflicts made him lightly regard all these outward contradictions, and to esteem them but as the bitings of a flea. It was no marvel to see Satan stir up his wicked instruments to molest him, for he professed himself a disquieter of him and his kingdom. Yet this much supported him, that he never had a controversy with them but for their sins: and the Lord assisting him, the power of the word did so hammer down their pride, that they were all of them at last brought to an acknowledgment of their evil ways. He died 1619.

to be a new man. His father reproached him, and threatened him; yet, at length, by the boy's tears, and Mrs. Forsyth's importunities, he was persuaded to a reconciliation. The boy entreated his father to put him to the college, and there to try his behaviour; and if ever thereafter he should break, he said he would be content his father should disclaim him for ever; so his father carried him home, and put him to the college, and there he became a diligent student of great expectation, and so he proceeded to the ministry. His first post in the ministry was at Selkirk, while he was yet very young, and the country rude. While he was there, his ministry was rather admired, than received by many; for he was always attended with the prophet's shadow, the hatred of the wicked. Yet it was thought his ministry in that place was not without fruit, though he stayed but a short time there. He boarded himself in the house of one Mitchel, and took a young boy of his to be his bed-fellow, who, to his dying-day, retained both a respect to Mr. Welch and his ministry, from the impressions Mr. Welch's behaviour made upon his apprehension, though but a child. His custom was, when he went to bed at night, to lay a Scots plaid above his bed-clothes, and when he went to his night prayers, to sit up and cover himself negligently therewith; and so to continue: for, from the beginning of his ministry to his death, he reckoned the day ill spent if he stayed not seven or eight hours in prayer; and this the boy could never forget even to hoary hairs.

I had once the curiosity travelling through the town to call for an old man who remembred Mr. Welch: he told me that his custom was to preach publicly once every day, and to spend his whole time in spiritual exercises, that some in that place waited well upon his ministry with great tenderness, but that he was constrained to leave that place, because of the malice of the wicked." Afterwards he accepted a call, to the ministry at Kirkcudbright, where he stayed not long, but yet he reaped a harvest of converts there which subsisted long after his departure, and were a part of Mr. Samuel Rutherford's flock; while he was minister at Anwoth: yet when a call to Air came to him, the people of the parish of Kirkcudbright, never offered to detain him, so his transportation to Air was the more easy. He was transported to Air in the year 1590, and there he continued till he was banished. He had a very hard beginning, but a very sweet end: for when he came first to the town, the country was so wicked, and the hatred of godliness so great, that there could not one in all the town be found who would set him a house to dwell in, so he was constrained to accommodate himself the best he might in a part of a gentleman's house for a time. The gentleman's name was John Stewart merchant, and sometimes provost of Air, an eminent Christian, and great assistant of Mr. Welch. And when he had first taken up his residence in that town, the place was divided into factions, and filled with bloody conflicts: a man could hardly walk the streets with safety; wherefore Mr. Welch made it his first undertaking to remove the bloody quarrelings, but he found it very difficult work: yet such was his earnestness to pursue his design, that many times he would rush between two parties of men fighting, even in the midst of

blood and wounds. He used to cover his head with a head-piece, before he went to separate these bloody enemies, but never used a sword, that they might see he came for peace and not for war, and so by little and little he made the town a peaceable habitation. His manner was after he had ended a skirmish, amongst his neighbours and reconciled these bitter enemies, to cause cover a table upon the street, and there brought the enemies together, and beginning with prayer, he persuaded them to profess themselves friends, and then to eat and drink together; then last of all he ended the work with singing a Psalm. For after the rude people began to observe his example and listen to his heavenly doctrine, he came quickly to that respect amongst them that he became not only a necessary counsellor, without whose counsel they would do nothing, but an example to imitate, and so he buried the bloody quarrels. He gave himself wholly to ministerial exercises; he preached once every day; he prayed the third of his time and was unwearied in his studies, for he was not only a man of great diligence, but also of a strong and robust natural constitution. But if his diligence was great, so it is doubted whether his sowing in painfulness or his harvest in success was greater, for if either his spiritual experiences in seeking the Lord, or his fruitfulness in converting souls be considered: they will be found unparalleled in Scotland. And many years after Mr. Welch's death, Mr. David Dickson, at that time a flourishing minister at Irvin, was frequently heard to say, when people talked to him of the success of his ministry, "That the gleanings in Air, in Mr. Welch's time, were far above the vintage of Irvine in his own." Mr. Welch's preaching was spiritual and searching; his utterance tender and moving. He did not much insist upon scholastic purposes. He made no shew of his learning. I heard once one of his hearers (who was afterwards minister at Muirkirk in Kyle) say that a man could hardly hear him without weeping, his conveyance was so affecting. There is a large volume of his sermons now in Scotland, but never any of them appeared in print. But his dispute with abbot Brown the Papist, was printed, wherein it appears that his learning was not behind his other virtues. And another piece called *Du Welch his Armagaddon*, printed I suppose in France, wherein he gives his meditations upon the enemies of the church, and their destruction.

Sometimes before he went to sermon, he would send for his elders, and tell them he was afraid to go to the pulpit, because he found himself sore deserted: and thereafter desire one or more of them to pray, and then would venture to the pulpit. But it was observed, this humbling exercise used ordinarily to be followed with a flame of extraordinary assistance; so near neighbours are many times contrary dispositions and frames. He would many times retire to the church of Air, which was at some distance from the town, and there spend the whole night in prayer; for he used to allow his affections full expressions, and prayed not only with an audible, but sometimes with a loud voice: nor was that solitude irksome to him all the night over. There was in Air, before he came to it, an aged man, a minister in the town, called Porterfield; he was judged no bad man for his personal inclinations, but

of so easy a disposition, that he used many times to go too great a length with his neighbours in several things; particularly he used to go to the bow-butts and archery on Sabbath afternoons, to Mr. Welch's great dissatisfaction. But the way he used to reclaim him was not bitter severity, but this gentle policy: Mr. Welch, together with John Stuart and Hugh Kennedy his two intimate friends, used to spend the Sabbath afternoon in religious conference and prayer, and to this exercise they invited Mr. Porterfield, which he could not refuse: by which means he was not only diverted from his former sinful practice, but likewise brought to be more watchful and edifying in the rest of his behaviour.

Mr. Welch married Elizabeth Knox daughter of the famous Mr. John Knox, minister at Edinburgh; and she lived with him from his youth 'till his death. By her I have heard that he had three sons; the first was a doctor of medicine, who was unhappily killed upon an innocent mistake in the Low-countrys, and of him I never heard more. Another son he had most lamentably lost at sea, for the ship in which he was being sunk, he swam to a rock in the sea, but starved there for want of necessary food and refreshment; and when some time afterward his body was found upon the rock, they found him dead in a praying posture, upon his bended knees, with his hands stretched out: and this was all the satisfaction his friends had upon his lamentable death. Another son he had who was heir to his father's graces and blessings, and this was Mr. Josias Welch, minister at Temple-Patrick in the North of Ireland. He was one of that blessed society of ministers, who were the instruments of that extraordinary work in the North of Ireland, about the year 1629; but was himself a man most sadly exercised with doubts about his own salvation all his time, and would ordinarily say, "That minister was much to be pitied, who was called to comfort weak saints, and had no comfort himself." He died in his youth, and left for his successor Mr. John Welch minister at Irongray in Galloway. But to return to our old Mr. Welch; as the duty wherein he abounded and excelled most was prayer, so his greatest attainments fell that way: he used to say, he wondered how a Christian could ly in a bed all night, and not rise to pray; and many times he rose, and many times he watched.

He continued to exercise his ministry in Air, till he, with several others of his brethren were imprisoned by king James VI. because they would not comply with his measures in ecclesiastical affairs. Afterwards Mr. Welch left Scotland November 1606, and went over into France, where, in a little time, by the Lord's blessing on his diligence, he was able to preach in the French language, and was speedily called to the ministry, first in one village, then in another; and afterwards was settled in St. Jean d'Angely, where he continued the rest of the time he sojourned in France, which was about sixteen years. There were many times persons of great quality in his auditory, before whom he was just as bold as ever he had been in a Scots village, which moved Mr. Boyd of Troch-Rig once to ask him (after he had preached before the university of Saumur, with such boldness and authority, as if he had been

before the meanest congregation) how he could be so confident among strangers and persons of such quality? to whom he answered, that he was so filled with the dread of God, he had no apprehension from man at all: and this answer (said Mr. Boyd) did not remove my admiration, but rather encrease it. While Mr. Welch was minister in one of these French villages, upon an evening, a certain Popish friar travelling through the country, because he could not find lodging in the whole village, addrest himself to Mr. Welch his house for one night: the servants acquainted their master, and he was content to receive this guest. The family had supped before he came, and so the servants conveyed the friar to his chamber, and after they had made his supper, they left him to his rest. There was but a timber partition betwixt him and Mr. Welch: after the friar had slept his first sleep, he was surprised at the hearing of a silent, but constant whispering noise, at which he wondered very much, and was not a little troubled with it. The next morning he walked in the fields, where he chanced to meet a countryman, who, saluting him because of his habit, asked him where he had lodged that night? the friar answered, he had lodged with the Huguenot minister: then the countryman asked him, what entertainment he had! the friar answered, very bad, for (said he) I always held there were devils haunting these ministers houses, and I am persuaded there was one with me this night; for I heard a continual whisper all the night over, which, I believe, was no other thing, than the minister and the devil conversing together. The countryman told him, he was much mistaken, and that it was nothing else but the minister at his night-prayers. O! said the friar does the minister pray any? yes, more than any man in France (answered the countryman) and if you please to stay another night with him, you may be satisfied. The friar got him home to Mr. Welch's house, and pretending indisposition, entreated another night's lodging, which was granted him. Before dinner, Mr. Welch came from his chamber, and made his family-exercise, according to his custom; first he sung a psalm, then read a portion of scripture, and discoursed upon it, thereafter he prayed with great fervour (as his custom was:) to all which, the friar was an astonished witness. After the exercise, they went to dinner, where the friar was very civilly entertained; Mr. Welch forbearing all question and dispute for that time. When the evening came, Mr. Welch made his exercise as he had done in the morning, which occasioned yet more wondering in the friar, and after supper to bed they all went; but the friar longed much to know what the night whisper was, and in that he was soon satisfied, for after Mr. Welch's first sleep, the noise began, and then the friar resolved to be sure what it was, so he crept silently to Mr. Welch's chamber door, and there he heard not only the sound, but the words exactly, and communications betwixt God and man, such as he knew not had been in the world. Upon this, the next morning as soon as Mr. Welch was ready, the friar went to him, and told him, that he had been in ignorance, and lived in darkness all his time; but now he was resolved to adventure his soul with Mr. Welch, and

thereupon declared himself Protestant. Mr. Welch welcomed him, and encouraged him, and he continued a Protestant to his dying day.

After Mr. Welch's flock was scattered in France, he obtained liberty to come to England, and his friends made hard suit that he might be permitted to return to Scotland, because the physicians declared there was no other way to preserve his life, but by the freedom he might have in his native air; but to this king James would never yield: so he languished in London a considerable time. Physicians said he had been poisoned. A languor he had, together with a great weakness in his knees, caused with his continual kneeling at prayer, by which it came to pass, that tho' he was able to move his knees, and to walk, yet he was wholly insensible in them, and the flesh became hard like a sort of horn. But when in the time of his weakness, he was desired to remit somewhat of his excessive painfulness, his answer was, He had his life of God, and therefore it should be spent for him." His friends importuned king James very much that if he might not return into Scotland, at least he might have liberty to preach at London, which king James would not grant, till Mr. Welch was now grown weak; yet as soon as ever he heard he might preach, he greedily embraced this liberty, and having access to a lecturer's pulpit, he went and preached both long and fervently, which was the last performance of his life, for after he had ended sermon, he returned to his chamber, and within two hours quietly and without pain, resigned his spirit into his Maker's hands, and was buried near Mr. Deering,<sup>a</sup> after he had lived little more than fifty two years<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> See Book II. chap. 3.

<sup>b</sup> While Mr. Welch was prisoner in the castle of Blackness, he wrote an excellent letter to a Christian friend, Jan. 6, 1666, in which he gives vent to his meditations in the following manner. "What is there under this old vault of heaven, and on this old worn earth, which is under the bondage of corruption? what is there I say that should make me desire to remain here? I expect that new heaven, and that new earth, wherein righteousness dwelleth, wherein I shall rest for evermore. I look to get entry into the New Jerusalem, at one of these twelve gates, whereupon are written the names of the twelve tribes of the children of Israel; I know that Christ Jesus hath prepared them for me, why may I not then, with boldness in his blood, step into that glory, where my head and Lord hath gone before me? Jesus Christ is the door and the porter, who then shall hold me out? will he let them perish for whom he died? will he let the poor sheep be plucked out of his hand, for whom he hath laid down his life? who shall condemn the man whom God hath justified? who shall lay any thing to the charge of the man for whom Christ hath died? or rather risen again? I know I have grievously transgressed, but where sin a-

bounded, grace will super-abound. I know my sins are red as scarlet and crimson, yet the red blood of Christ my Lord, can make them as white as snow. Whom have I in heaven but him? or whom desire I in the earth besides him? my soul panteth to be with thee; I will put my spirit into thy hands, and thou wilt not put me out of thy presence; I will come unto thee, for thou callest none away that comes unto thee. Thou comest to seek and to save that which was lost. Thou seeking me hast found me, and now being found by thee, I hope O Lord thou wilt not let me perish. I desire to be with thee, and do long for the fruition of thy blessed presence. I refuse not to die with thee, that I may live with thee. Shall not all things be pleasant to me, which may be the last step by which I may come unto thee. When shall I be satisfied with thy face? when shall I be drunk with thy pleasures? Come, Lord Jesus and tarry not. The Spirit says, come, the Bride says, come, Even so Lord Jesus come quickly and tarry not. Why should the multitude of my iniquities, or greatness of them affright me? Why should I faint in this my desire to be with thee? the greater sinner I have been, the greater glory will thy grace to me be unto all eternity. O when shall I see thy

## SECTION II.

*Of Mr. JOHN LIVINGSTON<sup>a</sup>, who writes the following short Memoirs of the other Ministers.*

I was born in Monyabroch in Stirlingshire, June 21 1603. The first period of my life, I reckon from my birth to the day I first preached in public, which was January 2 1625. I observed the Lord's great goodness, that I was born of such parents, who taught me somewhat of God so soon as I was capable to understand any thing; I had great cares about my salvation when I was but yet very young; I had the advantage of the acquaintance and example of many gracious Christians, who used to resort to my father's house, especially at communion-occasions: such as Mr. Robert Bruce, and several other godly ministers, the countess of Wigtoun, lady Lillias Graham, the lady Culrofs, the lady Bantone and sundry others. The while I was in Stirling, Mr. Patrick Simpson was minister there, a learned man, godly, and very faithful in the cause of God; and in Glasgow, I heard Mr. John Bell, a grave serious man, and Mr. Robert Scot, who also was once deposed for opposing the corruptions of the time.

I do not remember the time or means particularly, whereby the Lord at first wrought upon my heart. When I was but very young I would sometimes pray with some feeling, and read the word with delight; but thereafter did often intermit any such exercise; I would have some challenges and begin, and again intermit. I remember the first time that ever I communicated at the Lord's table was in Stirling, when I was at school, where sitting at the table, and Mr. Patrick Simpson exhorting before the distribution, there came such a trembling upon me that all my body shook, yet thereafter the fear and trembling departed, and I got some comfort and assurance. I had no inclination to the ministry, till a year or more after I had passed my course in the college, and that upon this occasion; I had a bent desire to give myself to the knowledge

face! how long wilt thou delay to be with me as a roe, or a young hart, leaping upon the mountains, and skipping upon the hills! because of the favour of thy good ointments, thy name is as ointment poured forth, therefore desire I to go out of this desert, and to come to the place where thou fillest at thy repast, and where thou makest thy flocks to rest at noon. When shall I be filled with his love? surely if a man knew how precious it were, he would count all things loss and dung to gain it. Truly I would long for that scaffold, or that ax, or that cord, that might be to me that last step of this my wearisome journey, to go to thee my Lord, Thou who knowest the meaning of the spirit, give answer to the speaking, sighing, and groaning of the spirit; thou who hast enflamed my heart to speak unto thee in this silent language of ardent and fervent desires,

Speak again unto my heart, and answer my desires, which thou hast made me speak to thee. All glory be unto my God. Angels, and saints, praise ye him, O thou earth, hills, and mountains be glad: you shall not be wearied any more with the burden of corruption, whereunto you have been subjected through the wickedness of mankind. Lift up your heads and be glad, for a fire shall make you clean from all your corruption and vanity wherewith many years you have been infected. Let the bride rejoice, let all the saints rejoice, for the day of the marriage with the bridegroom (even the Lamb of God) is at hand.

a Some passages of Mr. Livingston's life relating to the Kirk of Scots, and the work in Ireland, are left out of this extract, and inserted in Sections eighth and ninth of this Chapter.

and practice of medicine, and was very earnest to go to France for that purpose, and propounded it to my father, that I might obtain his consent, but he refused the same. Also about the same time, my father having before purchased some land in the parish of Monyabroch, the rights whereof were taken in my name, and that land by ill neighbours being in a manner laid waste, and Sir William Livingston of Kilsyth one of the lords of session, being very desirous to buy that land, that he might build a burgh of barony upon it at Burnside, my father propounded that I should go and dwell on that land and marry; but finding that that course would divert me from all study of learning, I refused that offer, and rather agreed to the selling of it, altho' I was not yet major to ratify the sale. Now being in these straits I resolved, that I would spend a day alone before God, and knowing of a secret cave on the south side of Mouse water, a little above the house of Jerviswood, over against Cleghorn-wood, I went thither, and after many to's and fro's, and much confusion, and fear about the state of my soul, I thought it was made out unto me, that I behoved to preach Christ Jesus, which if I did not, I should have no assurance of salvation. Upon this I laid aside all thoughts of France, and medicine, and land, and betook me to the study of divinity.

The first Christian acquaintance and society whereby I got any benefit, was with a religious gentleman William Cunningham tutor of Bonytoun, who used to be oft at my father's house. Several times he and John Weir of Stockbridges, Alexander Tenant, James Wier, George Matthew, and David Matthew, who were pack-men, would meet in my chamber in Lanerk, where we used to spend some time in conference and prayer.

The second period of my life, I reckon from the time I preached in public, till the time I was settled in the ministry in Killinchie in Ireland; for having begun to preach in January 1625, I continued in my father's house in Lanerk, and for the space of a year and an half or some more, I studied there and preached sometimes there, and sometimes in some neighbouring kirks. About April 1626, I was sent for by my lord Kenmure to come to Galloway, in reference to a call to the parish of Anwoth; I condescended, but some difficulties coming in the way, I hearkened to a call to Tirphichen. But thereafter the Lord provided a great deal better for them, for they got that worthy servant of Jesus Christ Mr. Samuel Rutherford, whose praise is in all the reformed churches; and I observed afterwards, that several parishes whereunto I had a motion of a call and was hindered, either by obstruction from the bishops, or thereafter refused to be transported by the general assembly, yet these parishes were far better provided; for Leith got Mr. David Forrest; again Kirkaldy got Mr. Robert Dowglass; Glasgow got Mr. James Durham; Antrum in Ireland got Mr. Archibald Ferguson; Newton there got Mr. John Greg; and Killinchie there got Mr. Michael Bruce. But at that short time I was in Galloway I got acquaintance with my lord Kenmure and his religious lady, and several worthy experienced Christians, as Alexander Gordon of Earlstoun, Alexander Gordon of Knockgray, Alexander Gordon of Knockbrex, John his bro-



ther, and Alexander Gordon of Garlurk, John Gordon of Barskeoch, the laird of Careltoun, Fullertoun, John M'Adam and Christian M'Adam of Waterhead, Marion M'Naught in Kirkcudbright, and several others; for I preached at a communion in Borgue, where were many good people that came out of Kirkcudbright, and was at some private meetings with some of the forementioned in Garlurk, and in the Airds, where Earlstoun then dwelt. By reason of going from place to place, in the summer time, I got acquaintance with many of the godly and able ministers and professors of Scotland, which proved to me a great advantage. The ministers chiefly were, Messrs. Robert Bruce, who had been minister in Edinburgh, John Scrimgeour who had been at Kinghorn, John Chalmers of Auchterdean, John Dykes of Anstruther, William Scot of Cowper, Alexander Henderson of Leucher, John Row of Carnock, John Ker of Preston, James Greg of New-mills, John Fergushill of Ouchiltrie, Robert Scot of Glasgow, James Ingles of Dalzel, and some others; and of professors, William Rigg of Aithernie, the laird of Hallhill, the Laird of Crofshil, the lairds of Cunningham-head, Cessnock, Rowallen, John Stuart Provost of Air, William Roger Merchant there, John Mean merchant in Edinburgh, John Hamilton apothecary there, James Murray writer, the countesses of Eglintoun and Lowdon, the ladys Boyd, Robertland, Culrofs, her sister Monwhanny, Hallhill, Raith, Innertail, and many others, all whose memory is very precious and refreshing. I got not much read, nor any settled study followed all that time; only some touches here and there of sundry both ancient and modern divines. These whereby I profited most were the sermons of four men, Mr. Robert Rollock, Mr. Robert Bruce, Mr. John Welch, and Mr. David Dickson, whom I thought of all that I had read, breathed most of the Spirit of God, were best affected, most clear, plain and powerful: several of Mr. Rollock's sermons are in print. I got in loan from John Stuart in Air, a large book of sermons of Mr. Jo. Welsh's, in which are almost nothing but unfolding of the inward exercise of a Christian. Mr. Robert Bruce I several times heard, and in my opinion neverman spake with greater power since the apostles days. There are some five or six of his sermons printed; but the chief that I saw, was some written preachings of his which I got from my father. And Mr. David Dickson I often heard and borrowed from Crofshil, several of his written sermons. Several motions were made of calls to churches during this time; as to Linlithgow, North-Leith, Kirkaldy, in which places upon invitation I preached in reference to a call, but all were obstructed by those in power.

The third period of my life, from the time I entered to the ministry in Killinchie in Ireland, till I was settled minister at Stranrawer in Galloway 1638. In Summer 1630 being in Irvine, Mr. Robert Cunningham minister at Holywood in Ireland, and some while before that Mr. George Dumbar minister at Lern in Ireland propounded to me, seeing there was no appearance I could enter into the ministry in Scotland, whether or not I would be content to go to Ireland? I answered them both, if I got a clear call and a free entry I would not refuse: About August 1630, I got letters from the viscount Clanniboy to come to

Ireland, in reference to a call to Killinchic, whither I went and got an unanimous call from the parish, and because it was needful that I should be ordained to the ministry, and the bishop of Down, in whole Diocese Killinchic was, would require some engagement, therefore my lord Clanniboy sent some with me, and wrote to Mr. Andrew Knox bishop of Rapho, who when I came and had delivered the letters from my lord Clanniboy and from the earl of Wigtoun and some others, that I had for that purpose brought out of Scotland, he told me he knew my errand, that I came to him because I had scruples against episcopacy and ceremonies, according as Mr. Josias Welsh and some others had done before; and that he thought his old age was prolonged for little other purpose but to do such offices; that if I scrupled to call him my lord, he cared not much for it; all he would desire of me, because they got there but few sermons, that I would preach there at Ramallen the first Sabbath, and that I would send for Mr. William Cunningham, and some two or three other neighbouring ministers to be present, who after sermon should give me imposition of hands; but altho' they performed the work, he behoved to be present; and altho' he durst not answer it to the state, he gave me the book of ordination, and desired that any thing I scrupled at, I should draw a line over it on the margin, and that Mr. William Cunningham should not read it: but I found that it had been so marked by some others before, that I needed not mark any thing: so the Lord was pleased to carry that business far beyond any thing that I thought or almost ever desired. That winter following I was often in great heaviness, for altho' the people were very tractable, yet they were generally very ignorant, and I saw no appearance of doing any good among them; yet it pleased the Lord that in a short time some of them began to understand somewhat of their condition. But the fourth of May 1632, the bishop deposed Mr. Blair and me, and eight days after Mr. Dunbar and Mr. Welsh. He proceeded against us for nonconformity.

I never had of stipend in Killinchic, above four pounds Sterling by year, and enjoyed that but a short space, yet I bless the Lord I never wanted money to supply my necessity, and to bear my charges in going to and again. My father was not able to supply me, having a great charge of other nine children, whereof seven were daughters. These from whom I got at several times supply of money were, the lady Boyd, the countess of Eglintoun, and Wigtoun, and the lady Innertail. During these two years, I went twice or thrice over into Ireland, to visit the parish and friends there; the last of these times having come to Ireland in February 1634: our friends in Ireland seeing no appearance of being delivered from the yoke, had some mind to transport themselves to New-England, but resolved first to send a minister and gentleman thither to the governor and council, to try the condition of the country, and to agree for a place to settle in, and accordingly they pitched upon William Wallace and me to go straight to London, to go from thence with the first ships in the Spring, and return with the first conveniency. Therein I perceived, howbeit I trust the Lord did accept and approve of our intention, yet wonderfully he stopped our design,

During my abode in London, I got acquaintance with my lord Forbes, Sir Nathaniel Rich, Sir Richard Saltonstail, Sir William Constable, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir Matthew Bonnington, Dr. Gouge, Dr. Sibs, Mr. Philip Nye, Mr. Thomas Goodwin, Mr. Harris, Mr. Rols, and several others. I was often with Dr. Alexander Leighton, who was prisoner in the fleet.

This Winter 1635, perceiving no appearance of liberty, either to preachers or professors, a minister of the North of Ireland, and some few out of Scotland, resolved to transport ourselves to New-England; others of our friends minded thereafter to follow us. We had got letters from the governor and council, full of kind invitations, and large promises of good accommodation. We built a ship near Belfast, called the *Eagle-wing*, of about 115 tun, and were minded to have set out in the Spring 1636. But through the difficulties that use to arise in such undertakings, in preparing the ship and our other accommodations, it was the September following before we set sail. We were all to go passengers at that time about 140 persons, of whom the chief were, Mr. Blair, John Stewart provost of Air, Mr. Robert Hamilton afterwards minister of Kirkcudbright, Charles Campbell, John Somervell, Hugh Brown, and several other families and single persons; among whom was one Andrew Brown, of the parish of Lern; born deaf and dumb, who had been a very vicious loose man; but when it pleased the Lord to work a change on several of that parish, a very sensible change was observed in him, not only in forsaking his former loose courses and company, but joining himself to religious people, and all the exercises of God's worship in public and private, and ordinarily morning and evening used to go alone to prayer, and would weep at sermons; and by such signs, these who were acquainted with him, understood, he would express many things of the work of God upon his heart; so that upon his earnest desire, by the consent of all the ministers who used to meet at Antrim, he was at last admitted to the ordinance of the Lord's supper. We had much toil in our preparations, and many hindrances in our out-setting, and both sad and glad hearts in taking leave of our friends; at last about the ninth of September 1636, we loosed from Loch-Fergus; but, after all our endeavours to weather out the storms we met with, we were driven back and came at last on November 3d, to an anchor in Loch-Fergus. Mr. Blair went and dwelt at the Stow in Belfast; others elsewhere; I came back and remained at my mother's house, and preached each sabbath that Winter, as I had done before. In February 1637, one Frankhill of Castlerath, who yet used to come some sabbaths to hear sermon at my mother's house, being in Dublin, informed the state against Mr. Blair and me. Order was given to apprehend us. One night one Andrew Young, a servant of Mr. Blair's, who dwelt hard by our house, overheard a pursivant calling to a stabler, to prepare against to-morrow morning, because they had orders to go to the North and bring up two Scottish deposed ministers. This Andrew immediately goes to a stable prepares a horse, and rode all that night, and in two days after brings us word, so that Mr. Blair and I went out of the way, and came over to Scotland.

When we came to Irvine to Mr. Dickson's, he told us, that some good gentlemen in that country had been with him, having heard that we were come to Scotland, and desired him not to employ us to preach, for fear that at such a time, occasion might be taken thereby to put him out of his ministry: But, said he, I dare not follow their opinion so far to discountenance you in your sufferings, as not to employ you as in former times, but would think rather so doing would provoke the Lord, that I might be on another account deposed, and not have so good a conscience. We were very unwilling either to occasion his trouble, or dissatisfy any of the gentlemen of the country; but he urged with such grounds, as we could not get refused. After that, I went by Dean, and Loudon, and Lanerk, to Edinburgh and remained there some space; being at some private meeting every day, and returned to Irvine, the 26th of March. While we were at Irvine, the Lord called home Mr. Robert Cunningham, minister at Holywood March 29, 1637; for both he and all the rest of the deposed ministers were forced to fly out of Ireland. He had many gracious expressions of the Lord's goodness to him, and his great peace in regard of the cause of his suffering, and spoke much and well to the presbytery of Irvine, who came to see him the day before he died. All that Summer 1637, I had as much work of preaching in public, and exercises in private, as any time before; partly in Lanerk, partly in the West, and at communions in divers places, in the stuartry of Kirkcudbright, and presbytery of Stranrawer. I was present at Lanerk, and at several other parishes, when on a sabbath after the forenoon sermon, the covenant was read and sworn; and may truly say, that in all my life-time, except one day at the Kirk of Shots, I never saw such motions from the Spirit of God, all the people generally, and most willingly concurring, where I have seen more than a thousand persons all at once lifting up their hands, and the tears falling down from their eyes.

The fourth period of my life, I reckon from the time I entered into the ministry at Stranrawer, till I was transported to Ancrum. I was received at Stranrawer the 5th of July 1638, and shortly after transported my family thither, and I remained in the ministry of that place until harvest 1648, when, by the sentence of the general assembly, I was transported to Ancrum in Teviotdale. Because I had some household furniture to carry, and the way was far, I put my family in a boat at Irvine, and put in a tolerable quantity of meat and drink. The wind being the first day very fair, we were like to be soon at our port; the boat's company consumed most of all our provision, so that by a calm and a little contrary wind, being three days at sea, the last day we had neither meat nor drink, nor could reach no coast, and my wife had then a child sucking her breast; yet it pleased the Lord, we came safe to Lochryan. Some of our friends came out of Ireland, and dwelt in Stranrawer, and at the communions twice in the year, great numbers used to come; at one time five hundred persons. At one time I baptized twenty-eight children brought out of Ireland. Providence so ordered, that I was a member of the general assembly at Glasgow, in November 1638, which established the reformation of religion,

and of the rest of the general assemblies even till that in the year 1650, except that only in Aberdeen in the year 1640. When I came first to Stranrawer, some of the folks of the town desired to come to our house, to be present at our family exercise: thereafter I propounded, that I would rather chuse every morning to go to the church, and to each morning the bell ringing we convened, and after two or three verses of a Psalm sung, and a short prayer, some portion of scripture was read and explained, only so long as an half-hour glass ran, and then closed with prayer. The whole parish was within the bounds of a little town. The people were very tractable and respectful, and no doubt had I taken pains, and believed as I ought to have done, more fruit would have appeared among them. I was sometimes well satisfied and refreshed, being with some of them on their death-bed.

The people of the North of Ireland sent commissioners to the general assembly in Scotland in the year 1642, petitioning for ministers to be sent to them, for now they had none at all. The assembly thought not fit to loose any, but for four or five years thereafter, ordered some eight ministers in the year to go over for visits, two for three months, and after them other two, and in the mean time some godly and able young men to be dealt with to go over for settling; and that these ministers might in parishes elect elderships, and with the presbytery of the army, try and admit ministers. The ministers who went used for most part, to separate themselves to diverse parishes in several parts of the country. There being such a great number of vacant parishes, yet so as the one would also visit the place where the other had been; by this appointment I was sent over three months in Summer 1643, and as long in Summer 1645. And in Summer 1646 and 1648, I went thither. For the most part of all these three months I preached every day once, and twice on the sabbath; the destitute parishes were many; the hunger of the people was become great; and the Lord was pleased to furnish otherwise than usually I wont to get at home. I came ordinarily the night before to the place where I was to preach, and commonly lodged in some religious person's house; where we were often well refreshed at family exercise: usually I desired no more before I went to bed, but to make sure the place of scripture I was to preach on the next day. And rising in the morning, I had four or five hours my self alone, either in a chamber or in the fields; after that we went to church, and then dined, and then rode some five or six miles more or less to another parish. Sometimes there would be four or five communions in several places in the three months time. I esteemed these visits in Ireland, the far best time of all the while I was in Galloway. After the year 1647 or 1648, the general assembly sent no more any for visits to Ireland, because by that time several godly and able ministers were settled there. The ministers with whom I kept most society, and by whose counsel and company I profited most, were my brother McClellan at Kirkcudbright, Messrs. Robert Hamilton at Ballantrae, George Hutcheson at Colmonel, and in the presbytery of Stranrawer, Alexander Turnbull at Kirk-maiden, John Dick at Inch, George Dick at Glenluce, and in the presbytery of Wig-

town, Andrew Lauder at Whithorn, and John Park at Mochrum, who also succeeded me at Stranraer; and with all these I have been at communions, and most of them have been at Communion at Stranraer.

The fifth period of my life, I reckon from the time I was settled in the ministry at Ancrum, to this present February 1666. In Summer 1648 I had a call from the parish of Ancrum, and an invitation from the presbytery of Jedburgh, and a presentation from the earl of Lothian, the patron, and by act of the general assembly, that year was transported thither, and was received by the presbytery. I the rather inclined, because I found they were generally landward simple people, who for some time before, had not had so much of the gospel as to despise it. The people were very tractable, but were very ignorant, and some of them loose in their carriage; and it was a long time before any competent number of them were brought to such a condition, as we might adventure to celebrate the Lord's supper. But within some time some of them began to lay religion to heart.

Some two or three years after the English had in a manner subdued the land, there began some reviving of the work of God in the land. In several parts sandry were brought in by the ministry of the word: amongst which there were some also in the parish of Ancrum, and other parts of the South. In Tiviotdale and in the Merse, communions were very lively and much frequented. We had several monthly meetings in these two shires. The ministers in that country with whom I kept most correspondence were in Jedburgh presbytery, where I lived, Messrs. James Ker at Abbot-rule, John Scot at Oxnam, and my son-in-law John Scot at Hawick. In other presbyteries, Messrs. James Guthrie at Lauder (who afterwards went to Stirling) Thomas Donaldson at Smelhome, John Vetch at West-ruther, James Kirkton at Mertoun, William Elliot at Yarrow, John Somervail at Ednam, Samuel Aue at Sprouston, Edward Jamefon at Swinton, David Douglass at Hilton, James Tweedie at Couldon, Thomas Ramfay at Mordington, Luke Ogle at Berwick. The gentlemen in that country with whom I conversed most, were, Sir Andrew Ker at Greenhead, Sir William Scot of Harding, Sir Gideon Scot of Haycheffer, Sir Walter Riddai of That Ilk, and his son, Sir Walter Pringle of Greenknow, George Pringle of Torwoodlie, Alexander Pringle of Whitebank; all these and their ladies also: as also the lady Stobs, the lady Newton, and Mrs. Elliot of Craigend, I looked upon as well affected persons, and have been oft well refreshed at worship in their houses, and at communions where some of them had interest, and at communions with several of the ministers before-mentioned, all within the province of Merse and Tiviotdale, and within the province of Edinburgh, Borthwick, Ormeston, Whitekirk and Innerwick, A motion being made at one communion about Christians honouring God with their substance, these gentlemen above-named, together with most of the ministers before-mentioned, and some few other professors, agreed among themselves, and subscribed to give a certain portion yearly, which came in all to fifty pounds Sterling a-year, and was employed only upon distressed Christians, and breeding up of hopeful youth in learning.

At last, in April 1663, I went aboard old John Allan's ship, and in eight days came to Rotterdam. I was many a time in Leith well refreshed in conference and prayer with those that came to visit me, and had the company of very many friends when I went aboard. When I came to Rotterdam, I found before me the rest of the banished ministers, viz. Messrs. Robert Trail, minister at Edinburgh, John Nevy at Newmills, Robert M'Quard at Glasgow, James Simpson at Airth, John Brown at Wamphray, and James Gardner at Sattel. Here I got frequent occasion of preaching in the Scots congregation. In December 1663, my wife came to me and brought two of the children; the other five were left in Scotland. Hitherto I can say, during my abode in Rotterdam, I have been in my body as free of pain and sickness, and in my mind as free of anxiety, as ever I have been all my life during so long time, and I make account that my lot is a great deal easier, than that of many that are at home.

Now, when I look back upon the whole, as for my spiritual condition, I cannot deny, but sometimes, both in public and private, I have found the Lord work upon my heart, and give confirmations of kindness and engagement to his service, but I do not remember any particular time of conversion, or that I was much cast down or lifted up. I do remember one night in the Dean of Kilmarnock, having been most of the day before in company with some of the people of Stranton, who were under rare and sad exercises of mind, I lay down in some heaviness that I never had experience of any such thing. That night in the midst of my sleep, there came upon me such a terror of the wrath of God, that if it had encreased a small degree higher, or continued a mi-

a I shall here insert some passages of a letter he wrote to his parishioners of Anstrum, in Scotland, from Rotterdam, October 7th, 1671. "Notwithstanding of all the sad things that have fallen out of late, I would put you in mind of the many good days we have seen together, both of Sabbath-days, and solemn communion-days, wherein we saw the Lord's power and his grace in his sanctuary; that, in remembrance thereof, we may exalt his name together: for my part, I have challenges, beside many others, that, in my ministry, I did not so stir up or improve the gift, that the Lord had given me, nor so carry myself like a spiritual, grave, diligent, and faithful servant of Christ, as I ought to have done: that, in my ministry among you, I was not more frequent in visiting families, and dealing with persons in particular, to bring them to, and keep them in the ways of God.

As for you, I may reckon you all in three ranks: the first rank, and I fear the far greater number, is of those, who, altho' in general professors of Christianity, yet, so far as could be observed, never laid religion to heart; and some of these, for gross ignorance and looseness, were always debarred from the Lord's supper; others, altho' hav-

ing some knowledge and civil walk, yet, upon good grounds, were always suspected to be void of the love and fear of God, continuing in their natural unrenewed condition, neglecting the worship of God in their families, and alone; and shewing, by all their carriage, that their thoughts and desires were never beyond the world: these, no doubt, are glad of the change now come, that they may cast off Christ's yoke, and be free of the word and discipline, which terrified and tormented them; and may now both swear terrible oaths, and drink drunk, which by some will be expounded, as an evidence of their loyalty; they may now, after the example of many great ones, walk in the lust of uncleanness, mind nothing but how, justly or unjustly, to get the world, and then how to spend it on their lusts, and hate, and, to the utmost of their power, persecute all, who will not run with them to the same excess of riot. Now as I have, often in public, with as great earnestness and tenderness as I could, warned these to flee from the wrath to come: so I would yet desire them to stand still a little before they go to the pit, and hear from a truly loving friend a few words, which I am confident, in the day of the great reckoning, shall be

nute longer, I had been in as dreadful a condition as ever living man was in; but it was instantly removed, and I thought it was said to me within my heart, "See what a fool thou art to desire the thing thou couldest not endure." And that which I thought strange was, that neither the horror nor the ease out of it wakened me out of my sleep, but I slept till the morning, only the impression of it remained fresh with me for a reasonable time afterwards. As concerning my gift of preaching, I never attained to any accuracy therein. I used ordinarily to write some few notes, and left the enlargement to the time of the delivery. I found that much studying did not so much help in preaching, as the getting of my heart brought to a spiritual disposition; yea, sometimes I thought the hunger of the hearers helped me more than my own preparation. Many a time I found that which was suggested to me in the delivery, was more refreshful to myself, and edifying to the hearers than what I had premeditated. I was often much deserted and cast down in preaching, and sometimes tolerably assisted. I never preached a sermon that I would be earnest to see again in writ but two. The one was at a communion on a Monday at the Kirk of Shots, and the other on a Monday after a communion in Holywood. And both these times I had spent the whole night before in conference and prayer with some Christians, without any more than ordinary preparation: otherwise my gift was rather suited to simple common people, than to learned judicious auditors. Had I in a right manner believed and taken pains, it had been better for myself; but, by a lazy trusting to assistance, in the mean time I kept myself bare-handed all my days. I had a kind of coveting when I got leisure and opportunity to read much, and of different sub-

found a message from the living God. Do you believe there is a God, or Heaven or Hell? Or can you with all your will and strength scrape the thoughts of these out of your sleeping consciences? Or do ye in such sort hate God, that because ye are his creatures, ye will so far be avenged as to sell yourselves to his enemy, the devil, for nought, to be tormented in all eternity? I am most sure, none of you all can be sure that you are reprobates; and I can give you assurance, greater than the stability of heaven and earth, even the sworn word of him that liveth and reigneth for ever, that if you will forsake your wicked way, and yet betake yourselves to the only Saviour of lost sinners, ye are no reprobates. O! what advantage have ye, when ye have gained all the world, and all the pleasures, all the riches, and all the favour of it, and have lost your immortal and precious souls? It is utterly impossible, but that sometimes your own heart tells you, there will be bitterness in the end. Doth not whoredom and drunkenness waste the body, take away the judgment, and leave a sting in the conscience? Can any avoid the curse, that goods gotten by falsehood or oppression bring upon

the man, and all he hath, yea, on his posterity? Is it not sad, that Satan can prompt men to swear, curse and blaspheme, and utter that which he dare not utter himself? And although ye were free of all outbreaks, doth not an unrenewed estate, the neglect of commanded duties, Sabbath-breaking, and such evils, bind you over to the wrath of him, who is coming there in flaming fire to take vengeance on them, who know not God, and obey not the gospel? Ye may possibly think you are so far gone on, that there is no retreat, and the ways of the Lord are such as your disposition can never agree with; but how can your disposition agree to burn and consume, and never consume, in everlasting flames, where each of all your sins shall have their own particular torment? How can ye agree to dwell with infernal fires? Or will ye add to your other wickedness despair, and despising of all the Lord's loving, long, and loud continued invitations? What shall you answer, if hereafter the Lord shall say to some of you: I would have given thee both grace and glory, if thou hadst but sought it; thou wouldst not give once two or three knocks at my door; thou wouldst



jects: and I was oft challenged, that my way of reading was like some mens lust after such a kind of play or recreation. I used to read much too fast, and so was somewhat pleased in the time, but retained little. It was once or twice laid on me by the general assembly, to write the history of the church of Scotland, since the late reformation 1638; but, besides my inability for such an undertaking, and my lazy disposition, I could by no means procure the materials for such a work.

Now since I came to Holland, and so had more leisure than before, when I was devising how to employ my time to some advantage, I remembered that I had spent some of my former years in the study of the Hebrew language, and had a great desire that some means might be used, that the knowledge of the only true God might be yet more plentifully had, both by ministers and professors, out of the original text; and for that cause, in as small a volume as might be, the original text of the Bible might be printed in the one column, and the several vulgar translations thereof, in the other column, in several Bibles. For this cause much of my time in Holland I spent, in comparing Pagnin's version with the original text, and with the latter translations, such as Munster's, the Tigurine, Junius, Diodate, the English, but especially the Dutch, which is the latest and most accurate translation; being encouraged therein, and having the approbation of Voetius, Essenius, Nethenus, and Leusden, and so through the Old Testament wrote some emendations on Pagnin's translation. I also took some time in going through the English Bible, and wrote a few diverse readings, and some explanatory notes, and some reconciliations of seemingly contrary places,

not open, when I knocked oft and long at thy door. By so doing, thou hast subscribed thine own condemnation.

O let me obtain this much of all and every one of you, for all the pains I have taken among you in preaching, for all my nine years banishment from you, for all the prayers I have put up for you, for all the love which he who knoweth all things knoweth I bear to you, yea, let your own souls, and the love ye have to your own welfare here and hereafter obtain it, or rather let him, who for sinners shed all his most precious blood at Jerusalem, obtain this of you, that you will take one day each of you alone from morn to evening, forbearing both meat and drink, and go apart either into some quiet room in an house, or unto some part of the fields, where you may be most quiet, and having before-hand marked in the Bible such places as are fit to be read at such a time, as also having somewhat searched your way toward God, and his ways toward you, there set yourselves in his sight, spending the time in confession of sins, and prayer for pardon and grace to serve him, and save your own souls: and if (which is not readily to be supposed) ye get no access on such a day, yet continue thereafter in such exer-

cise and suits; for deliverance from hell, enjoying of Heaven and the favour of God, are worth more pains than you can take all your life. Now if this so easy and necessary advice shall be rejected, without prescribing time and place, or measure and manner but if the main intent of taking some time to humble yourselves before God, and turning unto him berejected, I take instruments, before sun and moon and all the creatures, that I have left this warning as an indorsed summons fixed on the door of your consciences, to be called and judged before him, who is ready to judge the quick and the dead, at his appearing, and in his glory; when beside the witnessing of all your sins, of your own consciences, and of all the creatures, I also as your lawful minister, sent to procure your reconciliation with God, shall appear to witness that ye got fair warning, but did reject the same, and would needs chuse death. Therefore while it is called to-day, take a trial of Christ's yoke, do but put him to it, and see whether or not he will open the windows of Heaven, and rain blessings and righteousness upon you; come and see, and taste the goodness of the Lord: ye shall be made to say, he is a rich and loving Master, once engage your hearts to him;

to have been inserted either among the marginal readings, or printed in two or three sheets in the end of the Bible: but the death of worthy John Graham provost of Glasgow, who was ready to have borne most of the charges of printing, stopped both these enterprizes. Therefore on a motion from Dr. Leusden, that a printer in Utrecht would print a Latin Bible, having for the Old Testament Pagnin's translation so amended, I sent Dr. Leusden all these papers, but as yet have not heard of any thing done. Mr. Livingston died 1672.

### SECTION III.

[ From LIVINGSTON'S Memoirs. ]

*Some of the Ministers in the Church of Scotland eminent for Grace and Gifts, for Faithfulness and Success; and first, of those of whom I have only heard<sup>a</sup>, viz. 1. Row. 2. Craig. 3. Aird. 4. Mr Birnie. 5. Melvin. 6. Patrick Simson. 7. Alexander Simson. 8. Gillespy.*

1. MR. JOHN ROW. He was minister of St. Johnston, of whom it is said, that he was an Italian sent by the Pope to hinder the reformation in Scotland, but, being converted to the truth, became a propagator and preacher of it. Of him are come all of the name of Row in Scotland.

2. MR. JOHN CRAIG. He was minister at Edinburgh. He it was that penned the short Confession of Faith, or the national covenant of the church of Scotland. I have heard my lord Wariston report an history of some rare dangers and deliverances that he met with coming out of Italy.

3. MR. WILLIAM AIRD. He was minister at the West-kirk of Edinburgh, who before was a mason, but being pressed in spirit to betake himself to the ministry, went to schools and profited well, especially in the Hebrew tongue. I have heard that one time some two or three days before a general assembly to be kept at Edinburgh at Holy-rood-house, wherein king James was to make some innovations, a courtier came to Mr. Aird, and told him that the king hearing he was in some outward straits, had sent him a purse with some gold; and the truth was, that the same day there was neither bread, nor meal, nor money, in the house; yet he refused the king's gift, saying, That if the king were not bringing in usurpations upon the church, he would not refuse to take what he sent; but as the case stood, he had not freedom to take any thing: and the next morning, when he and his family were at prayer, some who had been sent from a well-afflicted person of the parish, who knew his straits, had laid down two or three sacks of meal

and ye may defy Satan, and all the allurements and terrors of the world, to draw you from him. Glad would my heart be to hear, before I go to the grave, that some of you have begun a new course; and if ye begin indeed ye will not get it suppress, it will be heard: I shall, as I can pray for it, and de-

fire others here to pray for it; it is not needful to multiply words; I leave it with you, as ye shall answer to Jesus Christ, when he shall come in the clouds, &c.

a Such as were already mentioned, Book ii. Chap. 3, or of whom nothing remarkable is said, are here omitted.

in the entry before the door, and hearing him at prayer, went away, leaving the meal for the use of the family.

4. MR. JOHN M'BIRNIE. He was minister at Aberdeen. I heard the lady Culrofs say, He was a godly, zealous, and painful preacher; and that he used always when he rode to have two Bibles hanging at a leathern girdle about his middle, the one original, the other English; as also a little sand-glass in a brazen case: and being alone, he read, or meditated, or prayed; and if any company were with him, he would read and speak from the word to them. And when he died, he called his wife and told her, He had no outward means to leave to her or his only daughter, but he had got good assurance, that the Lord would provide means for them; and accordingly the day he was buried, the magistrates of the town came to the house after the burial, and brought two subscribed papers, one of a competent maintenance to his wife, another of a provision for his daughter.

5. MR. ANDREW MELVIN. He was minister and professor of divinity at St. Andrews; a man zealous and bold in the cause of God. When some blamed him as fiery, he said, If you see my fire go downward, set your foot on it, and put it out; but if it go upward, let it go to its own place: meaning, his zeal was not for himself or outward things. He was long imprisoned in the Tower of London; at last was released, and by the interest of a great man was placed in the university at Sedan, where he taught some years, and died.

6. MR. PATRICK SIMSON. He was minister at Stirling, and was a learned and godly man. I heard him preach while I was at school in Stirling, but could not then have any acquaintance of him. From him I first received the communion. He wrote the history of the church in centuries in English; a man well versed in the fathers and church history, yea, in all learning.

7. MR. ALEXANDER SIMSON. He was minister at Dryburgh; one who knew or cared little for the world; but was taken up with the Bible and with prayer, wherein he was unweariable. For his free preaching in Edinburgh, during the time of the parliament 1621, that ratified the five ceremonies of Perth, he was imprisoned in the castle of Dumbarton, where the Lord blessed his prayer and preaching with conversion from Popery of the lady of Sir John Stuart, then captain of the castle. She was one of the house of Abercorn, and was afterwards married to Sir John Seaton, in whose time I was acquainted with her at London in the year 1634. He was thereafter let out of prison, and continued 'till his death preaching in Dryburgh and Merton. I have heard that one time as he was walking alone, he fell and broke his leg, and was found sitting with his broken leg in his arms, always crying out, "Blessed be the Lord, O blessed be his Name;" and when they enquired why he said so, he answered, We ought to bless the Lord for all that befalls us, and it was a blessing that he broke not his neck.

8. MR. JOHN GILLESPIE minister at Kircaldie. He was a thundering preacher. When I was at school in Stirling, I heard him preach, helping his father-in-law Mr. Patrick Simson, when there was a fast that lasted a whole week, and two sermons preached every day.

## SECTION IV.

[ FROM LIVINGSTON'S MEMOIRS. ]

*Some of the Ministers of Christ in the Church of Scotland eminent for Grace and Gifts, for Faithfulness and Success, whom I have known, and had Acquaintance of. And first, of those who were in the Ministry before the blessed Reformation in the Year 1638, viz. 1. Bruce. 2. Scrimgeour. 3. Boyd. 4. Cant. 5. Henderson. 6. Dykes. 7. Row. 8. Ker. 9. Calderwood. 10. Smith. 11. Ker of Lyne. 12. Greg. 13. Dickson. 14. Rutherford.*

1. MR. ROBERT BRUCE. He was minister at Edinburgh, and began to preach about the year 1590. He was second son of the laird of Airth, from whom he had the estate of Kinnaird, was bred in France at the laws, designing to have been one of the lords of session, but coming home was moved by the spirit of the Lord to set to the ministry. And having studied some time at St. Andrews, when he began to preach, there were found more than ordinary gifts in him, so as he was most earnestly and unanimously called to be minister at Edinburgh, but for a long while only preached, and could not be moved to take on the charge. No man in his day spoke with such evidence and power of the spirit; no man had so many seals of conversion; yea, many of his hearers thought that no man since the apostles days spoke with such power. He had a notable faculty of searching deep in the scriptures, and of making the most dark mysteries most plain, but especially in dealing with every one's conscience. He was much exercised in conscience himself. He was at first imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh, after that confined in Inverness, yet at last he got liberty to dwell in his own house in Kinnaird, where the parish of Larbor having neither church nor stipend, he repaired the church, and discharged all the parts of a minister; and many from other parts came to hear him: I was there his hearer for a great part of the Summer 1627. He told me once in private that in a dream he had seen a great long book with black boards flying in the air, and all the black fowls flying about it; and that as it touched any of them, they fell down dead, and that he heard a voice, which he said was as audible as I heard him speak: **THIS IS THE IRE OF GOD UPON THE MINISTRY OF SCOTLAND;** and that he presently fell a-weeping, and crying to God, that he might be kept faithful, and not be one of those that were stricken down dead: and he said when he awaked, he found all the pillow wet with his tears.

One day when I came to his house, it was late before he came out of his closet; he had heard that day of Dr. Alexander Leighton's censure at London, and when he came out, all his face was foul with weeping: he told me what he had heard, and that his grief was not for Dr. Leighton, but for himself; for, said he, If I had been faithful, I might have got the pillory, and some of my blood shed for Christ as well as he; but he hath got the crown from us all.

He was both in public and private very short in prayer with others,

but then every sentence was like a strong bolt shot up to heaven; yea, I have heard him say he hath grown weary when others were longsome in prayer, but being alone, he spent much time in prayer and wrestling. I went once with the tutor of Bonnington to see him at Andrew Ainslie's house in Edinburgh; it was about eight in the morning; he was in bed, and said to us, You must go and leave me at this time; I thought yesternight when I lay down I had a good measure of the Lord's presence, and now I have been wrestling this hour or two, and have not yet got access, and therefore I am not for any company.

When he preached at Larbor, he used after the first sermon on the Sabbath, when he had taken some little refreshment, to retire to a chamber in a house near the kirk. I heard that one day some noblemen being there, and he staying long in the chamber, and they having far to ride home after the afternoon's sermon, desired the bellman to go hearken at the door if there were any appearance of his coming. The bellman returned, and said, I think he shall not come out this day at all; for I hear him always saying to another that he cannot go, except the other go with him, and I do not hear the other answer him a word at all. The foolish bellman understood not that he was dealing with God.

He had a very majestic countenance, and whatever he spoke in public or private, yea, when he read the Word, I thought it had such a force as I never discerned in any other man. I heard him once say, "I would desire no more for one request but one hour's conference with king James; I know he hath a conscience, I made him once weep bitterly in his own house at Holy-rood-house." I heard him say in the year 1627 or 28, "I wonder how I am kept so long here; I have lived two years in violence," meaning he was 72 years old. I heard when he was upon his death-bed, and his sight was failed, he called for the great Bible, and desired them to put his finger on the 8 verse of the xxviii. chapter of the epistle to the Romans; and told he died in that faith, that all things, even death, should work together for his good. He died about the year 1632<sup>a</sup>.

a Fleming in his Fulfilling of the Scriptures, Part i. says of Bruce, "Whilst he was in the ministry at Edinburgh, he shined as a great light through the whole land; the power and efficacy of the spirit most sensibly accompanying the word he preached. He was a terror to evil-doers, and the authority of God did so appear upon him, and his carriage, with such a majesty in his countenance, as forced fear and respect from the greatest in the land, even those who were most avowed haters of godliness. Yea, it was known what an awful impression king James had of him, and did once give him that testimony before many, that he judged Mr. Bruce was worthy of the half of his kingdom. He was a man that had much inward exercise about his own personal case, and had been oft assaulted about that great foundation-truth, the being of God; which cost him many days and nights wrestling:

and when he hath come up to the pulpit, after being some time silent, which was his usual way, he would have said, "I think it is a great matter to believe there is a God," telling the people, it was another thing to believe that than they judged. But it was also known by his friends with whom he was familiar, what extraordinary confirmation he had from the Lord therein; what near familiarity he did attain in his secret converse with God: yea, truly some things I have had from persons worthy of credit thereunto, that would seem so strange and marvellous, that I forbear to set them down. The great success of his ministry at Edinburgh, Inverness, and other places whither Providence called him, is abundantly known. Whilst he was confined at Inverness, that poor dark country was marvellously enlightened; many brought in to Christ by his ministry, and a seed sown in those places,

2. Mr. JOHN SCRIMGEOUR. He was minister at Kinghorn. He went minister with king James to Denmark; a man rude-like in his clothing and some of his behaviour and expressions, but one of a deep reach of natural wit; very learned, especially in the Hebrew language; who oft wished most part of books to be burnt except the Bible and clear notes on it; one of a most tender loving heart, especially fitted to comfort such as were cast down. His expressions in preaching seemed sometimes too familiar, but always very pressing. A little before his death I went to see him at his own house in Achterderen. He was troubled with the gravel, and several times forced to go to another room, and was made to cry out bitterly for pain. One time when he came back to me he said, "Joannes, I have been a rude stunkard man all my days, and now by this pain the Lord is dantoning me to make me as a lamb before he take me home to himself<sup>a</sup>." Just the like pain,

which even to this day is not wholly worn out. I shall here set down one passage of Mr. Henderson, who at his first entry to the ministry at Leuchars, was by the bishop of St. Andrews brought in against the parish's consent, so that the day of his admission, the church doors being shut by the people, they were forced to break in by a window to get him entrance; but a little after this upon the report of a communion, where Mr. Bruce was to help, he would needs, from a longing he had to hear and see such a man, go secretly there, and placed himself in a dark part of the church where he might not be known; when Mr. Bruce was come to the pulpit, he did for a considerable time keep silence, as his manner was; which did some way astonish Mr. Henderson, but much more when he heard the first words where-with he begun, which were these: "He that cometh not in by the door, but climbeth up another way, the thief and a robber;" which did by the Lord's blessing, at the very present take him by the heart, and had the greatest impression on him, that it was the first mean of his conversion.

I have attested by sober and grave Christians, who were familiar with him, that divers persons distracted, and of these who were passed all hope of recovery in the falling sickness, were brought to Mr. Bruce, and after much prayer by him in their behalf, were fully recovered: this may indeed seem strange, but it is also true. Mr. Bruce was a great wrestler, who had more than ordinary familiarity with God. If there were a full collection of these remarkable passages, which have been known to others in his life, it would further witness what an extraordinary man he was. I shall only shut this up with a testimony of learned J. J. Belavivius in the preface to his *ALTARE D. M. SCRIGURUM: Robertus Brusius, vir genere et virtute nobilis, majore vultus venerabilis, qui plura animarum milia Christo lucrificavit, cujus a-*

*nima, si ullius mortalium, esset verbo invisibilis, sedet in celestibus. Anima mea, cum anima tua, fructu, si ex aliena fide esset pendendum.*

A FLEMING in his Fulfilling of the Scriptures, Part i. says, "Concerning Mr. John Scrimgeour minister at Kinghorn; there was a godly woman under his charge, who fell sick of a very lingering illness, and was all the while assaulted with strong temptations, apprehending she was a cast-away, (yet had she not only given ground for charity, but her Christian conversation for a long time had put the reality of the grace of God in her beyond debate with the more discerning who knew her) Mr. Scrimgeour often visited her, while in this deep exercise, conferred with her, prayed over her, but her trouble remained notwithstanding; and the terrors of God still lodged with her. When she drew near her dissolution, she became worse both in body and spirit, and sent for Mr. Scrimgeour, who at that time took two of his elders with him, and in their presence, first endeavoured to comfort her by exhortation and conference; then he prayed, and seeing her the nearer her end, seemingly the worse, he made some of the elders to pray, and again he himself prayed: but Satan still raged the more, and her soul was the more removed from peace. Then he sat in a muse a little space, and said, "What's this! our laying before her grounds of comfort, will not do it; conference will not do it; prayer will not do it; we must use another remedy; sure I am, this is a daughter of Abraham; sure I am, I am the elder; sure I am, she hath sent for me: and therefore in the name of God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who sent him to redeem sinners, in the name of Jesus Christ who obeyed the Father, and came to save us, in the name of the Holy Ghost and blessed Spirit, our quickener and sanctifier, I the elder command thee a daughter of Abraham to be loosed from these bonds," and immediately peace and

and crying, and subduedness, I found in Mr. Jeremy Whitaker while he was lying in Southwark a little before his death in the year 1654.

3. MR. ROBERT BOYD of Trochrig, who was first minister at Vertal in France, afterwards professor of theology in Saumure, and at last settled principal of the college of Glasgow, and minister of Govan; a man thoroughly indued with all sort of learning, as his commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians testifies: and a poet, as his *Hecateombe Christiana* and other poems not yet printed show. He spoke and wrote Latin most fluently, yet I have heard him say, if he were to chuse a language wherein to deliver his mind with the most ready freedom, it would be the greek tongue: one of an austere like carriage, but of a most tender heart. Notwithstanding of his rare abilities, he made no account of himself, but an high account of every other man's parts, when he perceived any spark of grace and ingenuity; but where these were not, no man such a severe censurer. All that he preached he wrote fair and full before hand, and marked it in the margin, yet delivered it in the pulpit with as great action and affection as if all had been given him in the mean time.

4. MR. ANDREW CANT, first minister at Pitblago, afterwards at Newbottle, and last at Aberdeen: one who preached with great authority, and spared not to deliver the whole counsel of God before king or state. He died about the year 1661.

5. MR. ALEXANDER HENDERSON, minister first at Leuchars in Fife, afterwards at Edinburgh, a learned, wise, grave man, who gave great proofs of piety and ability, being moderator of the general assembly at Glasgow 1638, and at other assemblies, and a member of the synod of divines at Westminster. He was employed in great matters for the church of Scotland, and was faithful therein. I was several times with him on his death-bed in Edinburgh in the year 1646 where he exprest great peace of mind.

6. MR. JOHN DYKES, minister at Kilrinnie in Fife: one well acquainted with the scriptures, who had great facility in understanding, expounding, and applying the same. Every morning he publicly expounded a chapter; and so went several times through the Bible with his hearers. Mr. John Scrimgeour used to say, that Mr. John Dykes will get more meditation in a place of scripture, during the time he is combing his head, than some others will get in a whole day. I have heard him go through a long chapter in less than an hour and pertinently handle every purpose thereof.

7. MR. JOHN ROW, minister at Carnock in Fife, a son of Mr. John Row of St. Johnston who was one of the reformers: a godly zealous man, who was careful to collect the most observable passages of providence in his time. I have seen when he had some other ministers to help him at the communion, he would hardly do any thing himself, but put all the work on others. He helped at the general assembly at

joy succeeded. An example it is of God's power in that time, to make our hair to stand at the force of faith and boldness of spirit rather than to be imitated by such, as

wanting the ancient holiness would rather have a spirit for miracles, than for salvation.

Glasgow 1638, to discover sundry corruptions of the former time.

8. MR. JOHN KER, minister at Prestonpans, whom Mr. John Davidson designed to be his successor, one who had a great hand in keeping sundry of the nobility and gentry straight, as having near relation to severals of them, and being for his generous carriage much favoured by all.

9. MR. DAVID CALDERWOOD. He was first minister at Cralin in Tiviotdale; and lived long in Holland, where he wrote and printed *Altare Damascenum*, and some other pieces in English, that helped to keep many straight in that declining time. After that he came privately home to Scotland, and lurking in Edinburgh, strengthened the hands of the nonconformists, and was also a great opposer of sectarism. After the reformation in the year 1638 (whereunto he contributed much) he was received minister at the kirk of Penkailtland in East-Lothian. He wrote the history of the church of Scotland, beginning where Mr. Knox left, but it is not yet printed<sup>a</sup>. He died in the year 1651.

10. MR. JOHN SMITH, minister at Maxtoun in Tiviotdale. He had all the Psalms by heart, and always when he gave thanks before meat he repeated a Psalm, or some part of a long Psalm. When he met with young men intending the ministry, he used to draw them aside and seriously and gravely exhort them, and heartily bless them. He once took me off the street of Edinburgh, into a house for that purpose.

11. JOHN KER, minister of Lyne in Tweeddale; a man that cared nothing at all for the world; lived most soberly; painful among the people: he gave almost all that he had to the poor: he catechised all the beggars that came along, and then gave them liberally.

12. MR. JAMES GREG, minister at Newmilns in Cunningham; he, with Mr. Nathan Inglish, were, for non-conformity, imprisoned in the castle of Dumbarton; but thereafter restored. He preached with a great deal of earnest and urging vehemency; so that sometimes with striking two fingers of the one hand, on the palm of the other hand, the blood hath come out from the top of the fingers. I heard him say, that in one winter, about forty persons in that parish of Newmilns, (who each of them were more than forty years old) had learned to read, so that they might read the Bible.

13. MR. DAVID DICKSON, after some years profession of philosophy in the University of Glasgow, was first minister at Irvine, about the year 1619-20, and thereafter transported to be minister at Glasgow, and professor of theology in that college; and at last transported to be minister at Edinburgh, and professor in the college there, about the year 1649-50. A man singularly gifted with an edifying way of preaching, and whose painful labours were eminently blessed with success, especially while he was in Irvine. His conversing with those persons in Stewarton, and other places in the west, on whose hearts the Spirit of the Lord had wrought in an extraordinary manner, enabled him with much experience to deal with awakened consciences; and therefore he was resorted to by such from all parts: yea, Christians from many other pla-

<sup>a</sup> An abridgement of it has been since printed; the large manuscript is to be seen in the college library of Glasgow.



ces of the country, resorted to the communions at Irvine twice in the year. He was for non-conformity summoned before the high commission court, and because he gave to them in writ, a declinature, asserting that he could not acknowledge them as a competent judicature over him in his ministry, he was removed from Irvine, and was confined to Turref in the North; where yet Mr. Thomas Mitchell the minister employed him to preach every Sabbath. I also heard him tell how some friends procured that he should come to Glasgow, in hopes that he might be reposed to Irvine; and when he came thither, it was propounded, that if he would take up his declinature, he might immediately go to Irvine. But he perceived that that would prove a receding from his testimony, which he had given to the truth and cause of God. For many days, several friends, and many of them both wise and gracious persons, dealt with him to condescend; but he resolved, without clearness and light from God, he would not yield. He said, that all those days he went in bonds, and got not access to God in prayer as formerly, only the light of the word and Spirit remained not to forsake his testimony; and he determined, whatever way they urged him, all day to keep by that light he had by prayer in the morning, till he took it, and all other reasonings before God at night. And finding no clearness from the Lord to change, altho' he said he was oft put by their reasonings that he had nothing at all to say, he continued so all these days. It was at last propounded, that he, with any friend he pleased, should only go to the castle, and not see the bishop at all; but the paper lying on the hall-table, he should either lift it, or desire his friend to lift it, and go his way to Irvine; but finding such dealing to be a juggling in so weighty a matter, he refused any more meddling: and altho' he was within sixteen miles of Irvine, he took his horse and went back to Turref. He said he was hardly a mile out of Glasgow, till his soul was filled with such joy and approbation from God of his faithfulness, that he scarcely ever had the like in all his life: and within some time, by the dealing of some friends, without any conditions from him, he was restored to Irvine: but all the time of his absence, many Christians from Irvine and the West dealt earnestly with God for his restoration. After his return to Irvine, he was the instrument of conversion and confirmation to many; and thereafter, in Glasgow and Edinburgh, did breed many godly and able men for the ministry. He made great help at the reformation in the year 1638, and thereafter. Some of his books, printed both in Latin and English, declare in part what a man he was. When in December 1662, for refusing the oath of supremacy, I was sentenced by the council to banishment, and within forty eight hours to depart out of Edinburgh: I went to visit him then lying on death-bed. He told me that as our acquaintance had continued near to forty years, he was glad that now we suffered for the same cause; for he also upon that account was removed from his own place in the college of Edinburgh. I enquired how he found himself: he said, I have taken all my good deeds, and all my bad deeds, and cast them together in a heap before the Lord, and have betaken me to Jesus Christ, and in him have full and sweet peace. I enquired also what were his thoughts of present af-

fairs. He said, he was sure Jesus Christ would not long sit with such indignities done against his work and people. Within a few days after he died. He made a little sweet poem of the love of Christ, which hath been oft printed<sup>a</sup>.

14. MR. SAMUEL RUTHERFORD, a most learned man, a most plain and painful minister, and a most heavenly Christian, as was in his time. He was first a professor of philosophy in the college of Edinburgh, afterwards minister at Anwoth in Galloway, thereafter by the general assembly at Glasgow 1638, he was transported to be minister and professor of theology at St. Andrews, where he continued in the work of the Lord, till the year 1661, at which time, with great peace and joy he died. He had a most sharp piercing wit, and fruitful invention, and solid judgment. He used ordinarily to rise by 3 o'clock in the morning. He spent all his time, either in prayer, or reading, or writing, or in visiting families; in private, or in publick employments of his ministry and profession. While he was at Anwoth, he was the instrument of much good among a poor ignorant people; many of whom he brought to the knowledge and practice of religion; and was a great strengthener of all the Christians in that country, who had been

[ From WODROW'S Preface to DICKSON'S Truth's Victory, &c. ]

a Mr David Dickson was the only son of John Dickson, in Glasgow. His parents were religious persons. of considerable substance, and many years married before they had this child, and he was the only one ever they had, as I am informed. As he was a Samuel, asked of the Lord, so he was early devoted to him and the ministry: yet afterwards the vow was forgot, till providence by a rod and sore sickness on their son, brought their sins to remembrance; and then he was put to resume his studies which he had left; and at the university of Glasgow he made very great progress in them. I have some of Mr. Dickson's sermons at Irvine, taken from his own mouth: they are full of solid substantial matter, very scriptural, and in a very familiar stile; not low, but extremely strong, plain and affecting. It is somewhat akin to Mr. Rutherford's, in his admirable letters. I have been told by some old ministers, that scarce any body of that time came so near Mr. Dickson's stile and method in preaching, as the reverend Mr. William Guthrie minister of Finwick, who equalled, if not exceeded him here.

As Mr. Dickson was singularly useful in his publick ministrations, so I could give many instances of his usefulness more privately; both to Christians in answering their perplexing cases of consciences, and students who had their eye to the ministry, while he was at Irvine. His prudent directions, cautions and encouragements, given them, were extremely useful and beneficial. I could also give examples of his usefulness

to his very enemies, and the Lord's making what he spoke to one that robbed him in the road to Edinburgh of a considerable sum of money, the occasion of the poor youth's change of life, and at length of real conversion: the account of which I have from a worthy person, who had it from himself.

Great was the friendship and familiarity between Mr. Dickson and Mr. Durham; and among other effects of their familiar conversation, which still turned upon profitable subjects and designs, we have the Sum of Saving Knowledge, which hath been so often printed with our Confession of Faith and Catechisms. This, after several conversations, and thinking upon the subject, and manner of handling it, so as it might be most useful to vulgar capacities, was, by Messrs. Dickson and Durham dictated to a minister (who informed me) about the year 1650. It was the deed of those two great men, and, tho' never judicially approved by this church, deserves to be much more read and considered than I fear it is.

He was concerned in, and I am ready to think one principal mover of that concert among several worthy ministers of this church, for publishing short, plain, and practical expositions upon the whole Bible. I cannot recover all their names who were engaged in this work; but I know Mr. Robert Dowglas, Mr. Rutherford, Mr. Robert Blair, Mr. G. Hutcheson, Mr. James Ferguson, Mr. Alexander Nisbit, Mr. James Durham, Mr. John Smith, and some others, had particular books of Holy Scripture allotted to them.

the fruits of the ministry of Mr. John Welch, the time he had been minister at Kirkcudbright. While Mr. Rutherford was at Anwoth, he published his *Exercitationes de Gratia*, for which, and for his non-conformity, he was summoned before the high commission; and because he declined them, he was confined in Aberdeen, where he remained two years; from whence he wrote many letters, all of them breathing much of heaven; many of which are since his death printed<sup>a</sup>. In that place he wanted not some fruits of his ministry by his private labours, altho' he was not there permitted to preach in publick. When the change came by renewing the covenant, in the year 1638, he returned to Anwoth, where he continued in his ministry till he went to St. Andrews, where he bred many godly and able youths for the ministry, and took great pains both in publick and private among the people. He was also very useful, being sent commissioner with some others to the assembly of divines in England. By his preaching, and by his pen, he opposed all the corruptions of his time<sup>b</sup>.

## SECTION V.

[ From LIVINGSTON'S Memoirs. ]

*Some of the faithful and able Ministers of Christ in the Church of Scotland, of my acquaintance, who entered into the Ministry at or after the blessed Reformation in the Year 1638, viz. 1. Gillespy. 2. Durham. 3. Gray. 4. Binning. 5. William Guthrie.*

1. MR. GEORGE GILLESPIE, minister first at Kircaldy, afterwards at Edinburgh, the son of Mr. John Gillespie minister at Kircaldy, a learned, sober, judicious man: being sent commissioner from the church

<sup>a</sup> See Extracts from his Letters in the twenty eighth volume of Wesley's Christian Library.

<sup>b</sup> Mr. Fleming in his Fulfilling of the Scriptures, Part i. says, "I shall also mention that great servant of Christ, Mr. Rutherford, whose Letters (now published) can witness what solemn days of the Spirit, and sensible out-lettings thereof, he oft had in his experience; tho' books can tell but little of what he really felt and enjoyed. I shall only set down some of his last and dying expressions, which I had from those who were then present, and caused write down the same from his mouth, that they may see how lovely he also was in his death; and how well that did correspond with his former life: some of his words are these, "I shall shine, I shall see him as he is, and all the fair company with him, and shall have my large share of it: it is no easy thing for me to be a Christian; but as for me I have got the victory, and Christ is holding forth his arms to embrace me. I have had my fears and faintings as another sinful man, to be carried through creditably; but as sure as ever he spake to me in his word, his Spi-

rit witnessed to my heart; saying, fear not: he had accepted my sufferings, and the out-gate should not be matter of prayer, but of praise." He said also, "Thy word was found, and I did eat it, and it was to me the joy and rejoicing of my heart." And a little before his death, after some fainting, he saith, "Now I feel, I believe, I enjoy, I rejoice:" and turning to Mr. Blair, then present, he said, "I feed on manna, I have angels food; my eyes shall see my redeemer: I know that he shall stand at the latter day on the earth, and I shall be caught up in the clouds to meet him in the air:" and afterwards had these words, "I sleep in Christ, and when I awake, I shall be satisfied with his likeness, O for arms to embrace him:" and to one, speaking of his painfulness in the ministry, he cried out, "I disclaim all; the port I would be in at, is redemption, and forgiveness of sins through his blood." And thus full of the Spirit, yea, as it were overcome with sensible enjoyment, he breathes out his soul; his last words being, "Glory, glory, dwelleth in Emmanuel's land."

of Scotland, to the assembly of divines at London, he promoted much the work of reformation, and attained to a gift of clear, pressing, strong, calm debating, above any man in his time. Once when both parliament and assembly were met, and a long prepared speech was delivered for Erastianism, so as it was thought no man in a short space could answer it; he, being urged by the rest of the Scots commissioners, rose up, and repeated the speech, almost word by word, and refuted it, to the admiration of all. And whereas every man used to take notes, in a little book, of the heads of what was spoken, that, if need were, he might answer in order: when his book was looked into, there was nothing of the speech within it, but here and there; Lord send light! Lord give assistance! Lord defend thy own cause! He was moderator of the assembly at Edinburgh 1648, when the engagement against England was condemned. Shortly after he sickned and died. I heard him once say, that when he went to London, he was hardly a month there till he was in danger to turn a malignant, and hardly again a month in Scotland but he was in danger to turn a sectary. This he said, because sectaries so abounded in England, and malignants in Scotland. He wrote and printed, *Aaron's Red Blossoming*.

2. Mr. JAMES DURHAM<sup>a</sup>, minister at Glasgow, a prudent, pious,

[ From the Preface to his book on Scandal. ]

a Going with his lady to visit her mother in the parish of Abercorn, some miles West from Edinburgh, it happened to be the time of the Lord's supper being administered in that parish. Upon Saturday his mother-in-law earnestly pressed him to go with them to church, and hear sermon; he shewed at first a great unwillingness; but was at last prevailed with to go along with them. The minister that preached that day was extremely affectionate and serious in his delivery, and tho' the sermon was but a plain familiar discourse, yet his seriousness fixed Mr. Durham's attention very closely, and he was much affected therewith, but the change was to be reserved for the morrow. When he came home, he said to his mother-in-law, the minister has preached very seriously this day, and I shall not need to be pressed to go to church to-morrow. Accordingly on sabbath morning rising early he returned to church, and Mr. Ephraim Melvil preached from 1 Pet. ii. 7. "To you that believe, he is precious." In that sermon the minister so sweetly and seriously opened up the preciousness of Christ, and the Spirit of God wrought so effectually upon his spirit, that in the hearing of that sermon he first closed with Christ, and then went to the Lord's table and took the seal of God's covenant. He ordinarily called Mr. Melvil, father, when he spake of him.

He was one of great integrity, authority, and respect, in the country where he lived, and among all his neighbouring gentlemen;

in so much that in all debates and differences that fell out, Mr. Durham was chosen by both parties as their arbitrator and judge, to whose sentence they submitted.

In the time of the civil wars, many gentlemen were in arms for the cause of religion, amongst whom Mr. Durham was chosen and called to be a captain, in which station he behaved himself like another Cornelius, and prayed to God always with his company; yea, he sometimes acted more like a minister than a captain, standing on the head of his company, and giving them many serious exhortations, advices, and counsels for their souls, and prayed before them so powerfully and effectually, that not only all his company, but strangers who passed by and heard, were greatly affected and surprised, looking on him as a man in whom much of the Spirit of God was. His call and coming forth to the holy ministry was remarkable. The Scots army being to engage with the English, he judged it meet to call his company and soldiers to prayer before the engagement. And as he was beginning to pray, it happened that Mr. Dickson, professor of divinity then at Glasgow, came riding by the army, who seeing the soldiers addressing themselves to prayer, and hearing the voice of one praying, drew near, and lighted from his horse, and joined with them. He was so much taken with Mr. Durham's prayer, that after prayer he called for the captain, and having conversed with him a little, he did solemnly charge

and humble divine. He was laird of Pourie in Angus; but after he had been married and had children, being pressed in spirit, and urged by godly and able ministers, and private Christians, he came to the university of Glasgow, and studied divinity, where in a short time he profited so as he might have been a professor of divinity in any university in Europe. He was presently fixed minister at Glasgow, and in the year 1650, when king Charles II. came to Scotland, he, as most fit, for his gravity, learning, wisdom, and piety, was unanimously chosen by the general assembly, to be minister of the king's family, where he

him, That so soon as this piece of service he was engaged in was over, he should devote himself to serve God in the holy ministry, for to that he judged the Lord called him. But tho' as yet Mr. Durham had not clearness to hearken to Mr. Dickton's desire, yet two remarkable providences falling out just upon the back of Mr. Dickson's solemn charge, served very much to clear his way. The first was, In the engagement his horse was shot under him, yet he himself was mercifully preserved. The second was, In the heat of battle, an English soldier was ready to strike him down with his sword, but apprehending him to be a minister by his grave carriage, black cloths and band, as was then in fashion with gentlemen, asked Mr. Durham, if he was a priest? to which Mr. Durham answered, Yes, and so his life was spared by the soldier. Upon after reflection, Mr. Durham considering with himself, how wonderfully the Lord had spared him, and preserved his life, and that his saving, he was a priest, had been the means of his preservation, resolved therefore, as a testimony of his grateful sense of the Lord's mercy to him, henceforth to devote himself to the service of God in the holy ministry, if the Lord should see meet to call and qualify him for the same.

Accordingly having studied divinity under Mr. Dickson at Glasgow, he was licensed, in the year 1646, and ordained a minister in Glasgow, Novr. 1647. When Cromwell and his army were in Glasgow, on the sabbath-day, Cromwell heard Mr. Durham, who preached against the invasion to his face. Next day Cromwell sent for Mr. Durham and told him, "That he always thought Mr. Durham had been a more wise and prudent man, than to meddle with matters of public concern in his sermons." To which Mr. Durham answered, "That it was not his practice to bring public matters into the pulpit, but that he judged it both wisdom and prudence in him to speak his mind upon that head, seeing he had the opportunity of doing it in his own hearing." Cromwell dismissed him very civilly, but desired him to forbear insisting upon that subject in public. And at the same time

fundry ministers both in town and country met with Cromwell and his officers, and represented in the strongest manner the injustice of his invasion.

Upon a certain day when Mr. Durham, and Mr. Andrew Gray were to preach, as they were walking together, Mr. Durham observing multitudes thronging into that church where Mr. Andrew Gray was to preach, and but here and there one dropping into that church where he himself was to preach, said to Mr. Gray, "Brother, I perceive you are like to have a throng church this day," to which Mr. Gray answered, "Truly brother, they are fools to leave you and come to me." To which Mr. Durham replied, "Not so, dear brother, for a minister can receive no such honour and success in his ministry, except it be given from heaven. I rejoice that Christ is preached, and that his kingdom and interest is getting ground, and that his honour and esteem doth encrease, tho' my esteem in peoples hearts should decrease, and be diminished, for I am content to be any thing, so that Christ may be all in all." He was a person of the utmost composure and gravity, and scarce smiled at any thing. When Mr. William Guthrie and he were together at dinner in some gentleman's house, Mr. Guthrie was exceeding merry, and made Mr. Durham smile, yea, laugh, with his pleasant facetious conversation. It was the ordinary custom of the family to pray after dinner, and Mr. Guthrie was desirous to pray, which he did with the greatest measure of seriousness and fervency, to the astonishment of all present. When they rose from prayer, Mr. Durham came to him, and embraced him, and said, "O William, you are a happy man, if I had been so merry as you have been, I could not have been so serious, nor in any frame for prayer, for eight and forty hours."

As Mr. Durham was devout in all the parts of his ministerial work, he was more eminently so at communion occasions. Then he endeavoured through grace to rouse up himself to such a divineness of frame, as very much suited the spiritual state and majesty of that ordinance, greatly fearing lest

continued for some time, not without great approbation, and some success, as might have been expected at such a time in such a place. Yea he offered to go with the king when he went towards Worcester, but not finding suitable acceptance he returned to Glasgow, and continued in his ministry till the year 1658, when he died, being but about thirty six years old. His book of *Scandal*, his *Exposition of the Revelation*, and of the *Song*; with many other pieces not yet published, show what rare gifts the Lord had bestowed on him.

### 3. MR. ANDREW GRAY minister at Glasgow<sup>a</sup>.

himself, or any of the people to whom he dispensed the same, should fall under the grievous guilt of the body and blood of the Lord; Then, in a manner, his face shone, as being in the mount of communion and fellowship with God. And at some of those solemn and sweet occasions, he spake some way as a man that had been in heaven, commending Jesus Christ, making a glorious display of the banner of free grace, holding forth the riches of it very clearly and convincingly, and bringing the offers of it very low, wonderfully low: so that in the hearing of some of his sermons at those occasions, particularly that on Matth. xxii.

4. some of his hearers were made to think, that the cord of the offer of salvation was let down and hung so low to sinners, that those of the lowest stature among them all, might have catcht hold of it, who, through grace, had any mind to do so: and so home, so vehement and urgently pressed, on so sweet and easy terms to be embraced, that it was a wonder to some, how they could refuse or shift them. Mr. Durham gave himself much to meditation, and usually said very little to persons that came to propose their cases to him, but heard them patiently, and was sure to handle them in his sermon. His healing disposition and great moderation of spirit remarkably appeared, when this church was greatly divided betwixt the resolutioners and protesters. As he would never give his judgment upon either side, so he used to say, That division was by far worse than either of the sides. He was equally respected by both parties, so that at a meeting of the synod of Glasgow, when those of the two different sides met separately, each of them made choice of Mr. Durham for their moderator; but he refused to join with either of them, until they would both unite together, which they accordingly did. At this meeting Mr. Durham gave in overtures for peace.

His lectures upon the book of the Revelation were reviled and put to the press by himself, but he died before it was finished. All the while he was lecturing upon this scripture, it is said, he kept two days a week

for fasting and prayer, for discovering the Lord's mind therein.

When on death-bed, he was under considerable darkness about his state, and said to Mr. John Carstairs, "Brother, for all that I have preached and written, there is but one scripture I can remember or dare grip unto, tell me, if I dare lay the weight of my salvation upon it? whosoever cometh to me, I will in no wise cast out." Mr. Carstairs answered him, "You may depend on it, tho' you had a thousand salvations at hazard." [It is said he cried out a little after, "He is come, he is come."]

a He was a son of Sir William Gray of Crichty, who had twenty two children, all of them living to the age of men and women: the first lord Gray was one of them. Mr. Andrew Gray (for whose memory his relations have deservedly a great value) was but nineteen years old, going twenty, when he was ordained a minister in Glasgow; and died before he was twenty two. He was of a very lively and cheerful spirit.

[ From the PREFACE to the NOTES of his  
SERMONS by Mr. ROBERT TRAIL and  
Mr. JOHN STIRLING. ]

When he was first drawn to the ministry, he was far within that age, that by the constitution of this church (except in case of more than ordinary abilities, which indeed he had) is required for entering into that great and holy calling; and for the space of two years after (which was all the time that the church enjoyed his labours) he was helped to press the truths and threatenings of God so home upon the consciences of his hearers, that (as was observed of him by the most learned and pious Mr. Durham, who is now in glory with him) he did many times cause the hair of their head to stand up. The Lord was not only hereby verifying his word, that "He can take the weak things of the world to confound the strong, and out of the mouth of babes can perfect his praise," but designing also, as would seem, of purpose to send a boy out of school for a reprover of the sluggishness of his peo-

4. MR. HUGH BINNING, minister at Govan<sup>a</sup>.

ple, that thereby the aged might be the more ashamed, and the younger more afraid. Neither do we think that this was all, but truly when we consider what measure of graces, gifts, and experiences, the Lord did bestow upon so young a person: and then with what humility, self-denial, gravity, prudence, diligence, authority, and moderation, he was helped to manage these talents during the short time of his ministry: it may be justly conceived that the Lord brought him forth to be a great conviction even to many of us in the ministry, who came into our Master's vineyard long before him, and will go out behind him: and indeed to us it looketh somewhat like the Lord's taking up of the little child, and setting him amongst the midst of his contending disciples in those times; that even they who would be greatest amongst us, might be least, and see somewhat of their own weakness.

As to this little piece, whatever ye shall find in it, it hath this to say for itself, that whereas many writings in the world do intrude themselves upon the press, yet this the press hath violently thrust into the world, &c.

[ *From his LIFE prefixed to his WORKS.* ]

a He was early acquainted with the scriptures; and, from a boy, had been under much deep and spiritual exercise, until the time (or a little before it) of his entry upon the office of the ministry, when he came to a great calm and lasting tranquility of mind, being mercifully relieved from all those doubtings which had for a long time greatly exercised him: and though he was of a tender and weakly constitution; yet love to Christ, and a concern for the good of precious souls committed to him, constrained him to such diligence in feeding the flock, as to spend himself in the work of the ministry. It was observed of him, that he was not much averse at any time from embracing an invitation to preach before the most experienced Christians, even the learned professors of the university, and the ministers of the city: and when one of his most intimate friends noticed herein a difference from that modesty and self-denial, which appeared in the whole of his way and conduct, he took the freedom to ask him, how he came to be so easily prevailed with to preach before persons of to great experience and judgment, whose eminent gifts and graces he highly valued and esteemed? He replied, That when he had a clear call to mention his blessed Master's name in any place, he had no more to say, but here am I, send me: what

am I that I should resist his heavenly call? And when he, whose name is holy and reverend, is spoken of and to, and is there present, the presence of no other person is to be regarded or dreaded; and under that impression, I forget who is present, and who is absent. Upon the day on which he was to be married, he went accompanied with his friends (amongst whom were some grave and worthy ministers) to an adjacent country congregation, upon the day of their weekly sermon. The minister of the parish delayed sermon till they should come, hoping to put the work upon one of the ministers he expected to be there; but all of them declining it, he next tried if he could prevail with the bridegroom, and succeeded, though the invitation was not expected, and the nature of the occasion seemed to be somewhat alien from his being employed in that work. That great divine, Mr. James Durham, an excellent judge of men, gave this verdict of him, that there is no speaking after Mr. Binning; and truly he had the tongue of the learned, and knew how to speak a word in season. Mr. M<sup>r</sup> Ward says in his letter, "That as to the whole of Mr. Binning's writings, I know no man's pen on the heads he hath handled more adapted for edification, or which with a pleasant violence will sooner find or force a passage into the heart of a judicious experienced reader, and cast fire, even ere he is aware, into his affections." And in another part of the same letter he says, "The subjects he discourses upon are handled with such a pleasant and profitable variety of thought and expression, that the hearer or reader is taken with it, as if he had never met with it before." Mr. Binning and some young ministers in the same presbytery, who had been students of divinity, when he was professor of philosophy, did keep private meetings for Christian fellowship, and their mutual improvement. He was a great student in the books of creation and providence, and took much pleasure in meditating upon what is written in these volumes; the wonders he discovered in both led him up to the infinitely wise and powerful Maker and Preserver of all things. Once when he came to visit a gentleman of good learning, and his intimate acquaintance; the gentleman took him to his garden, and in their walk he discoursed with him, to his great surprize, of the wisdom and goodness of God, particularly in cloathing the earth with a green garb, rather than with a garment of any other colour, and having plucked a flower, he made a most savoury spiritual discourse; he se

5. MR. WILLIAM GUTHRY, minister at Finwick, a man of a most ready gift, and fruitful invention, with most apposite comparisons, fit both to awaken and pacify consciences; straight and stedfast in the public cause of Christ. He was a great light in the West of Scotland. He was much troubled with the gravel, of which he died in the year 1665<sup>2</sup>.

dissected and anatomized the same, as to set forth the glorious perfections of its Maker in a most taking and entertaining manner. But the main object of his pious contemplations, was God in Christ reconciling the world to himself. And his sermons are the very transcript of what had past betwixt Christ and his own soul. After he had laboured four years in the ministry, he died of a consumption, when he was scarce come to the prime of life, entering on the twenty-sixth year of his age, leaving behind him a sweet savour after he was gone.

[From his LIFE prefixed to his Trial of a Saving Interest by Mr. WOODROW.]

a He was eldest son to the laird of Pitforthie in the shire of Angus, where he was born in 1620. He studied divinity, for some years, under Mr. Samuel Rutherford. He was licenced to preach the gospel in 1642, at which time he quitted his paternal estate to the only brother of the five, who was not engaged in the sacred office, that thereby he himself might be perfectly disentangled from the affairs of this life. He was ordained minister in the new erected parish of Finwick in 1644. The people there had been very much neglected, and had not enjoyed the means of grace with that ease and advantage which others were favoured with: the melancholy effects whereof were evidently discernible in the rudeness and gross ignorance of many of them; and consequently in a too general neglect of God and religion. But that heavenly zeal for the glory of his great Master, which animated the labours of this excellent minister, his fervent love to the souls of men dying in their sins, and his holy wisdom and diligence in reclaiming and instructing them, were so honoured by God, and accompanied with the powerful influences of his Holy Spirit, that in a little time a noble change was wrought upon a barbarous multitude: they were almost all persuaded to attend the public ordinances, to set up and maintain the stated worship of God in their families; and scarce was there a house in the whole parish, that did not bring forth some fruits of his ministry, and afford some real converts to a religious life. And thus he was made the instrument of many notable triumphs of victorious grace.

The state of his health made it necessary for him to use frequent and vigorous exercises; and this made him chuse fishing and fowling for his common recreations: but as he was always animated by a flaming zeal for the glory of his blessed Master, and a tender compassion to the souls of men; and, as it was the principal thing made him desire life and health, that he might employ it in propagating the kingdom of God; so the very hours of recreation were dedicated to this purpose, which was so endeared to him, and he knew how to make his diversions subservient to the nobler ends of his ministry; he made them the occasions of his familiarizing his people to him, and introducing himself to their affections; and, in the disguise of a sportsman, he gained some to a religious life, whom he could have little influence upon in a minister's gown; of which there happened several examples.

Great multitudes resorted to him from all parts of the west country; his large church was crowded with hearers from Glasgow, Paisley, Lanerk, Hamilton, and other distant places, and his strong and clear voice enabled him to extend the profit of his discourses to the many hundreds who were obliged to keep without doors. An extraordinary zeal then enlivened the souls of sincere Christians, and this made them despise the difficulties that lay in their way, and bear cheerfully with many inconveniences, which attendance upon the sacred ordinances was then accompanied with: so that we are assured by several worthy persons who enjoyed Mr. Guthry's ministry at that time, that it was their usual practice to come to Finwick upon Saturday, spend the greatest part of that night in prayer to God, and conversation about the great concerns of their souls, attend on the public worship on the Sabbath, dedicate the remainder of that holy day to religious exercises, and then on the Monday go home ten, twelve, or twenty miles, without grudging the fatigue of so long a way, and the want of sleep and other refreshments, or finding themselves less prepared for any business throughout the week, so much was their heart engaged in the attendance they gave to the sacred administrations. And the fruits of righteousness, discovering their beauty and excellency in a holy conversation, were a glorious proof of the sincerity of their profession, and the



## SECTION VI.

[ FROM LIVINGSTON'S MEMOIRS. ]

*Some private Christians in the Church of Scotland eminent for Grace and Gifts.* 1. Kennedy. 2. Fleming. 3. Cunningham. 4. Rig. 5. Gordon. 6. Cathcart. 7. Mean. 8. Stuart, &c.<sup>a</sup>.

1. HUGH KENNEDY, provost of Air. John Stuart, provost of Air, told me, that one day a man in that town had thrown in the water and sleek a sea-chest of one of the provost's sons; the provost meeting him, said to the man, " Were it not for the awe of God, and place that I bear, I judge that you deserve that I should tread you under my feet." The night after, about two or three of the clock in the morning, the provost came to John Stuart, and called him up, desiring him to go with him, thowing him he could not eat nor sleep, because he had spoken such injurious boasting words to that man; and therefore, as he had confessed his fault to God, he behoved to go and confess to the man. They went to the man's house; the man hearing it was the provost, drew his sword, and laid it naked in the bed behind him, fearing to be assaulted; the provost fell down on his knees before the bed, and said, " Brother, I wronged you, and the office I bear, in boasting and threatening you, and I can get no rest till you forgive me;" and would not rise till the man solemnly forgave him.

2. BARTHOLOMEW FLEMING, merchant in Edinburgh, a most religious man, and a great entertainer and encourager of all honest ministers and Christians in his time.

3. WILLIAM CUNNINGHAM of Dolphingtoun, tutor of Bonningtoun, who spent ordinarily the most part of every forenoon only

wonderful success of Mr. Guthry's ministry. And there are some of those yet alive, of whose conversion to a religious life God honoured him to be the instrument, who are ready to attest much more than hath been just now said; and can never think without an exultation of soul upon the memory of their spiritual Father, and the power of that victorious grace, which in those days triumphed so gloriously. His brother to whom he had made over his paternal estate of Pitforthly, dying in the Summer 1665, Mr. Guthry's presence there was necessary for ordering private affairs, which made him and his wife take journey for Angus about that time. He had not been long in that country, till he was seized by a complication of distempers, particularly the gravel; and after eight or ten days illness, died in the house of his brother-in-law Mr. Lewis Skinner minister at Brechin, October 1665, aged 45. He died in the full assurance of Faith, as to his own interest in the covenant of God, and under the pleasing hopes that God would return in glory to the church of Scotland.

His small treatise of the Christian's Interest hath been blessed by God, with wonderful success in our own country. Several have owed their conversion to the reading of this treatise. Nor hath it less regard paid it in England. Dr. John Owen said of it, " It is my *Vade Mecum*, I carry it and the Sedan New Testament still about with me. I have written several folios; but there is more divinity in it than in them all." Foreigners also valued it, translated it, and were eminently profited thereby. It was translated into Low Dutch by the reverend Mr. Koelman, and was highly esteemed in Holland, so that Mrs. Guthry and one of her daughters met with uncommon civilities and kindness, when their relation to its author was known. It is also translated into French and High Dutch: and we are informed, that it was also translated into one of the Eastern tongues, at the charges of that noble pattern of religion, learning and charity, the honourable Robert Boyle.

<sup>a</sup> The two first he had only heard of; the rest were of his acquaintance.

in prayer, reading, and meditation on scripture. When some enquired, how he could stay so long at prayer? he answered, if he got not access to God, he could not come away till he obtained it; and when he got access, it was so sweet, he could not leave it. He told me he was present with John of the Score, when he was executed at Edinburgh, one of the robbers in Annandale, so ignorant of God, that he had scarce heard of Jesus Christ, but who proved at his end a most remarkable example of repentance. He told me also he was present when William Carmichael of Redmyre (or Rowantree-cross, for I remember not which of the two was his style) was executed at Douglass; one who had an estate of his own, but, out of very vanity and wickedness, fell to rob and spoil his neighbours, and so being in danger of his life by the law, fled to Ireland, and returning was seized on by the earl of Angus, and adjudged to be hanged the next day. When the tutor went to speak to him in prison, he would not believe they would take his life, because he was a gentleman, and a-kin to the earl of Angus, and desired the tutor to go to the earl, and try his mind; when the tutor came back, and told him he behoved to die, he said, "Ah! it is the saddest news that ever came to a man in the strength of flesh and blood, to tell him he must die; I have much to do in a short time!" And all that night he was in a fearful wrestling like one distracted; but, about four of the clock in the morning, he desired the tutor to be called to him, and told him he had got assurance of salvation, and desired my father to be sent for from Lanerk to be with him; and when he was brought forth to execution, spoke much and well to the melting of the hearts of many; and, being on the ladder, he desired the executioner not to throw him over, until he with his elbow gave him a sign; and then spoke out, "Lord, I hope thou wilt not let me perish, and the name of thy sweet son Jesus Christ in my mouth; and that name shall not go out of my mouth so long as I have breath, Jesus Christ have mercy upon me! Jesus Christ receive my soul!" and so continuing, gave with his elbow a sign to the man to throw him over.

4. WILLIAM RIG of Adderny, one much exercised in spirit, and experienced in the ways of God, and most zealous in the cause of God. When he was bailie of Edinburgh, he gave great evidence, that he had the spirit of a magistrate beyond many, being a terror to all evil doers. He had a good patrimony, and employed it well. I have heard Rig of Carberry say, "I have been on his accompts; and, to my certain knowledge, he spends, yearly, more in pious uses than all my estate is worth, and mine will be towards eight or nine thousand merks by year;" and yet he would hardly ever give any thing at all to the vagrant sturdy beggars. I have been often with him at private meetings, when he prayed, and observed, that always he began with most heavy and bitter complaints and confessions deeper than any that I have heard; and sundry times before he ended, he expressed unspeakable assurance, and joy, and thanksgiving; but sometimes also he continued and ended just as he began. I heard him say, when after the reformation 1633, something seemed to appear in general assemblies, as tending to restrain private meetings of Christians for mutual edification; "I think, saith he,

the church of Scotland is just like Adam in paradise, that cannot continue in integrity a moment."

5. ROBERT GORDON of Knockbrax, a single-hearted and painful Christian, much employed at parliaments and public meetings after the year 1638. He had also two brethren, very gracious persons, John Gordon of Garleburgh, in whose house I was once at a private meeting, where were, beside Earleston and Knockgray<sup>a</sup>, John Gordon of Barkeugh, John M<sup>c</sup>Adam, and some others, all eminent Christians.

6. — CATHCART of Carleton in Carrick, an old experienced Christian. I heard once Mr. Cunningham, minister at Holliwod, say, That, being once at a communion in Daylie, he and some others being in conference with Carleton, that he thought that all the doubts and questions that they propounded to him, were but like poor questions of raw fresh soldiers propounded to an old commander in war.

7. JOHN MEAN, merchant in Edinburgh, a solid and stedfast professor of the truth of God. He used to rise to about three in the morning, both Summer and Winter, and sing psalms as he put on his clothes, and spend till six a clock alone in religious exercises. At six he worshipped God with his family, and then went to his shop.

8. JOHN STUART, provost of Air, a godly and zealous Christian of a long standing. He was one in that intended voyage from Ireland to New-England, who were all put back again. He had a great impediment in his speech and stuttering, so as one could hardly understand what he said; but I have oft heard him pray as distinctly as any man could speak<sup>b</sup>.

ELIZABETH MELVILL, lady Culrofs, daughter of the laird of Hallhill. She was famous for her piety, and for her dream about her spiritual condition, which she put in verse, and was by others published. Of all that ever I saw, she was most unwearied in religious exercises; and the more she attained of access to God, she hungred the more.

— FLEMING, lady Robertland, one deeply exercised in her mind, and who often got as rare outgates; a great help to the poor people of Stuartoun when they were awakened. She had a strange way of continuing a spiritual discourse under the similitudes of outward and worldly things. I heard her say, speaking of God, "With him the

a Alexander Gordon of Earleston, a man of a great spirit, but much subdued by inward exercise, and who attained singular experiences. Alexander Gordon of Knockgray, a rare Christian in his time. His chief put him out of his land mostly for his religion; but he was restored by that man's son: and he told me, the Lord had blessed him with great prosperity.

b Fleming says of him, "I must add a word upon the death of this worthy man. When his friends came to see him, he oft used this word, BE HUMBLE; and, as to his own case, he said, 'I go the way of all flesh; and it may be some of you doubt nothing of my well-being; yea, I testify, that ex-

cept when I slept, or was on business, I was not these ten years without thoughts of God, so long as I could be in going from my house to the cross; and yet I doubt myself, and am in great agony, yea, at the brink of despair.' But a day or two before he died, he turned his face to the wall from company for two hours, and then Mr. John Ferguson came in, a grave and godly minister of that place, who asked what he was doing; upon which he turned himself, with these words, "I have been fighting and working out my salvation with fear and trembling, and now, I bless God, it is perfected, sealed, confirmed, and all fears are gone."

most of moths is lighter than nothing; and without him the least of leasts is more than my burden." After she had attained for many years to as much assurance and stability as any in her time; yet I found her in Edinburgh about Winter 1619, in as great doubts and darkness as ever before; but many battles brought many victories.

CHRISTIAN HAMILTON, lady Boyd, a rare pattern of Christianity, grave, diligent, and prudent. She used every night to write what had been the case of her soul all the day, and what she had observed of the Lord's dealing.

ANNA LIVINGSTON, countess of Eglintoun; although bred at court, yet proved a humble and eminent Christian; an encourager of piety and truth.

## SECTION VII.

*Of the Work at Stewarton and Irvine, about the Year 1625, &c.*

[ From the Fulfilling of the Scriptures page 185, Folio. ]

I must here instance a very solemn and extraordinary out-letting of the Spirit, which about the year 1625, and afterwards, was in the west of Scotland. This by the prophane rabble of that time, was called the Stewarton sickness, for in that parish first, but after through much of that country, particularly at Irvine under the ministry of Mr. Dickson <sup>a</sup> it was remarkable; where it can be said, (which divers ministers and Christians yet alive can witness) that for a considerable time, few Sabbaths did pass without some evidently converted, or some convincing proofs of the power of God accompanying his word; yea, that many were so choaked and taken by the heart, that, through terror, the Spirit in such a measure convincing them of sin, in hearing of the word, they have been made to fall over, and thus carried out of the church; who after proved most solid and lively Christians. And, as it was known, some of the most gross, who used to mock at religion, being engaged, upon the same that went abroad of such things, to go to some of these parts where the gospel was then most lively, have been effectually reached before their return, with a visible change following the same. And truly this great spring-tide (as I may call it) of the gospel, was not of a short time, but for some years continuance <sup>b</sup>; yea thus like a spreading moor-burn, the power of godliness did advance from one place to another, which put a marvellous lustre on these parts of the country, the favour whereof brought many from other parts of the land to see the truth of the same.

<sup>a</sup> Of Mr. Dickson see Sect. fourth of this Chap. He had been a regent in the college of Glasgow, and was ordained minister in the town of Irvine in 1618, and laboured there about twenty three years.

<sup>b</sup> Some place this work in 1625; others in 1630: the difference may be owing to its continuance. It began it seems about 1625, and lasted till after 1630, and spread from house to house, for many miles, on both sides of Stewarton-water. The mini-

ster of Stewarton, at that time, was one Mr. Castlelaw, who encouraged the Stewarton people to attend on Mr. Dickson's sermons on Mondays at Irvine; and often employed Mr. Blair to preach at Stewarton, and accompanied him from Glasgow to Dumbarton, singing Psalms along with him most of the way, when Mr. Blair was leaving Glasgow. But the chief instrument the Lord made use of, in that blessed work at Stewarton and Irvine, seems to have been Mr. Dickson.

a [ From BLAIR's Life. ]

I preached sometimes (while a regent in the college of Glasgow) to the people of Stewarton, a parish in Cunningham, where the Lord had a great work in converting many. Numbers of them were at first under great terrors, and deep exercise of conscience; and afterwards attained to sweet peace, and strong consolation. I preached often to them in the time of the college-vacation, residing at the house of that famous saint the lady Robertland, and had much conference with them, and profited more by them, than, I think, they did by me: tho' ignorant people, and proud secure livers called them "The dast people of Stewarton." Mr. Robert Boyd of Trochrigg came from his house in Carrick to meet with them, and having conferred with both men and women, he heartily blessed God for the grace of God in them. The countess of Eglington did much countenance them, and perswaded her noble lord to spare his hunting and hawking some days, to confer with some of them, whom she had sent for to that end: her lord after conference with them, protested, "That he never spake with the like of them, and wondered at the wisdom they manifested in their speech." So many of them as were able to travel, went to the Monday market at Irvine, the next parish, with some little commodities, such as they had; but their chief design was to hear the Monday-lecture by Mr. Dickson minister at Irvine, which was so prudently ordered by him, that it ended before the market began: and by their example, many of that parish, (their minister Mr. Castlclaw encouraging them to it) and some out of other parishes, went thither, whereby the power of religion was spread over that part of the country. I bless the Lord that ever I was acquainted with that people; and for the help I had by interchanging letters with Mr. Dickson. Hereby I was helped, according to my power, to relieve them that were in need, and to sympathize tenderly with such as I knew to be tempted, and lying under heavy pressures of conscience; whereby I still learned more of the wicked wiles of Satan, and of the blessed ways of God.

[ From WODROW's Preface to Dickson's Truth's Victory over Error. ]

At Irvine, Mr. Dickson's ministry was singularly countenanced of God. Multitudes were convinced and converted; and few that lived in his day were more honoured to be instruments of conversion, than he. People under exercise and soul concern, came from every place about Irvine and attended upon his sermons, and the most eminent and serious Christians from all corners of the church, came and joined with him at his communions, which were indeed times of refreshing from the presence of the Lord. Yea not a few came from distant places and settled in Irvine, that they might be under his ministry, yet he himself used to observe that the vintage of Irvine was not equal to the gleanings, and not once to be compared to the harvest at Air in Mr. John Welch's time, when indeed the gospel had wonderful success in conviction, conversion and confirmation.

a Of Mr. Blair see Sect. ninth of this Chap.

Mr. Dickson had his week day sermon upon the Mondays, the market days then at Irvine. Upon the Sabbath evenings, many persons under soul distress, used to resort to his house after sermon, when usually he spent an hour or two in answering their cases, and directing and comforting those who were cast down, in all which he had an extraordinary talent. In a large hall he had in his house at Irvine, there would have been, as I am informed by old Christians, several scores of serious Christians waiting for him, when he came from the church. Those, with the people round the town, who came into the market at Irvine, made the church as throng, if not thronger on the Monday, as on the Lord's day, by these week days sermons. The famous Stewarton sickness was begun about the year 1630, and spread from house to house for many miles in the strath where Stewarton water runs, on both sides of it; Satan indeed endeavoured to bring a reproach upon the serious person, who were at this time under the convincing work of the Spirit, by rushing some, seemingly under serious concern, to excesses, both in time of sermon, and in families. But the Lord enabled Mr. Dickson, and other ministers who dealt with them, to act so prudent a part, as Satan's design was much disappointed, and solid, serious, practical religion flourished mightily in the west of Scotland about this time.

#### SECTION VIII.

*Of the Sermon at the Kirk of Shotts on Monday June 21, 1630.—And the Revival in 1638, &c.*

[ From the Fulfilling of the Scriptures, page 185, folio. ]

I must also mention that solemn communion at the Kirk of Shotts June 20, 1630, at which time there was so convincing an appearance of God, and down-pouring, of the Spirit, even in an extraordinary way, that did follow the ordinances, especially that sermon on the Monday, June 21. with a strange unusual motion on the hearers, who in a great multitude were there convened of divers ranks, that it was known, which I can speak on sure ground, near five hundred<sup>a</sup> had at that time a discernible change wrought on them, of whom most proved lively Christians afterwards. It was the sowing of a seed through Clyddisdale, so as many of the most eminent Christians in that country could date either their conversion, or some remarkable confirmation in their case,

<sup>a</sup> As to the credibility of Mr. Fleming's testimony, it may be sufficient briefly to mention the following things: 1. His eminent character for integrity and piety; for which, see the attestation prefixed to the fifth edition of his *Fulfilling of the Scriptures*, by Watts, Neal, Ridgel, y, Bradbury, Wilcox, and many others; and the memoirs of his life by Mr. Daniel Burgess prefixed to the same. 2. As to his opportunities of good information; during the whole time of his ministry in Scotland, viz. from 1650 to 1661, he was minister at Camoulsang, within twelve miles

of the Shotts, which two parishes are not only in the same synod, but in the same presbytery. He could not therefore fail to have frequent opportunities of conversing with ministers and others, who had occasion to know the subjects of that work, and the evidences of their perseverance, for so considerable a time as betwixt the years 1630 and 1661. Besides his opportunities, when at Rotterdam, of conversing with such men as Mr. Livingston, Mr. M<sup>r</sup> Ward from Glasgow, and other Scots ministers.

from that day; and truly this was the more remarkable, that one, after much reluctance, by a special and unexpected providence, was called to preach that sermon on the Monday, which then was not usually practised; and that night before, by most of the Christians there, was spent in prayer, so that the Monday's work might be discerned as a convincing return of prayer.

[ From LIVINGSTON'S Life. ]

The only day in all my life, wherein I found most of the presence of God in preaching, was on a Monday after the communion, preaching in the church-yard of Shotts, June 21, 1630. The night before I had been in company with some Christians, who spent the night in prayer and conference. When I was alone in the fields about eight or nine o'clock in the morning, before we were to go to sermon, there came such a mis-giving of spirit upon me, considering my unworthiness and weakness, and the multitude and expectation of the people, that I was consulting with myself to have stollen away somewhere, and declined that day's preaching, but that I thought I durst not so far distrust God; and so went to sermon, and got good assistance about one hour and an half upon the points which I had meditated on Ezekiel xxxvi. 25, 26. And in the end, offering to close with some words of exhortation, I was led on about an hour's time in a strain of exhortation and warning, with such liberty and melting of heart, as I never had the like in public all my life-time. Some little of that stamp remained on the Thursday after, when I preached in Kilmarnock; but the very Monday following, preaching in Irvine, I was so deserted, that the points I had meditated and written, and which I had fully in my memory, I was not for my heart able to get them pronounced: so it pleased the Lord to counterbalance his dealings, and to hide pride from man. This so discouraged me, that I was resolved for some time not to preach, at least not in Irvine; but Mr. David Dickson would not suffer me to go from thence, 'till I preached the next Sabbath, to get (as he expressed it) amends of the devil. I stayed, and preached with some tolerable freedom.

[ Some farther particulars which the Compiler has credible information of. ]

There was a great multitude of divers ranks, and from different corners of Scotland (many of them of eminent piety) who attended that communion. By credible information conveyed through a few hands, from persons who were Mr. Livingston's co-temporaries, the following facts appear to be well attested, as to the occasion of such an uncommon gathering of pious people, and their getting the assistance of several of the ministers who were most esteemed at that time. As the Kirk of Shotts lies on the road from the West to Edinburgh, and is at a good distance from any convenient place of entertainment; some ladies of rank who had occasion to pass that way, met, at different times, with civilities from the minister <sup>a</sup> at his house, which was then situate where the public inn is now. Particularly once, when through some misfortune befalling their coach or chariot, they were obliged to pass

a night in the minister's house; they observed, that besides its incommodious situation, it much needed to be repaired. They therefore used their interest to get a more convenient house built for the minister, in another place. After receiving so substantial favours, the minister waited on the ladies, and expressed his desire to know if any thing was in his power, that might testify his gratitude to them. They answered, it would be very obliging to them, if he would invite to assist at his communion, certain ministers whom they named, who were eminently instrumental in promoting practical religion<sup>a</sup>. The report of this spreading far and near, multitudes of persons of different ranks attended there, so that for several days before the sacrament there was much time spent in social prayer.

It was not usual, it seems, in those times, to have any sermon on the Monday after dispensing the Lord's supper. But God had given so much of his gracious presence, and afforded his people so much communion with himself, on the foregoing days of that solemnity, that they knew not how to part without thanks-giving and praise. There had been (as was said before) a vast confluence of choice Christians, with several eminent ministers, from almost all the corners of the land, that had been many of them there together, for several days before the sacrament, hearing sermon, and joining together in larger or lesser companies, in prayer, praise, and spiritual conferences. While their hearts were warm with the love of God, some expressing their desire of a sermon on the Monday, were joined by others, and in a little the desire became very general. Mr. John Livingstone, chaplain to the countess of Wigtoun, (at that time, only a preacher, not an ordained minister, and about twenty seven years of age) was with very much ado, prevailed on to think of giving the sermon. He had spent the night before in prayer and conference; but when he was alone in the fields, about eight or nine in the morning, there came such a misgiving of heart upon him under a sense of unworthiness and unsuitness to speak before so many aged and worthy ministers, and so many eminent and experienced Christians; that he was thinking to have stollen quite away, and was actually gone away to some distance; but when just about to lose sight of the Kirk of Shotts, these words "Was I ever a barren wilderness or a land of darkness?" were brought into his heart with such an overcoming power, as constrained him to think it his duty to return and comply with the call to preach: which he accordingly did with good assistance, for about an hour and a half on the points he had meditated from that text, Ezek. xxxvi. 25, 26. "Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean: from all your filthiness, and from all your idols will I cleanse you. A new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you, and I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh, and I will give you an heart of flesh." As he was about to close, a heavy shower coming suddenly on, which made the people hastily take to their cloaks and mantles, he began to speak to the following purpose, "If a few drops of rain from the clouds so discomposed

<sup>a</sup> It is said that Mr. Robert Bruce, was one of the number, of whom, see Sect. fourth of this Chapter.



them, how discomposed would they be, how full of horror and despair, if God should deal with them as they deserved: and thus he will deal with all the finally impenitent. That God might justly rain fire and brimstone upon them, as upon Sodom and Gomorrah and the other cities of the plain. That the Son of God by tabernacled in our nature, and obeying and suffering in it, is the only refuge and covert from the storm of divine wrath due to us for sin<sup>a</sup>. That his merits and mediation are the alone screen from that storm, and none but penitent believers shall have the benefit of that shelter." In these or some expressions to this purpose and many others, he was led on about an hour's time (after he had done with what he had premeditated) in a strain of exhortation and warning, with great enlargement and melting of heart.

The following particular instances are well attested, and, if it were proper, some of the persons could be named. On that remarkable Monday, three of our young gentlemen in Glasgow, had made an appointment to go to Edinburgh, to wait upon the public diversions there. They alighted at Shotts to take breakfast. One of their number proposed, as there was a young man to preach that day, (Mr. Livingston, the lady Wigtoun's chaplain) if the rest would agree, they might go and hear sermon, probably more out of curiosity than any other motive. And, for the more expedition, they proposed to come away just at the end of the sermon, before the last prayer. But the power of God was so felt by them accompanying that sermon, that they could not come away till all was over. When they returned to the public house to take their horses, they called for some drink before they mounted; but when the drink was set upon the table, they all looked to one another: none of them durst touch it till a blessing was asked; and as it was not their manner formerly to be careful about such things, one of them at last proposed, "I think we should ask a blessing to our drink:" the other two readily agreed, and put it upon one of the company to do it, which he readily did. When they had done, they could not rise until another should return thanks. They went on their way more sober and sedate than they used to be, but none of them mentioned their inward concern to another, only now and then they would have said, "Was it not a great sermon we heard?" another would have answered, "I never heard the like of it." They went to Edinburgh, but instead of waiting upon diversions or company, they kept their rooms the most part of the time they were in town, which was only about two days, when they were all quite weary of Edinburgh, and proposed to return home. Upon the way home, they did not yet discover themselves to one another; and after they were some days in Glasgow, they kept their rooms very much, and came seldom abroad. At last one of them made a visit to another, and made a discovery of what God had done for him at Shotts: the other frankly owned the concern that he was brought under at the same time. Both of them went to the third, who was in the same case, and they all three agreed directly to begin a fellowship meeting. They continued to have a practice suitable to their profession, (so far as my informer heard) as long as they lived. And

<sup>a</sup> Isaiah iv. 6. and xxxii. 2.

some of them lived to an advanced age, and were eminent and useful men in the place.

Another instance was of a poor man, a horse-hirer in Glasgow, whom a gentlewoman had employed to carry her to Shotts. In time of sermon he had taken out his horse to feed at a small distance from the tent: when the power of God was so much felt in the latter part of the sermon, he apprehended that there was a more than ordinary concern amongst the people; something he felt strike him in such a way as he could not account for; he hastily rose up and ran into the congregation, where he was made a sharer of what God was distributing among them that day.

A minister yet alive, who had occasion to observe that Andrew Gray of Chrystown, an eminently pious aged gentleman, some miles North-east from Glasgow, was furnished with valuable materials relating to the success of the gospel in that part of the country about that time, intreated him to put down some of them in a letter, in which he writes to the following purpose. "Notwithstanding of the blessed reformation from Popery which God brought about by the endeavours of a few, the bulk of the country continued in much ignorance and immorality. But two springs of the revival of religion in this corner were the famous sermon at the Kirk of Shotts; and the labours of Mr. Robert Bruce. As, at that sermon at Shotts a good number of people were by grace made acquainted with the life and power of religion, so several of them were eminently good men, and remarkable not only for a pious inoffensive behaviour, but also for their abounding in all these good fruits which pure and undefiled religion enables its sincere followers to perform. This not only made them esteemed and revered by many of their neighbours, but likewise procured some respect for religion itself, from which they reaped many advantages, its followers being readier to do them all kind of good offices, than other people. Among other good fruits, you cannot doubt a strong inclination to promote the spiritual good of others was a principal one. As the labourers were then few in this part of God's vineyard, he seemed to have inspired these private Christians, with an uncommon degree of love to the souls of men, inciting them to labour by all proper methods, to bring others acquainted with that grace which had produced such blessed effects on themselves: and their labours were not without a considerable effect. They were called the Puritans of the muir of Bothwel; perhaps by way of reproach, by those that were ill affected towards them. Some relations of mine were much the better for having conversed with them; especially an elder brother of my father's (who died young) as appeared by a paper left by him. I have seen some of these people myself, who lived to a great age, and conversed with many good people at this house, who had been very well acquainted with them. My father told me he understood Mr. Livingston haunted (perhaps sometimes resided) at the earl of Wigtoun's house in Cumbernauld, and lord Boyd's in Badenheath, and was a benefit to some of the daughters in both families. He mentioned a daughter of lord Boyd's, who was married to——Pringle of

Torwoodlie; lived long; was a singularly good woman, and endured much for conscience sake.

Mr. Robert Bruce in his old age, after being forcibly harassed, got leave to retire to a land interest of his own (Gartshary) in the Old Monklands where he died. The curate of Old Monkland at that time was, by all accounts, a silly ignorant creature. Mr. Bruce used to send him word sometimes, that he would preach for him. Whether he had any kindness for Mr. Bruce, or being overawed, by the reputation of so great a man, durst not refuse him, I know not; but he gave him his pulpit. His sermons were attended with considerable success, and were the other great mean, of diffusing the power of godliness through this country. The country people were filled with great respect for him, and used to speak of him as a person of great gravity, and an awful preacher. I have been told by some of the children of those who heard him preach, that when he entered the pulpit, he frequently by way of preface uttered some very moving and weighty expressions, such as "That it was a great matter to believe the being of a God," and charged them to endeavour to have their minds deeply affected with a sense of that truth. When his health allowed, and he was asked; he used to visit the sick; and the people were firmly persuaded, that by means of his prayers several were recovered. No doubt the effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much; but probably their regard to the man, made them attribute perhaps too much to his prayers. Providence seems to have been early kind to the Old Monkland, in bestowing upon them likewise two very pious clerks or readers, Mr. Matthew Ramsay afterwards minister of Kilpatrick, and John Semple of Crossfairs. The story of John Semple I believe I told you already: he knowing that a great number of people used to meet in a certain plain on the Sabbath-day; to divert themselves in the customary manner, went thither one day and civilly asked them to leave off their pastimes, and join a little with him in prayer. They were prevailed on to do so; and I have been told, that by that means several were brought into a real concern about their souls; but one certain and visible effect was that they never met more in that plain, on that day for such exercises.

The next advantageous step to the interest of religion in this part of the country, was the settlement of three worthy good men, viz. Mr. Bennet in Kirkintilloch, Mr. Matthew Ramsay in Kilpatrick, and Mr. Carstairs in Cathcart, whose ministry was eminently successful. The east-end of the parish of Calder, lying so near Kirkintilloch, frequented that kirk; and, by means of Mr. Bennet's ministry, the Sabbath began to be a great deal better kept, and the sports and diversions, that till then had subsisted, were given over. About the same time Messrs. Dickson, Durham, M'Quair, Gillespie, Baillie, &c. were settled in the presbytery of Glasgow, which was not only a great benefit to the interest of religion, upon the account of their personal labours in preaching the gospel, and other parochial duties, whereby schools were every where set up, knowledge was greatly increased, and a mighty reformation brought about; but also by their care and endeavours for preserving the purity of the doctrine, which, during the former period,

I am informed, had been much corrupted; and by restoring the antient discipline, in visiting churches, inquiring severely into the conduct of ministers, sessions, and people, turning out insufficient and scandalous ministers, censuring and admonishing the lazy and indolent, and endeavouring to keep out worthless men. By such methods as these, not by lording it over God's heritage, but by spending their time and strength in a disinterested and unwearied promoting the good of souls, they gained the greatest love and reverence from their people, and their judicial sentences were received with respect and submission. They turned out two worthless insufficient men out of Calder and Campsy, and settled Mr. Thomas Melvin, and Mr. John Dow, in their room, who were great blessings in these parishes. As a proof of the success of Mr. Melvin's ministry: in a few years after his settlement, the worship of God was so generally set up in families, that it was a great scandal and discredit to such as neglected it; and the number of praying societies rose from one to eight or ten.

From what I have said above, you will easily believe, that the success of the gospel in such hands, was like to be considerable. As to singular effusions of Divine Grace at particular times and places, I cannot say much; only I heard my father tell, that on the Monday after the celebration of a sacrament at Kirkintilloch, the people being detained in the church after sermon was ended, by a sudden fall of rain; that they might not be without some suitable entertainment, Mr. Carstairs stepped into the pulpit, and in an extempore discourse, wherein he described the nature of faith, and cautioned them against mistakes about it, especially against depending on a sort of faith that they had all their days, and knew not how they came by, declaring faith to be the work of the Spirit of God with power, there arose a mighty commotion in the congregation; many were brought into a deep concern about their souls condition, the good fruit of which appeared in their after-life and conversation. Another instance I have heard of at Calder, where the same Mr. Carstairs officiating for Mr. Melvin, who had been taken with a fit of sickness during the sacrament, while they were singing part of the twenty-fourth Psalm, "Ye gates lift up your heads," &c. before the blessing of the elements, there was a mighty melting of heart seized the congregation, and the Spirit of God, like a mighty wind, burst open the everlasting doors, and took possession of the hearts of sinners; several people from that day dating their first soul-concern and conversion. I have heard Mr. Carstairs used to say, he had three days of heaven upon earth, and one of them was at Calder. May we not suppose that another of them was at Kirkintilloch on that other remarkable occasion? Their exemplary life and conversation, as well as their labours and zeal for winning souls to Christ, raised the credit of the ministry high among the good people. They loved them as their own souls, attended their ministry with earnestness and joy, and considered the want of them as the greatest loss they could possibly sustain, as appeared, when, after their being turned out at the restoration, they attended their preaching in the fields with the hazard of their lives. I leave it to you to consider, whether a revival of the same zeal, labours, and

exemplary conduct, be not the best way to restore to the ministry that love and respect," &c.

[ From the Fulfilling of the Scriptures, page 186, Folio. ]

THAT was also a remarkable time, wherein the Lord did let forth much of the Spirit on his people, in the year 1638, when this nation did solemnly enter in covenant, which many yet alive at this day do know; how the spirits of men were raised and wrought on by the word, the ordinances lively and longed after; for then did the nation own the Lord, and was visibly owned by him; much zeal, and an enlarged heart, did appear for the public cause; personal reformation seriously set about; and then also was there a remarkable gale of providence that did attend the actings of his people, which did astonish their adversaries, and forced many of them to feign subjection. Alas, how is our night come on; for the Lord hath in anger covered the face of the daughter of Zion with a dark cloud!—Must not we also say, since the land was engaged by covenant to the Lord in these late times, what a solemn out-letting of the Spirit hath been seen, a large harvest with much of the fruit of the gospel discernible, which we may say with a warrant, hath been proved in the inbringing of thousands to Christ, a part whereof now are in glory, and many yet live who are a visible seal to this truth, of whom I am sure some will not lose the remembrance of these sweet refreshing times, which the land for several years did enjoy of the gospel, and of many solemn communions, where a large blessing with much of the spirit and power of God was felt accompanying the ordinances; if it were expedient to set down circumstances, I could here point at many such remarkable times and places, which should clearly demonstrate this<sup>a</sup>.

a Old Mr. Hutchefon, minister at Killellan, used to say to Mr. Wodrow, author of the History of the Church of Scotland, "When I compare the times before the restoration with the times since the revolution, I must own, that the young ministers preach accurately and methodically; but there was far more of the power and efficacy of the spirit and grace of God went along with sermons in those days than now: and, for my own part (all the glory be to God) I seldom set my foot in a pulpit in those times, but I had notice of some blessed effects of the word."

When I mention Mr. Wodrow, it may be proper to inform the reader, that he took the pains to collect accounts of a great many ministers in Scotland, (and other persons of a public station) who lived in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (some of whom were eminent for piety) and hath left in manuscript several volumes of their lives. The following is a list of some of them, the time of whose death is particularly mentioned.

Patrick Hamilton martyr, who suffered	1527
George Wishart martyr	46
John Rough martyr	57
Alexander Alefse, professor of divinity, who died	66
John Knox the reformer	72
John Row minister at Perth	80
Alexander Arbuthnot principal of Aberdeen college	83
Thomas Smeton principal of Glasgow college	
James Lawson minister at Edinburgh	84
John Spotiswood minister at Calder	85
George Buchanan the historian	86
Andrew Hay minister at Kenfrew	90
Thomas Jack minister at Eastwood	95
David Fergusson minister at Dunfermling	98
Robert Rollock principal of the college of Edinburgh.	
Thomas Buchanan minister at Ceres	1600
John Craig minister at Edinburgh	
John Durie minister at Edinburgh	
John Porterfield minister at Ardrossan	1600
John Coupar minister at Edinburgh	

## SECTION IX.

*Of the Work in the North of Ireland, in the Province of Ulster, and particularly in the County of Antrim, near the Six-mile-water, in the Year 1628, &c.—The Ministers employed in that Work.—The Way it was carried on.—The Opposition it met with and overcame.*

I. THE ministers employed by the Lord in that work, were,  
 1. Mr. Blair at Bangour. 2. Mr. Cunningham at Holliwood. 3. Mr. Hamilton at Ballywater. 4. Mr. Ridge at Antrim. 5. Mr. Calvert at Old-Stone. 6. Mr. Dunbar at Lern. 7. Mr. Welch at Temple-Patrick. 8. Mr. Stewart at Dunnagore. 9. Mr. Livingston at Killinchic.

[ FROM LIVINGSTON'S MEMOIRS. ]

I. MR. ROBERT BLAIR, born in Irvine, was first a regent in the college of Glasgow, at which time also he began to preach in public;

David Black minr. at St. Andrews, who  
 died administering the Lord's supper 1603  
 William Harlaw minister at West-kirk 05  
 James Nicholson minister at Meigle 07  
 John Johnston professor of divinity at  
 St. Andrews 11  
 David Lindsay minister at Leith 13  
 James Melvin minister at Anstruther 14  
 Walter Balcanquhall minr. at Edinburgh 16  
 Charles Fairholm minr. at Frazerburgh 17  
 Patrick Simpson minister at Stirling 18  
 William Cowpar minr. at Bothkennar 19  
 Andrew Melvin principal of the col-  
 lege of Glasgow 21  
 John Carmichael minister at Kin- }  
 neuchers 22  
 John Welch minister at Air }  
 John Cameron principal of the college }  
 of Glasgow 25  
 Andrew Duncan minister at Crail 26  
 Robert Boyd of Trochrigg, principal of }  
 the college of Glasgow 27  
 Henry Charteris principal of the col- }  
 lege of Edinburgh 29  
 Robert Scot minister at Glasgow. }  
 Robert Bruce minister at Edinburgh }  
 Archibald Simson minister at Dal- }  
 keith 31  
 John Murray minister at Leith 32  
 William Forbes minister at Aberdeen 34  
 Patrick Forbes of Corse }  
 John Forbes minister at Alford } 35  
 John Weems of Lathoquer, minister at }  
 Dunfer 36  
 Richard Dickson minister at West-kirk 38  
 John Bell minister at Glasgow 41  
 John Fergushill minister at Ochiltree 44  
 John Row minister at Carnock 46  
 John Adamson principal of the college }  
 of Edinburgh 53

John Strang principal of the college of  
 Glasgow 1654  
 Andrew Ramsay minister at Edin-  
 burgh 60

There are some passages in Mr. Halyburton's Life, relating to the success which the Lord gave to his ministry; but, for these, it may be sufficient to refer to the book itself, which is so justly valued, and in a good many hands. I conclude this section with the following hints communicated by a minister of the gospel, March 19th, 1753. "I have seen a manuscript, in which there is an account of a remarkable pouring out of the Spirit of God on a company of ministers and Christians, at a private meeting at Sheens near Edinburgh, on the day when the five articles of Perth were voted and passed in parliament; particularly when Mr David Dickson (who was then only a young man) prayed.—I have often heard, that the period between 1650 and the restoration was a very remarkable one in Scotland for the success of the gospel.—I have heard old Christians speak of a remarkable reviving and uncommon power attending the word, immediately after the revolution, in the West and South of Scotland, Fife, Lothian, &c. Particularly, I have heard of a remarkable communion at Stow, near Galashiels, just about the time of the revolution.—The gospel was also attended with wonderful success by the ministrations of some particular ministers; such as Mr. John Anderson, and Mr. Thomas Forrester, at St. Andrews, Mr. Gabriel Semple at Jedburgh, Mr. John Moncrief at College-kirk Edinburgh, Mr. William Moncrief at Largo, Mr. John Flint at Lesswade," &c.

and was from the beginning zealous for truth and piety. Sometime after the year 1623, he was invited by the lord viscount of Clanniboy in Ireland, and had a call and was settled minister of Bangour, in the county of Down, and was indeed a chief instrument in that great work of God that broke out afterwards in Six-mile-water, and other parts of the county of Antrim and Down, and elsewhere in the North of Ireland; and this not only by his own ministry, wherein he was both diligent and faithful, but especially by stirring up other ministers, as Mr. Robert Cunningham, minister at Holliwood, with whom he kept a most intimate familiarity, and all the rest of the ministers hereafter-named. One time, hearing Mr. James Clendinning, he drew him aside, and dealt with him to follow another way of preaching, and deal with peoples consciences, to waken them, which so prevailed with the man, that he fell upon a thundering way of preaching, and exceedingly terrified his hearers; and, although afterwards he fell into some ravery, and in some distemper left the place, yet this proved a preparation to that people, that when thereafter the Lord sent among them Mr. Josias Welch, they were the fitter to receive the covenant of free grace in the gospel; and this proved the beginning of that remarkable work in the Six-mile-water. Mr. Blair was a man of a notable constitution, both of body and mind, of a majestic, yet amiable countenance, one thoroughly learned, of strong parts, and solid judgment, and of a most public spirit for God. His gift of preaching was such as seldom any could observe withdrawing of assistance in public, which in some others is frequent. He was seldom ever brangled in his assurance of salvation. He spent many days and nights in prayer alone, and with others; one very intimate with God<sup>a</sup>.

a He had been several years in Glasgow, where he made it his business to train up the youth under his charge in the study of godliness, as well as in human learning: but thro' the prejudices of some who had power there, he thought proper to resign his post. Before he resigned, upon the report of some sinful-like oath to be pressed on the masters of the college, he enquired at Mr. Gavin Forfyth a fellow-regent, what he designed to do in that case? Mr. Forfyth answered, "By my faith I must live;" and what will you do? said he. Mr. Blair replied, "Sir, I will not swear by my faith, as you do, but I intend to live by my faith: you may chuse your own way, but I will adventure on the Lord," or words to this purpose. Mr. Forfyth continued in his post after Mr. Blair was gone: but many years afterwards Mr. Forfyth fell into such poverty, as obliged him to supplicate the general assembly for some relief: there Mr. Blair was moderator at that time; and upon Mr. Forfyth's applying to him in private, he put him in mind of that passage, not to upbraid him with his low condition, but to shew him that he had been carried thro' by his faith,

at which the other had scoffed. Upon leaving Glasgow, and riding down to Dumbarton, about ten miles off, where his brother Mr. William Blair was minister, he sung psalms almost all the way for joy, together with Mr. Castlelaw minister of Stewarton, who came to attend him. The day after he demitted his charge at Glasgow, James Hamilton of Kirktonholm told him, he had an invitation to him from the lord Clanniboy in Ireland, patron of the kirk of Bangour, in the county of Down, to come over there. Upon his going over to Ireland, about a mile from Carrickfergus, he was filled with sweet peace and holy joy in the Lord. When he came to Bangour, he was welcomed by the dean (who lay a-dying) as his successor, and exhorted by him to hold on in the way he had been walking in. The lord Clanniboy also welcomed him; and having preached there, at the desire of the dean and the patron; after three Lord's days, some ancient men of the congregation came to him, in name of the rest, shewing that they were edified with the doctrine delivered by him, and entreating him not to leave them. The viscount of Clanniboy, having (at Mr. Blair's

2. MR. ROBERT CUNNINGHAM was first preacher for a while to a regiment in Holland; but afterwards minister at Holliwood, in the North of Ireland, where he had been some considerable time before Mr. Blair came to Bangour. The one man, to my discerning, of all that ever I saw, who resembled most the meekness of Jesus Christ in his whole carriage; and was so revered by all, even the worst, that he was often troubled with that scripture, "Wo to you when all men speak well of you." Yea, Mr. Blair speaking one time to the bishop of Down, said, "You may do to me and some others as you please; but if ever you meddle with Mr. Cunningham, your cup will be full:" and indeed he was longer spared than any of the rest, and when the rest were deposed, almost every week, he preached in some of their kirks; and so with pains at home and abroad, he wearied, and wore out his body, which was not very strong. He was sometimes in preaching (to his own sense) not so assisted as usually; but even then, his sweet conveyance of the matter was such, that I thought these times as edifying and refreshing as any other; but ordinarily he was borne through with a full gale, and had sometimes more sharp piercing threatnings than any other. I was

desire) informed old bishop Knox of Rapho, how opposite Mr. Blair was to Episcopacy, and their liturgy, and Mr. Blair, at meeting with the bishop, having also declared it to be so, the bishop, notwithstanding, said, "he was most willing Mr. Blair should be placed there," saying to him, "I hear good of you, and will impose no conditions upon you; I am old, and I can teach you ceremonies, and you can teach me substance, only I must ordain you." Mr. Blair told him, that was contrary to his principles. To which he replied: "Whatever you account of Episcopacy, yet I know you account a presbyter to have divine warrant: will you receive ordination from Mr. Cunningham and the adjacent brethren, and let me come in among them in no other relation than as a presbyter?" this he could not refuse: and so the matter was carried, and he was ordained minister at Bangour in the presbyterian way.

See Blair's Life written by himself, where are several other remarkable particulars; such as, 1. His being excited, when very young, to consider how even inferior creatures were made for some valuable end, (Page 2.) That he himself must be made for some such end; his conjecturing that it was for answering the end for which they were made, that there were such gatherings in the great buildings called churches; how this was cleared up to him in a way that made uncommon impression on him, while yet very young, in hearing a stranger minister who passed through the place where young Blair resided, and preached on Psal. lxxii. 28. "It is good for me that I draw near to God." How he was made to consider this as the true answer to

his secret previous inquiry, for what end he was made.

2. How, when come to the college (p. 5.) edifying impressions were made on his mind by an inaugural oration of the pious and learned Mr. Boyd of Trochrigg, wherein he discoursed of the influence which gratitude for redemption had in determining him to be a teacher of divinity, notwithstanding of the labour attending that work.

3. Of the spiritual benefit he had for progress in practical religion, (Page 12. &c.) in being enabled to more abundant attention to the light of God's word, blessed to him by his spirit, concerning due acknowledgement, not only of the Mediator's merit, but of his all-sufficient fulness of grace as the source of spiritual supplies for all acceptable service to God. Of edifying visits to eminently pious ministers and private Christians, (Page 24.) The great comfort he had in his spirit which he expressed by singing Psalms when riding along with the minister of Stewarton, from Glasgow to Dumbarton, before he went to Ireland, (Page 32.) His exemplary resolutions to apply with the same earnestness to his work as a minister as he had done to his former work as a teacher of philosophy. Of returns to public united prayers on a fast-day, observed on account of a very rainy harvest that threatened the ruin of the crop, (Page 41.) How tho' on the very fast day itself at first instead of a discernible comfortable return of prayer, there was rather a real delay and seeming refusal; yet in the evening there was such a favourable and lasting turn given to the weather as was just matter of wonder and praise. &c. &c.



with him when he died at Irvine, in the year 1637, at which time, beside many other gracious expressions, he said one time, "I see Jesus Christ standing over death's head, and saying, deal warily with my servant; loose now this pin, now that, for his tabernacle must be set up again." When the ministers of the presbytery came to see him, he exhorted them earnestly to be faithful to God, and to his people. One time, when Mr. Blair and I had been summoned before the bishop, to Baltiiphilips to be deposed, and had been the night before with Mr. Cunningham, and taken our leave of him: the next day, when we were going into the church of Baltiiphilip's, he cometh to us; at which we wondering, he said, all this night I have got no rest when I thought of that place, "At my first answer no man stood with me," therefore I am come to stand by you.

3. MR. JAMES HAMILTON, a nephew of lord Clanniboy's, minister at Bally-water, a learned and diligent man: his gift of preaching was rather doctrinal than exhortatory. After the year 1638, he was minister in Dumfries in Scotland, and after that was transported by the general assembly, to be minister at Edinburgh<sup>a</sup>.

4. MR. JOHN RIDGE an Englishman, minister at Antrim; he used not to have many points in his sermon; but these he had, he so enlarged and urged them again and again, that it was hardly possible for any hearer to forget his preaching. He was a great urger of charitable works. A very humble man; I heard him once say, his tongue nor his pen, never gave him leave to call any honest minister, Brother. He said also, he was once in a part of England, where he wearied exceedingly, because he could not find in it any object of outward charity. Being deposed by the bishop of Down for his non-conformity, he came over to Irvine where he died.

5. MR. HENRY CALVERT or COLWORT an Englishman, minister at Oldstone; one who very readily cited much scripture in his sermons, and oft urged private fasting and prayer. Being deposed by the bishop, he came to Scotland, and after the year 1638, was settled minister at Paisley where he died<sup>b</sup>.

6. MR. GEORGE DUMBAR was at first minister at Air, from whence he was once and again thrust out. He was thereafter minister at Inver,

a He is said to have been a young man of great tenderness of conscience, and good abilities. His uncle (whose chamberlain he formerly had been) after he heard him preach, put great respect upon him, and shortly thereafter entered him to a charge in the holy ministry, wherein he was very painful, successful and constant. He had many temptations to follow prebend, which he might easily have attained: but the Lord graciously preserved him from being entangled with these baits; and made him very instrumental and successful in setting forward the work of the Lord, both in his own charge, and others also, wherever he got a call.

b He came over to Ireland with Mr.

Hubbert, who settled in Carrickfergus, and was a gracious and able man. Mr. Colwort was first helper to Mr. Edward Bryce, an old minister at Broad-Jiland, of whom Mr. Livingston says, he, in all his preaching, insisted most upon the life of Christ in the heart, and the light of his word and Spirit in the mind; that being his own continual exercise. After Mr. Glendinning's departure, Mr. Colwort was brought to Oldstone, where he laboured diligently, and bore a part at the monthly meeting, and was a man of a vehement delivery in preaching. In which he was so very different from his next neighbour, Mr. Ridge: but this variety of gifts glorifies the giver.

by Lough-lairne in Ireland, where one day in his sermon regretting with great grief, that he thought none of that people had ever got good by his ministry; one Robert Broun arose, and said before them all, "that he had got good:" and indeed there appeared afterwards a blessed change wrought both on him and several others. Being deposed by the bishop of Down in Ireland, he came to Scotland, and after the year 1638, he was minister at Calder in Lothian where he died.

7. MR. JOSIAS WELCH, the son of the famous Mr. John Welch, was provided by the Lord to bring the covenant of grace to that people of the Six-mile-water in Ireland, on whom Mr. James Glendinning had wrought some legal convictions. Having preached some time at Oldstone, he was thereafter settled minister at Temple Patrick, where he had many seals of his ministry. He was much exercised in his own spirit, and accordingly much of his preaching was about exercise of conscience. Being deposed by the bishop of Down, he continued preaching in his own house, and stood in a door that looked toward the garden, so as some heard in the house, and a great many that sat and stood in the garden. By this means, being but of a weak constitution, having many fluxions, and faulty lungs, he contracted cold, which occasioned his death about the year 1634. I was with him at his death, wherein he wanted not continuing exercise of his mind. One time he cried out, "Ah for hypocrisy!" whereat Mr. Blair said, see how Satan is offering to nibble at his heel before he enter into glory. A very little before he died, I being at prayer, hard by the bed-side where he lay, and that word victory coming out in some expression of mine, he took hold of my hand, and desired me to forbear a little, and clapping his hands, cried out, "Victory, victory, victory for evermore;" and then desired me to go on: and a little after expired<sup>a</sup>.

8. MR. ANDREW STEWART minister at Dunnagore; a man very fireight in the cause of God. He continued not long in his ministry, but contracted sickness, and died some years before the great scattering came in the North of Ireland; wherein first the ministers were put away for non-conformity: afterwards many private Christians were vexed and forced to flee, to avoid the oath there urged for abjuring the Covenant of Scotland; and at last the sword of the Irish rebels came on<sup>b</sup>.

a Mr. Blair meeting with him in Scotland, and perceiving how zealous a spirit he was of, exhorted him to haste over to Ireland, where he would find work enough, and, he hoped, success enough. And so it came to pass: for he being settled at Temple-Patrick, became a blessing to that people. And being himself often under exercise of spirit, spake vehemently, to convince the secure, and sweetly, to comfort those that were cast down. One time, his concern was so great, that he sent for his brethren in the ministry, with whom he used to join in the monthly meeting, and, with tears running over his face, told them the cause why he had desired them to come; "That he had been now for a long time pressed to desert the ministry, having preached for so many

years the gospel of Christ, and yet himself but a cast-away." But though the truth of his grace was hid from himself, it shined in the greatest lustre to the conviction of others.

b Being called to the funeral of Mr. Josias Welch, his neighbouring minister, just now mentioned, he stood some time at the grave as a sad observer of such a thing; and said to some who were by, Who knows who will be next? none answering; he said, I know, and turned away, and went home to Dunnagore on his foot, and entering into the church, bolted the doors, and tarried there about two hours: and after, going to his house, he fell asleep on his bed with an excess of grief, whence he never in health rose again, but was buried that day month.

[ FROM BLAIR'S LIFE. ]

9. MR. JOHN LIVINGSTON. After all the former helps we had from the Lord, Mr. John Livingston was sent over to us. He was a man of a gracious melting spirit, and was desired much by godly people about Torphichin, where he had preached as an assistant to another; but was still opposed by the bishops: but old bishop Knox of Rapho refused no honest man, having heard them preach by his order. And he and fundry others got entrance; and he being settled at Killinchie, the Lord was pleased greatly to bless his ministry, both within his own charge and without it, where he got a call: but he continued not long there, trials hastening upon us<sup>a</sup>.

Thus far of the ministers whom the Lord honoured to be instrumental in carrying on that work.

II. As to the methods they took in their own parishes and at their monthly meetings for promoting the work: also what success they were blessed with, the following passages will give us some information.

[ From Blair's Life. ]

Being entered at Bangour, I remembered my resolutions while I was yet at Glasgow, namely that whenever the Lord opened a door to me to the holy ministry, if I failed of that diligence I used, in teaching of philosophy to a few students, I could not be answerable to God, when weightier things were to be taught to so many. And indeed the charge was very great, having above twelve hundred come to age, besides children that were to be instructed also. I saw that public preaching could not do it, tho' I was in public four times every week, having variety of matter and method in all these, I saw the necessity of more plain and familiar instruction. I resolved therefore to go out among them, and spend one day every week, and sometimes two, and spent as much time as my bodily strength could hold out with. Shortly after I fell upon this way, the Lord was pleased to visit me with a fever; and some that maligned this way of painfulness, said somewhat scoffingly, "They knew I could not hold out as I began." But within a few days, the Lord raised me up again, and helped me to continue that way, during all the time I continued in that ministry.

When his wife, whom he had left with Mr. Welch's widow, returned, she enquired what he had been doing; he said, I have been taking my leave of the church of Dunagore, and I was taking timber and stones to witness, that in my short time I had laboured to be faithful, and that, according to my light, I have revealed the whole counsel of God to the people. Mr. Ridge coming to see him, said, Sir, I hope you do not now repent that you have been faithful: I repent only, said he, that I was so long a beginning; (meaning, his resisting for several years a call to the ministry, to which he had been much pressed) and I will tell you a strange thing which hath helped me to be faithful: These last seven years,

there hath not one day passed me without thoughts of death; and renewed submission to it; yea this hath made me neglect my body, which should have served the Lord, as if it had been mire in the street, which now troubleth me. That night when he died, several godly and grave Christians were with him, and after he had been long silent, and at length groaning oft and heavily one desired to know what troubled him, he at first refused to tell; but at last being urged, he said, I shall tell you, my hair stands to behold what I see coming upon these lands. [This was in the year 1634.]

<sup>a</sup> See the Extracts from Mr. Livingston's Life, Section 2. of this Chapter.

My acquaintance being made with Mr. Cunningham of Holliswood, it was comfortable to us both, and grew to such intimacy, that we frequently visited one another, and spent many hours, yea days together, in godly conferences and calling upon the name of the Lord. But the case of people, through all that part of the country, (meaning about the time he first settled there) was most lamentable, they being drowned in ignorance, security and sensuality. At length the knowledge of God growing among the people, and the ordinance of prayer being precious in their eyes; the work of the Lord began to prosper. Mr. Cunningham helped us very much, and his little parish was a good example to ours: we preached often the one for the other: we agreed also betwixt ourselves to celebrate the sacrament of the Lord eight days in the year, four in his and four in my kirk; so that proficients in both parishes, did all these times communicate together.

We had also discipline by elders, and deacons for the poor, and as long as we had freedom to exercise discipline that way, the Lord blest his own ordinance for edifying the people. A cunning adulterer who had bribed the bishops official to conceal his wickedness, had his conscience awaked one day in hearing the word, and came to me confessing his sin with many tears, desiring to be admitted to the public profession of his repentance, which was allowed, and he lived thereafter a reformed man in the rest of his life. And so also several others willingly submitted themselves; 'till a proud youth (the son of a rich man) falling in scandal, proved refractory, and appealed to the bishop, whereby the order of our discipline was broken: but this young man in the very flower and strength of his youth, being heir of a considerable estate, was cut off by death, leaving no succession; and a brother of better behaviour filled his room.

Mr. John Ridge minister in Antrim, a judicious and gracious minister, perceiving many people, on both sides of the Six-mile-water, awaked out of their security, and willing to take pains for their salvation, made an overture, that a monthly lecture might be set up at Antrim, and invited to bear burthen therein, Mr. Cunningham, Mr. Hamilton, and myself. We were glad of the motion, and hearkened to it at the very first, and came prepared to preach; in the Summer-day four did preach, and when the day grew shorter, three. This monthly meeting thus beginning first by this motion of Mr. Ridge, continued many years, and was a great help to spread religion through that whole country. Sir Hugh Clotterdy was very hospitable to the ministers that came there to preach: his worthy Son (lord Viscount Mazarine, or lord Musfreine) together with his mother and lady, being both of them very virtuous and religious women, did greatly countenance that work. Short while after other three ministers were added to that monthly meeting, namely, Mr. Henry Coldwart, Mr. Josiah Welsh, and Mr. George Dumbar, afterwards Mr. Andrew Stewart, and lastly, Mr. John Livingston: and the several members of that meeting, were still ready to preach there when invited thereto. So mightily grew the word of God, and his gracious work prospered in the hands of his faithful servants, the power of man being restrained from opposing the work of

God: and the Lord was pleased to protect our ministry by raising up friends to us, and giving us favour in the eyes of all the people about us. There were many converts in all our congregations. That blessed work of conversion was now spread beyond the bounds of Down and Antrim, to the skirts of neighbouring counties, whence many came to the monthly meetings, and the sacrament of the Lord's supper. The Lord was pleased to bless his word, the people had a vehement appetite for it, that could not be satisfied: they hung upon the ministers, still desirous to have more; no day was long enough, no room large enough: then said I, in the hearing of many, "Our tide has run so high, that there will be an ebb: no doubt a restraint is near: our trials are hastening on." And so it proved.

[ FROM LIVINGSTON'S LIFE. ]

We had not only public worship, free from any inventions of men; but we had also a tolerable discipline. For after I had been some while among them, (the people of Killinchie) by the advice of the heads of families, some ablest for that charge were chosen elders, to oversee the manners of the rest, and some deacons, to gather and distribute the collections. We met every week, and such as fell into notorious public scandals, we desired to come before us: such as came were dealt with both in public and private, to confess their scandal in presence of the congregation, at the Saturday's sermon before the communion, which was celebrated twice in the year: such as, after dealing, would not come before us, or coming would not be convinced to acknowledge their fault before the congregation; upon the Saturday preceeding the communion, their names, scandals, and impenitency were read out before the congregation, and they debarred from the communion: which proved such a terror, that we found very few of that sort. There were nine or ten parishes within the bounds of twenty miles or little more, wherein there were godly and able ministers, who kept a society together, and every one of these had the communion twice a year, and that at different times, and had two or three of the neighbouring ministers to help thereat; and most part of the religious people used to resort to the communions of the rest of the parishes; and most of all the ministers of these parishes used ordinarily to meet the first Friday of every month at Antrim, where was a great and good congregation: and that day was spent in fasting and prayer and public preaching: commonly two preached every forenoon, and two in the afternoon. We used to come together the Thursday's night before, and stayed the Friday's night after; and consulted about such things as concerned the carrying on of the work of God: and these meetings among ourselves, were sometimes as profitable as either presbyteries or synods; and out of these nine parishes, and some others also, such as laid religion to heart used to conven to these meetings, especially out of the Six-mile-water, which was nearest hand, and where was the greatest number of religious people: and frequently the Sabbath after the Friday's meeting, the communion was celebrated in one or other of these parishes. Among all the ministers of these parishes, there was never any jar or jea-

lously, yea nor among the private Christians. The greatest part of them were Scots, and some good number of very gracious English; all whose contention was to prefer others to themselves; and though the gifts of the ministers were much different, yet it was not observed that the people followed any, to the undervaluing of others. Many of these religious professors had been both ignorant and profane, and, for debt and want, and worse causes, had left Scotland; yet the Lord was pleased by his word to work such a change, that I do not think there were more lively and experienced Christians any where, than were these at that time in Ireland, and that in good numbers, and severals of them persons in a good outward condition in the world. Being but lately brought in, the lively edge was not yet gone off them; and the perpetual fear of losing their ministers made them with great hunger wait on the ordinances. I have known them that have come several miles from their own houses to communions to the Saturday's sermon, and spent the whole Saturday night in several companies, sometimes a minister being with them, sometimes themselves alone, in conference and prayer, and waited on the public ordinances the whole Sabbath, and spent the Sabbath night in like manner, and yet at the Monday's sermon were not troubled with sleepiness, and so have not slept till they went home. Because of their holy and righteous carriage, they were generally revered even by the graceless multitude among whom they lived. Some of them had attained such dexterity of expressing religious purposes, by the resemblance of worldly things, that being at feasts and meals in common inns, where were some ignorant prophane persons, they would among themselves entertain a spiritual discourse for a long time, and the other professed, that though they spoke good English, they did not understand what they said. In those days, it was no great difficulty for a minister to preach or pray in public or private, such was the hunger of the hearers: and it was hard to judge whether there was more of the Lord's presence in the public or private meetings.

[ From the Fulfilling of the Scriptures, Page 185, Folio. ]

I shall here also instance that solemn and great work of God, which was in the church of Ireland about the year one thousand six hundred and twenty eight, and some years thereafter, which, as many grave and solid Christians yet alive can witness, who were there present, was a bright and not sun-blink of the gospel, yea, may with sobriety be said to have been one of the largest manifestations of the Spirit, and of the most solemn times of the down-pouring thereof, that almost since the days of the apostles hath been seen; where the power of God did sensibly accompany the word with an unusual motion upon the hearers, and a very great tack<sup>a</sup> as to the conversion of souls to Christ; the goings of the Lord then full of majesty, and the shout of a king was heard in the solemn meetings of his people, that, as a judicious old Christian, who was there present, did express it, he thought it was like a dazzling beam and ray of God, with such an unusual brightness, as even forced bystanders to an astonishment; a very effectual door opened, with more

a A Scots word for a draught of fishes.

than ordinary enlargement, which the ministers of Christ there did find in the preaching the word, whilst the people might be seen hearing the same in a melting frame, with much tenderness of spirit; surely this was the very power of God, a convincing seal to the truth and ministry of his servants, who were then persecuted; yea, a thing which, as it was known, had an awful impression, and was a terror to their adversaries. I remember amongst other passages, what a worthy Christian told me, how sometimes in hearing the word, such a power and evidence of the Lord's presence was with it, that he hath been forced to rise, and look through the church, and see what the people were doing, thinking from what he felt in his own spirit, it was a wonder how any could go away without some change upon them. And then it was sweet and easy for Christians to come thirty or forty miles to these solemn communions which they had, and there continue from the time they came, until they returned, without wearying, or making use of sleep, yea, but little either meat or drink, and, as some of them professed, did not feel the need thereof, but went away most fresh and vigorous, their souls so filled with a sense of God."

III. As to the opposition this work of God met with, and overcame, I shall mention only the following instances.

I. MR. JAMES GLENDINNING's delusions threaten'd to do much harm to it. He was first lecturer at Carrick-Fergus, then at Old Stone; and tho' he was neither studied in learning, nor had good solid judgment; yet having a great voice and vehement delivery, he roused up the people, and awakened them with terrors; but not understanding well the gospel, could not settle them, nor satisfy their objections. He pitched upon a certain day, which he said would be the day of judgment: and that whoever would join with him in a ridiculous way of roaring out some prayer, laying their faces on the earth, would undoubtedly be converted and saved; and essaying this way before Mr. Blair, Mr. Blair required him, in his Lord's name, to be silent, and kneeled down, with humble confidence to be heard, and prayed: at the close of which Mr. Glendinning took Mr. Blair aside, and confessed he saw now that he was deluded. However, he fell from error to error, and at last ran away to visit the seven churches in Asia. Yet Satan was disappointed by the wisdom and goodness of God; for except one in his own family, (of whom few had any good opinion before) there was neither man nor woman that stumbled at his fall; but, on the contrary, were thereby guarded against delusion, magnifying the word of God in the Holy Scriptures, and learned to work out the work of their salvation with fear and trembling.

2. We had also an assault (says Mr. Blair) from the separatists. Some of that faction in London hearing that there was a people zealous for the Lord in the North of Ireland, came to Antrim, where our monthly meetings were, and there set up their dwelling, thinking to fish in these waters. They thought that zealous people would seek after them, and did not call for any. But therein they were frustrated of their expectation; for seeing they came not to the public worship, none there did own them or take any notice of them, till the minister of the place sent

some judicious Christians to confer with them about some particular cases of conscience, who made their report to the minister, that they thought these persons did not understand such purposes; nor could they at all discourse concerning the points by them proposed; only they fell a jangling against the church of England. The next time I came there, (says Mr. Blair) the minister of the place desired me to go with him, that we might confer with these people. They could not well tell what they held, or else they kept up and concealed themselves: yet in end they began to essay whom they could seduce; and with one of great tenderness they prevailed, not to communicate with us; but immediately after, he fell into distraction, from which he no sooner recovered but he abhorred these seducers. So careful was the Lord to preserve his people from all sorts of seducement.

3. Another stratagem of Satan, to bring disgrace on the work of the Lord, was his stirring up ignorant persons, especially in Lochlern and Broad-island to ape and counterfeit the work of the Spirit of the Lord: in the midst of the public worship, these persons fell a mourning, and some of them were afflicted with pangs like convulsions, and the number of them daily increased. At first both pastor and people pitying them, had charitable thoughts, thinking probably that it was the work of the Lord; but thereafter in conference, they could find nothing to confirm these charitable thoughts; they could neither perceive any sense of their sinfulness, nor any panting after a Saviour. A woman in Bangour, who was a dull and ignorant person, making a noise in stretching of her body, in time of public worship, Mr. Blair rebuked that lying spirit that disturbed the worship of God, charging the same in the name and authority of Jesus Christ, not to disturb that congregation, and thro' God's mercy, says Mr. Blair, we met with no more of that work.

4. The bishops of Scotland sent information to the king against several ministers belonging to the monthly meeting at Antrim, by Mr. John Maxwell, bishop of Ross; and thinking, that non-conformity would not be a crime sufficiently heinous, they informed, that these ministers stirred up the people to extasies and enthusiasms, and taught the necessity of a new birth by bodily pangs and throws; though the contrary was so notourly known, that primate Usher got notice of it, and told Mr. Blair, "That he had reason to bless the Lord, who had assisted him so confidently (as he expressed it) to censure that lying spirit." Shortly after a letter came from the king, and Ecklin, bishop of Down in 1632, deposed Mr. Blair and Mr. Livingston, Mr. Dumbarr and Mr. Welch, for non-conformity, never mentioning the other part of the charge, of which he knew they were free; whereupon Mr. Blair had recourse to primate Usher, who presently wrote to bishop Ecklin, to relax that erroneous sentence, which was instantly done<sup>a</sup>:

a Mr. Blair in his life, speaking of a conversation he had with archbishop Usher, says, "He was very affable and communicative; he desired to know of me what my mind was of the nature of justifying and saving faith. I told him my mind, that I

held the accepting and receiving of Jesus Christ, as he is offered in the gospel. With this he was well satisfied, confirming the same in a large discourse, clearing the matter by the similitude of a marriage, wherein it is not the sending or receiving of gifts



but shortly after a letter coming from court, ordering trial to be made as to the accusation before-mentioned, bishop Ecklin, knowing perfectly the falshood of that accusation, took another way, and cited the fore-mentioned four ministers, and urged them to a subscription; and they refusing, he deposed them. Primate Usher being applied to, said he was sorry for it, but could not help them; but advised to apply to the two lord chief justices of Ireland; Mr. Blair applied to them; but they said there was no redress to be had, but from the king himself: and thereupon Mr. Blair, through the persuasions of his brethren, went to London; and, after a tedious on-waiting, at last obtained a letter from the king to Strafford, the lord-deputy, who at first refused to shew any favour, except they would conform; but, by the intercession of lord Castlestewart, a good and wise man, in May 1634, he wrote that they should be reponed for a time; and accordingly bishop Ecklin reponed them to their ministry for six months. These six months were well improved by the divine blessing. At the close of that time, after bishop Ecklin had himself publicly pronounced the sentence of deposition against these four ministers, Mr. Blair rose up publicly in the congregation, and, with great authority, did cite the bishop to appear before the tribunal of Jesus Christ, to make answer for that wicked deed: to which the bishop replied, "I appeal from justice to mercy." Mr. Blair answered, "Your appeal is like to be rejected, seeing you act against the light of your conscience." Shortly thereafter he sickned; and when the physician, Dr. Maxwell, came to him, and enquired what ailed him, he was long silent, (as also he had been silenced for many days before he took bed) at last, with great difficulty, he uttered these words, "It is my conscience, man." To which the doctor replied, "I have no cure for that." This report the doctor made to the old lord viscount of Airds, who discharged him to report that to any other: but his daughter-in-law, the now lady viscountess of Airds, who yet lives (says Mr. Blair, when he wrote this, which seems to have been about the year 1666) being then and there present when the doctor made this report, replied, "No man shall get that suppressed; for I shall bear witness of it, to the glory of God, who hath smitten that man, for suppressing of Christ's witnesses."

that makes the marriage, but the accepting of the person. Hereby I was much refreshed. Afterwards he said, It would break my heart, if that successful ministry in the

North were interrupted and marred. They think to cause me to stretch out my hand against you; but all the world shall never move me to do so."

## C H A P. III.

*The Piety of the first Settlers of New-England, 1630, &c.—The Labours of some of their Ministers to convert the Americans, 1646, 1650, &c.—Some Examples of American Converts, who afterwards preached the Gospel themselves.*

## S E C T I O N I.

*A short View of the flourishing State of Religion in New-England, during the Life of the first Planters, from 1630 to 1660.*

[ From PRINCE'S Christian History, N<sup>o</sup> 8, and 9. ]

**M**R. PRINCE (the author's father) in his sermon before the general assembly of the province of Massachusetts, speaks thus of these first settlers of New-England, "The generality of them were the near descendants of the first reformers in England. They were born of pious parents, who brought them up in a course of strict religion, and under the ministry of the most awakening preachers of those days. Like so many Timothys, they were from their childhood taught to know the holy scriptures, to reverence them as the inspirations of God, as the only rule of faith and piety, and to aim at both a pure scriptural way of worship, and at the vital power and practice of godliness.

When, for the sake of religion, they came over to America, how horrid and dismal did these new found regions appear! On the shores and rivers, nothing but sights of wretched, naked, and barbarous nations, adorers of devils! The earth covered with hideous thickets, that required infinite toils to subdue! A rigorous Winter for a third part of the year! Not a house to live in! Not a Christian to see! None but Heathens of a strange and hard language to speak with! Not a friend within three thousand miles to help in any emergency! and a vast and dangerous ocean to pass over to this! But the Almighty inspires with a zeal and courage that nothing can daunt, with a faith and patience that nothing can break. He raises up men of superior piety, resolution and wisdom to lead and animate in the great design. Such as Mr. Carver, Bradford, and Winslow, successive governors of Plymouth Colony, who came together with about an hundred souls in the first ship, which set sail the last time from Plymouth in England on September 6th, 1620, and arrived in Cape Cod harbour on November 11th, and at the place they named Plymouth in New-England in December. And the Lord having cast out multitudes of Heathens before their arrival, he gives them favour in the sight of the rest: he divides his people an inheritance by line, and makes them to dwell in the midst of many powerful nations, that could have swallowed them up in a moment for above fifty years together.

Great numbers of like pious dispositions with the former, yet continued in the churches of England, and in communion with them, as long as the higher powers indulged them, with earnest desires, labours and

hopes of a farther reformation of worship. But a spirit of severe imposition is now let loose upon these. And now, at once, to the surprise of the nation, in almost every corner they are moved of God to look to this wilderness. Many persons of shining figures are raised up to espouse their cause, and venture with them. Their prince is prevailed on to grant them a charter of distinguishing privileges. Their flocks in great numbers attend and follow them. They relinquish their delightful seats and their dearest friends; they cast themselves and their children on the tumultuous ocean; and nothing can move them, so they may come into a wilderness, to hear the voice of their teachers, become a covenant people of God, observe his laws, set up his tabernacle, behold his glory, and leave these things to their offspring for ever; and the Lord preserves them; he makes the depths of the sea a way for the ransomed to pass over: he brings them in thousands to these peaceful shores; and here, they that knew not each other before, salute and embrace with joy: he unites them in the most lovely agreement to profess and serve him: they publicly and solemnly enter into covenant with him, to love and obey him, to make his doctrines the only rule of faith, and his institutions the only rule of worship; and with united joy they sing to the Lord: "Thou, in thy mercy hast led forth the people which thou hast redeemed," &c.

On Saturday, June 12th, 1630, arrived in Salem-river, the *Arabella*, with governor Winthrop, and some of his assistants, bringing the charter of the Massachusetts colony, and therewith the government transferred hither: the other ten ships of the fleet with deputy-governor Dudley, and the other assistants, arrived in Salem and Charles Rivers before July 11th. In the same month the governor, deputy-governor, and assistants, with the reverend Messrs. Wilson and Philips, came with their goods to Charlestown; where the first court of assistants was held on August 23d, the same year. And the number of people which arrived this Summer was about fifteen hundred.

In June 1636, the reverend Mr. Hooker, with about an hundred in company, went up from the Massachusetts, began the town of Hartford, and laid the foundation of Connecticut colony. In the following year, the reverend Mr. Davenport, with the honoured Mr. Theophilus Eaton, began the town of New-haven, and laid the foundation of New-haven colony. And in 1639, a church was gathered at Hampton; which was the first in the province of New-Hampshire.

It must be here observed, that though the generality both of the first leaders, heads of families, and freemen, were persons of noted piety; yet there were great numbers, not only of the younger sort, both of children and servants, but also of elder of every age, who came over both in the year 1630, and the ten following years, that came hither only under the common impressions of a pious ministry or education, or the religious influence of their friends, or heads of families they belonged to, and who were therefore fit materials for the numerous conversions which quickly followed, under the lively, searching, and awakening preaching of the primitive ministers. And, to the great glory of God be it spoken, there never was, perhaps, before seen such a body of pi-

ous people together on the face of the earth. For those who came over first, came hither for the sake of religion, and for that pure religion which was entirely hated by the loose and profane of the world. Their civil and ecclesiastical leaders were exemplary patterns of piety: they encouraged only the virtuous to come with and follow them: they were so strict on the vicious both in the church and state, that the incorrigible could not endure to live in the country; profane swearers and drunkards were not known in the land. And it quickly grew so famous for religion abroad, that scarce any other but those who liked it, came over for many years after. And indeed such vast numbers were coming, that the crown was obliged to stop them, or a great part of the nation had soon emptied itself into these American regions.

And for those who were here, the Spirit from on high is poured upon them, and the wilderness becomes a fruitful field: judgment and righteousness continue in it, and the effect of righteousness is peace. While a cruel war rages in the kingdom they left, lays it waste, and drowns it in blood, the people here dwell in peaceable habitations. And the Lord enlarges the bounds of their tents: he makes them to break forth on the right-hand and on the left; he makes their seed to inherit the lands of the gentiles, the desolate places to be inhabited. In twenty-seven years from the first plantation, there were forty-three churches in joint communion with one another. And in twenty-seven years more, there appear above fourscore English churches of Christ, composed only of known pious and faithful professors, dispersed through the wilderness; viz. twelve or thirteen in Plymouth colony, forty-seven in the Massachusetts colony and province of New-Hampshire, nineteen in Connecticut, three in Long-Island, and one at Martha's Vineyard.

Mr. Roger Clap, writing of these times, says, "And what a wondrous work of God was it, to stir up such worthies to remove themselves and their wives and children from their native country, to come into this wilderness, to set up the pure worship of God here? men fit for government in the magistracy, and sound, godly, learned men for the ministry; such as, Mr. Winthrop, governor, Mr. Dudley, deputy-governor, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Roslitter, Mr. Ludlow, Mr. Nowel, and Mr. Bradstreet. And for ministers: Mr. Wilson, Mr. Warham, Mr. Marverick, and Mr. Phillips; also Mr. Eliot, Mr. Weld, Mr. Cotton, Mr. Hooker, Mr. Bulkley, Mr. Stone, Mr. Nathanael Rogers, and Mr. Ezekiel Rogers, Mr. Shepard, Mr. Mather, Mr. Peters, Mr. Davenport, Mr. Whiting, Mr. Cobbet, Mr. Hubbard, Mr. Brown, Mr. Flint, Mr. Thompson, Mr. Newman, Mr. Prudden, Mr. Norris, Mr. Huit, Mr. Street, and many others. Then in those days did God manifest his presence among us, in converting many souls; in gathering his dear ones into church-fellowship each with other, by solemn covenants; wherein they gave up themselves and their seed to the Lord." And writing of the great straits of the primitive settlers of New-England, he says, "I took notice of it, as a great favour of God unto me, not only to preserve my life, but to give me contentedness in all these straits; insomuch that I do not remember that ever I did wish in my heart that I had not come into this country, or wish myself back

again to my father's house: yea I was so far from that, that I wished and advised some of my dear brethren to come hither also; which accordingly one of my brothers did, and those two that married my two sisters, sold their means, and came hither. The Lord Jesus Christ was so plainly held out in the preaching of the gospel unto poor lost sinners, and the absolute necessity of the new-birth; and God's Holy Spirit in those days was pleased to accompany the word with such efficacy upon the hearts of many; that our hearts were taken off from Old-England, and set upon heaven. The discourse, not only of the aged, but of the youth also, was not, How shall we go to England? (tho' some few did not only so discourse, but also went back again) but, How shall we go to heaven? Have I true grace wrought in my heart? Have I Christ or no? O how did men and women, young and old, pray for grace, beg for Christ in those days! and it was not in vain: many were converted, and others established in believing; many joined unto the several churches where they lived, confessing their faith publicly, and shewing before all the assembly their experiences of the workings of God's Spirit in their hearts to bring them to Christ; which many hearers found very much good by, to help them to try their own hearts, and to consider how it was with them, whether any work of God's Spirit were wrought in their own hearts or no. Oh the many tears that have been shed in Dorchester meeting-house at such times, both by those that have declared God's work on their souls, and also by those that heard them. In those days, God, even our own God, did bless New-England."

[ From NEAL'S History of the Puritans in the year 1629. ]

Religion being the chief motive of their coming into these parts, that was settled in the first place. August the 6th being appointed for the solemnity of forming themselves into a religious society, the day was spent in fasting and prayer; and thirty persons who desired to be of the communion, severally, before the whole congregation, declared their consent to a confession of faith, which Mr. Higginson had drawn up, and signed the following covenant with their hands: "We covenant with our Lord, and one with another. We bind ourselves in the presence of God, to walk together in all his ways, according as he is pleased to reveal himself to us in his blessed word of truth, and do profess to walk as follows, through the power and grace of our Lord Jesus Christ: We avouch the Lord to be our God, and ourselves to be his people, in the truth and simplicity of our spirits. We give ourselves to the Lord Jesus Christ, and to the word of his grace, for the teaching, ruling, and sanctifying us in matters of worship and conversation, resolving to reject all canons and constitutions of men in worship. We promise to walk with our brethren with all watchfulness and tenderness, avoiding jealousies, suspicions, backbitings, censurings, provokings, secret risings of spirit against them, but in all offences to follow the rule of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to bear and forbear, give and forgive, as he hath taught us. In public or private we will willingly do nothing to the offence of the church, but will be willing to take advice for ourselves and ours, as occasion shall be presented. We will not in the congre-

gation be forward, either to shew our own gifts and parts in speaking, or scrupling, or in discovering the weaknesses or failings of our brethren, but attend an ordinary call thereunto, knowing how much the Lord may be dishonoured, and his gospel, and the profession of it, slighted by our dilempers and weaknesses in public. We bind ourselves to study the advancement of the gospel in all truth and peace, both in regard of those that are within or without, no way slighting our sister churches, but using their counsel as need shall be; not laying a stumbling-block before any, no, not the Indians, whose good we desire to promote, and so to converse, as we may avoid the very appearance of evil. We do hereby promise to carry ourselves in all lawful obedience to those that are over us in church or commonwealth, knowing how well-pleasing it will be to the Lord, that they should have encouragement in their places, by our not grieving their spirits by our irregularities. We resolve to approve ourselves to the Lord in our particular callings, shunning idleness, as the bane of any state; nor will we deal hardly or oppressingly with any, wherein we are the Lord's stewards. Promising also, to the best of our ability, to teach our children and servants the knowledge of God, and of his will, that they may serve him also. And all this, not by any strength of our own, but by the Lord Jesus Christ, whose blood we desire may sprinkle this our covenant made in his name."

[ From the same Author, in the year 1634. ]

This Summer the reverend Mr. Thomas Shepard fled to New-England. He had been lecturer at Earl's Coln in Essex several years, but when bishop Laud became a bishop of London, his lecture was put down, and himself silenced: he then retired into the family of a private gentleman, but not being safe there, he travelled into Yorkshire, where he was commanded to subscribe, or depart the country. Upon this he went to Heddou in Northumberland, where his labours were prospered to the conversion of some souls; but being forbid to preach there also, he took shipping at Yarmouth for New-England: there he continued pastor of the church at Cambridge 'till his death, August 25th, 1649, in the 44th year of his age. He was a hard student, an exemplary Christian, and an eminent practical writer, as appears by his *Sincere Convert*, and other practical works that go under his name.

[ From the same Author, in the years 1636 and 1637. ]

Great numbers of the most useful and laborious preachers in all parts of the country were buried in silence, and forced to abscond; among whom were Mr. John Dod, Mr. Whately, Dr. Harris, Mr. Capel, and Mr. John Rogers of Dedham, one of the most awakening preachers of his age, of whom bishop Brownrigge used to say, "That he did more good with his wild notes, than we with our set music." But his great usefulness could not screen him from those suspensions and deprivations, which were the portion of the Puritans in these times.

Others continued to leave their country, according to our blessed Saviour's advice, Matthew x. 23; "When they persecute you in this city, flee ye into another." Among these were Mr. Nathaniel Rogers,

son of Mr. John Rogers of Dedham, educated in Emanuel-college, Cambridge, and settled at Allington in Suffolk, where he continued five years; but seeing the storm that had driven his neighbours from their anchor, and being fearful of his own steadfastness in the hour of temptation, he resigned his living into the hands of his patron, and, forsaking the neighbourhood of his father, and all prospects of worldly advantage, cast himself and his young family upon the providence of God, and embarked for New-England, where he arrived about the middle of November, 1636, and settled with Mr. Norton at Ipswich, with whom he continued to his death, in the year 1655. About the same time went over Mr. Lambert Whiteing, a Lincolnshire divine, who continued at Shirbeck near Boston unmolested, 'till bishop William's disgrace, after which he was silenced by the spiritual courts, and forced into New-England, where he arrived with his family this summer, and continued a useful preacher to a little flock at Lynn 'till his death.

Thus did an over-ruling providence send the gospel into New-England; and thereby the kingdom of Christ was not only promoted in this infant colony, but, as we shall see in the following section, among the American savages also.

## SECTION II.

*Mr. Eliot having learned the Language of the Indians, sets himself in 1646 to preach the Gospel to them. His Success among them 1651. Some of their dying Speeches.*

[ FROM COTTON MATHER'S Life of ELIOT. ]

THE natives of the country now possessed by the New-Englanders, had been forlorn and wretched Heathens ever since their first herding here. Just before the arrival of the English in those parts, a prodigious mortality had swept away vast numbers of the Indians: and those Pagans who being told by a shipwreck'd Frenchman who died in their hands, that God would shortly extirpate them, and introduce a more worthy people into their place, blasphemously reply'd, that God could not kill them; were quickly killed with such a raging and wasting pestilence, as left the very earth covered with their carcases. Nevertheless, there were, I think, twenty several nations (if I may call them so) of Indians upon that spot of ground, which fell under the influence of our three United Colonies; and our Eliot was willing to rescue as many of them as he could from that old usurping land-lord of America, who is by the wrath of God, the Prince of this world. I cannot find that any, besides the Holy Spirit of God, first moved him to the blessed work of evangelizing these perishing Indians; 'twas that Holy Spirit which laid before his mind the idea of that which is now on the seal of the Massachusetts-colony; a poor Indian, having a label going from his mouth, with a "Come over and help us." But when this charitable pity had once begun to flame, there was a concurrence of many things to cast oil into it. All the good men in the country were glad of his engagement in such an undertaking; the ministers especially encouraged him,

and those in the neighbourhood kindly supply'd his place, and performed his work, in part, for him at Roxborough, while he was abroad labouring among them that were without. Hereunto he was further awakened by those expressions in the royal charter, in the assurance and protection whereof this wilderness was first peopled; namely, "To win and incite the natives of that country to the knowledge and obedience of the only true God and Saviour of mankind, and the Christian faith, in our royal intention, and the adventurers free profession, is the principal end of the plantation." And the remarkable zeal of the Romish missionaries "compassing sea and land that they might make profelytes," made his devout soul think of it with a further disdain, that we should come any whit behind in our care to evangelize the Indians, whom we dwelt among. Lastly, when he had well begun this evangelical business, the good God, in an answer to his prayers, mercifully stirred up a liberal contribution among the godly people in England for the promoting of it; by means whereof, a considerable estate and income was at length intrusted in the hands of an honourable corporation, by whom it is to this day very carefully employed in the Christian service, which it was designed for.

The exemplary charity of this excellent person in this important affair, will not be seen in its due lustre, unless we make some reflections upon several circumstances which he beheld these forlorn Indians in. Know then, that these doleful creatures are the veriest ruins of mankind, which are to be found any where upon the face of the earth. They live in a country, where we now have all the conveniencies of human life: but as for them, their housing is nothing but a few matts ty'd about poles fastened in the earth, where a good fire is their bed-clothes in the coldest seasons; their cloathing is but a skin of a beast, covering their hind-parts, their fore-parts having but a little apron where nature calls for secrecy; their diet has not a greater dainty than their Noke-hick, that is, a spoonful of their parch'd meal, with a spoonful of water, which will strengthen them to travel a day together; except we should mention the flesh of deers, bears, moose, rackoons, and the like, which they have when they can catch them; as also a little fish, which if they would preserve, 'twas by drying, not by salting; for they had not a grain of salt, I think, till we bestow'd it on them. Their physick is, excepting a few odd specifics, which some of them encounter certain cases with, nothing hardly, but an hot-house, or a Powaw: their hot-house is a little cave, about eight foot over; where, after they have terribly heated it, a crew of them go sit and sweat, and smoke for an hour together, and then immediately run into some very cold adjacent brook, without the least mischief to them: 'tis this way they recover themselves from some diseases; in most of their dangerous distempers, 'tis a Powaw that must be sent for; that is, a priest, who has more familiarity with Satan than his neighbours; who comes and roars, and howls, and uses magical ceremonies over the sick man.

They live in a country full of the best ship-timber: but never saw a ship till some came from Europe hither; and then they were scar'd out of their wits, to see the monster come sailing in, and spitting fire



with a mighty noise out of her floating side: they cross the water in canoes, made sometimes of trees, which they burn and hew till they have hollow'd them; and sometimes of barks, which they stitch into a light sort of a vessel, to be easily carried over land. The men are most abominably slothful, making their poor squaws, or wives, to plant, and dress, and barn, and beat their corn, and build their wigwams for them. In the mean time, their chief employment, when they will condescend unto any, is that of hunting; wherein they will go out some scores, if not hundreds of them in a company, driving all before them. They continue in a place till they have burnt up all the wood thereabouts; hence, when they enquire about the English, why come they hither? they determine, 'twas because we wanted firing. Their division of time is by sleeps, and moons, and winters; and by lodging abroad, they have somewhat observed the motions of the stars; among which it has been surprising unto me to find, that they have always called Charles Wain by the name of Paukunnawaw, or the Bear; which is the name whereby Europeans also have distinguished it. Moreover, they have little, if any traditions among them worthy of our notice; and reading and writing is altogether unknown to them, tho' there is a rock or two in the country, that have unaccountable characters engraved upon them. All the religion they have, amounts unto thus much: they believe that there are many gods, who made and own the several nations of the world; of which a certain great god in the south-west regions of heaven, bears the greatest figure. They believe, that every remarkable creature has a peculiar god within it, or about it. There is with them, a sun-god, a moon-god, and the like; and they cannot conceive but that the fire must be a kind of a god, inasmuch as a spark of it will soon produce very strange effects. They believe, that when any good or ill happens to them, there is the favour, or the anger of a god expressed in it; and hence, as in a time of calamity, they keep a dance, or a day of extravagant ridiculous devotions to their god; so in a time of prosperity they likewise have a feast, wherein they also make presents one to another. Finally, they believe, that their chief god Kautantowit, made a man and woman of a stone; which upon dislike, he broke to pieces; and made another man and woman of a tree, which were the fountains of all mankind: and, that we all have in us immortal souls; which, if we were godly, shall go to a splendid entertainment with Kautantowit; but otherwise, must wander about in a restless horror for ever. But if you say to them any thing of a resurrection, they will reply unto you, I shall never believe it. And when they have any weighty undertaking before them, it is an usual thing for them to have their assemblies, wherein they use diabolical rites, and sometimes there are odd events of their making applications to the devil.

This was the miserable people he propounded unto himself the saving of! and he had a double work incumbent on him: he was to make men of them, ere he could hope to see them saints; they must be civilized ere they could be christianized. To think on raising a number of these hideous creatures unto the elevation of our holy religion, must

argue more than common sentiments in the undertaker; but the faith of an Eliot could encounter it.

The first step which he judged necessary to be taken by him, was to learn the Indian language, for he saw them so stupid and senseless, that they would never do so much as enquire after the religion of the strangers now come into their country, much less would they so far imitate us as to leave off their beastly way of living, that they might be partakers of any spiritual advantage by us, unless we could first address them in their own language. Behold, new difficulties to be surmounted by our indefatigable Eliot! he hires a native to teach him this exotic language, and with a laborious care and skill reduces it into a grammar, which afterwards he published. Having finished his grammar, at the close he writes, "prayers and pains, through faith in Christ Jesus, will do any thing!" and being by his prayers and pains thus furnished, he set himself in the year 1646, to preach the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ among these desolate outcasts.

It remains that I lay before the world, the remarkable conduct and success of this famous man in this great affair; and I shall endeavour to do it, by Englishing and reprinting a letter, sent a while since by my father, unto his learned correspondent, Dr. Leusden at Utrecht; which letter has already been published, if I mistake not, in four or five divers languages. I find it particularly published by Jurieu, at the end of a pastoral letter; and this reflection made upon it, *Cette lettre doit apporter une tres grande consolation, a toutes les bones ames, qui sont alterees de justice, et qui sont enflammées du zele de la gloire de Dieu.* I therefore persuade myself, that the republication of it will not be ungrateful unto many good souls in our nation, who have a due thirst and zeal for such things as are mentioned in it; and when that is done, I shall presume to make some annotations for the illustration of sundry memorable things therein pointed at.

*Worthy and much honoured Sir,*

YOUR letters were very grateful to me, by which I understand that you and others in your famous university of Utrecht, desire to be informed concerning the converted Indians in America: take therefore a true account of them in a few words. It is above forty years since that truly godly man, Mr. John Eliot, pastor of the church at Roxborough, (about a mile from Boston in New-England) being warmed with a holy zeal of converting the Americans, set himself to learn the Indian tongue, that he might more easily and successfully open to them the mysteries of the gospel; upon account of which he has been called, the apostle of the American Indians. This reverend person, not without very great labour, translated the whole Bible into the Indian tongue; he translated also several English treatises of practical divinity and catechisms into their language. Above twenty six years ago he gathered a church of converted Indians in a town called Natick; these Indians confessed their sins with tears, and professed their faith in Christ, and afterwards they and their children were baptized, and they were solemn-

ly joined together in a church-covenant; the said Mr. Eliot was the first that administered the Lord's supper to them. The pastor of that church now is an Indian; his name is Daniel. Besides this church at Natick, among our inhabitants in the Massachusetts colony, there are four Indian assemblies where the name of the true God and Jesus Christ is solemnly called upon: these assemblies have some American preachers. Mr. Eliot formerly used to preach to them once every fortnight, but now he is weakened with labours and old age, being in the eighty fourth year of his age, and preacheth not to the Indians oftner than once in two months.

There is another church, consisting only of converted Indians, about fifty miles from hence, in an Indian town called Mashippaug: the first pastor of that church was an Englishman, who being skilful in the American language, preached the gospel to them in their own tongue. This English pastor is dead, and instead of him, that church has an Indian preacher. There are, besides that, five assemblies of Indians professing the name of Christ, not far distant from Mashippaug, which have Indian preachers; John Cotton, pastor of the church at Plymouth, (son of my venerable father-in-law John Cotton, formerly teacher of the church at Boston) hath made very great progress in learning the Indian tongue, and is very skilful in it; he preaches in their own language to the last five mentioned congregations every week. Moreover of the inhabitants of Saconet in Plymouth colony, there is a great congregation of those who, for distinction sake, are called praying Indians, because they pray to God in Christ. Not far from a promontory called Cape-Cod, there are six assemblies of Heathens who are to be reckoned as Catechumens, amongst whom there are six Indian preachers. Samuel Treat, pastor of a church at Eastham, preacheth to those congregations in their own language. There are likewise amongst the islanders of Nantucket a church, with a pastor who was lately a Heathen, and several meetings of Catechumens, who are instructed by the converted Indians. There is also another island about seven leagues long (called Martha's Vineyard) where are two American churches planted, which are more famous than the rest, over one of which there presides an ancient Indian as pastor, called Hiacoons: John Hiacoons, son of the said Indian pastor, also preacheth the gospel to his countrymen. In another church in that place, John Tockinoth a converted Indian teaches. In these churches ruling elders of the Indians are joined to the pastors: the pastors were chosen by the people, and when they had fasted and prayed, Mr. Eliot and Mr. Cotton laid their hands on them, so that they were solemnly ordained. All the congregations of the converted Indians (both the Catechumens and those in church order) every Lord's day meet together; the pastor or preacher always begins with prayer; when the ruler of the assembly has ended prayer, the whole congregation of Indians praise God with singing; some of them are excellent singers: after the psalm, he that preaches reads a place of scripture and expounds it, gathers doctrines from it, proves them by scriptures and reasons, and infers uses from them after the manner of the English, of whom they have been taught; then another prayer to God in the name

of Christ concludes the whole service. Thus do they meet together twice every Lord's-day. They observe no holy-days but the Lord's-day, except upon some extraordinary occasion; and then they solemnly set apart whole days, either in giving thanks, or fasting and praying with great fervour of mind.

Before the English came into these coasts, these barbarous nations were altogether ignorant of the true God; hence it is that in their prayers and sermons they use English words and terms; he that calls upon the most holy name of God, says Jehovah, or God, or Lord; and also they have learned and borrowed many other theological phrases from us.

In short, there are six churches of baptized Indians in New-England, and eighteen assemblies of Catechumens, professing the name of Christ: of the Indians there are four and twenty who are preachers of the word of God; and besides these, there are four English ministers who preach the gospel in the Indian tongue. I am now my self weary with writing, and I fear lest if I should add more, I should also be tedious to you; yet one thing I must add, that there are many of the Indians children who have learned by heart the catechism, either of Perkins, or that put forth by the assembly of divines at Westminster, and in their own mother tongue can answer to all the questions in it. But I must end. I salute the professors in your university, to whom I desire you to communicate this letter, as written to them also. Farewel, worthy Sir; the Lord preserve your health for the benefit of your country, his church, and of learning.

Boston in New-England. }  
 July 12. 1687. }

*Yours ever,*

INCREASE MATHER.

AFTER the writing of this letter, there came one to my hands from Dr. Leusden, together with a new and fair edition of his Hebrew Psalter, dedicated unto the name of my absent parent. He therein informs me, that our example had awakened the Dutch to make some noble attempts for the furtherance of the gospel in the East-Indies; besides what memorable things were done by the excellent Robert Junius, in Formosa, fifty years ago. He also informs me, that in and near the island of Ceylon, the Dutch pastors have baptized about three hundred thousand of the Eastern Indies; for altho' the ministers are utterly ignorant of their language, yet here are school-masters who teach them the Lord's-prayer, the creed, the ten commandments, a morning prayer, an evening prayer, a blessing before meat, and another after; and the minister in his visits being assured by the master, who of them has learned all of these seven things, he thereupon counts they have such a perfect number of attainments, that he presently baptizes them. The pious reader will doubtless bless God for this; but he will easily see that one of our converted Indians has cost more pains than many of those; more thorough work has been made with them.

'Twas in the year 1646, that Mr. Eliot accompanied by three more, gave a visit unto an assembly of Indians, of whom he desired a meeting at such a time and such a place, that he might lay before them the things

of their eternal peace. After a serious prayer, he gave them a sermon, which continued above an hour, and contained the principal articles of the Christian religion, applying all to the condition of the Indians present<sup>a</sup>. Having done, he asked of them, whether they understood? and with a general reply, they answered, They understood all. He then began what was his usual method afterwards in treating with them; that is, he caused them to propound such questions as they pleased, unto himself; and he gave answers to them. Their questions would often, tho' not always, refer to what he had newly preached; and he this way not only made a proof of their profiting by his ministry, but also gave an edge to what he delivered unto them. Some of their questions would be a little philosophical, and required a good measure of learning in the minister concerned with them; but for this our Eliot wanted not. He would also put proper questions unto them, and at one of his first exercises with them, he made the young ones capable of regarding these three questions. 1. Who made you and all the world? 2. Who do you look should save you from sin and hell? 3. How many commandments has the Lord given you to keep? It was his wisdom that he began with them upon such principles, as they themselves had already some notion of; such as that of an heaven for good, and hell for bad people, when they died. It broke his gracious heart within him, to see what floods of tears fell from the eyes of several among these degenerate savages, at the first addressees which he made unto them; yea, from the very worst of them all. He was very inquisitive to learn who were the Powaws, that is, the forcerers and seducers, that maintained the worship of the devil in any of their societies; and having, in one of his first journies to them, found out one of those wretches, he made the Indian come unto him, and said, "Whether do you suppose God, or Chepian (i. e. the devil) to be the author of all good?" the conjurer answered, God. Upon this he added with a stern countenance, "Why do you pray to Chepian then?" and the poor man was not able to stand or speak before him; but at last made promises of reformation. Having thus entred upon the teaching of these poor creatures, it is incredible how much time, toil, and hardship, he underwent in the prosecution of this undertaking; how many weary days and nights; how many tiresome journies; and how many terrible dangers he had experience of. In a letter to the honourable Mr. Winslow; he says, "I have not been dry night nor day, from the third day of the week unto the sixth, but so travelled, and at night pull off my boots, wring my stockings, and on with them again, and so continue. But God steps in and helps." I have considered the word of God in 2 Tim. ii. 3. "Endure hardship as a good soldier of Christ."

One of his remarkable cares for these illiterate Indians, was to bring them into the use of schools and books. He quickly procured the benefit of schools for them; wherein they profited so much, that not only very many of them quickly came to read and write, but also several arrived unto a liberal education in our college, and one or two of them took their degree with the rest of our Graduates. And for books,

<sup>a</sup> His first text was *Ezek. xxxvii. 9, 10.* "Then said he unto me, prophecy &c.

'twas his chief desire that the Sacred Scriptures might not in an unknown tongue be locked or hidden from them; very hateful and hellish did the policy of Popery appear to him on this account. He could not live without a Bible himself; he would have parted with all his estate sooner; and he knew it would be of more than some use unto the Indians too; he therefore with a vast labour translated the Holy Bible into the Indian language. This Bible was printed here at our Cambridge; and it is the only Bible that ever was printed in all America, from the very foundation of the world. The Bible being justly made the leader of all the rest, a little Indian library quickly followed; for besides primers, and grammars, and some other such composures, we quickly had *The Practice of Piety* in the Indian tongue; and *Baxter's Call to the Unconverted*; he also translated some of Shephard's composures; and such catechisms likewise as there was occasion for.

The Indians that had felt the impression of his ministry, were quickly distinguished by the name of praying-Indians; and these praying Indians as quickly were for a more decent way of living, and they desired a more fixed cohabitation. At several places did they now combine and settle; but the place of greatest name among their towns, is that of Natick. Here 'twas, that in the year 1651, those that had heretofore lived like the wild beasts, compacted themselves into a town; and applied themselves to the forming of their civil government. Our general court, notwithstanding their exact study to keep those Indians very sensible of their being subject unto the English empire, yet had allowed them their smaller courts, wherein they might govern their own smaller cases and concerns after their own particular modes, and might have their town-orders, if I may call them so, peculiar to themselves. With respect hereunto, Mr. Eliot on a solemn fast made a public vow, "That seeing these Indians were not prepossessed with any forms of government, he would instruct them in such a form as we had written in the word of God, that so they might be a people in all things ruled by the Lord." Accordingly, he expounded unto them the eighteenth chapter of Exodus; and then they chose rulers of hundreds, of fifties, of tens; and therewithal entered into this covenant.

"We are the sons of Adam; we and our forefathers have a long time been lost in our sins; but now the mercy of the Lord beginneth to find us out again; therefore the grace of Christ helping us, we do give ourselves and our children unto God, to be his people. He shall rule us in all our affairs; the Lord is our judge, the Lord is our law-giver, the Lord is our king; he will save us; and the wisdom which God has taught us in his book shall guide us. Oh Jehovah! teach us wisdom; send thy Spirit into our hearts; take us to be thy people, and let us take thee to be our God."

Such an opinion about the perfection of the scripture had he, that he thus expressed himself upon this occasion; "God will bring nations into distress and perplexity, that so they may be forced unto the scriptures; all governments will be shaken, that men may be forced at length to pitch upon that firm foundation, The word of God."

The little towns of these Indians being pitched upon this foundation, they utterly abandoned that polygamy which had heretofore been common among them; they made severe laws against fornication, drunkenness, and sabbath-breaking, and other immoralities; and they next began to lament after the establishment of a church-order among them, and after the several ordinances and privileges of a church-communion. The churches of New-England have usually been very strict in their admissions to church-fellowship, and required very signal demonstrations of a repenting and a believing soul, before they thought men fit subjects to be entrusted with the rights of the kingdom of heaven. But they seemed rather to augment than abate their usual strictness, when the examination of the Indians was to be performed. A day was therefore set apart, which they called *Natootomuhenticusuk*, or, a day of asking questions, when the ministers of the adjacent churches, assisted with all the best interpreters that could be had, publicly examined a good number of these Indians, about their attainments both in knowledge and in virtue. And notwithstanding the great satisfaction then received, our churches being willing to proceed surely, and therefore slowly, in raising them up to a church-state, which might be comprehended in our confociations, the Indians were afterwards called in considerable assemblies convened for that purpose, to make open confession of their faith in God and Christ, and of the efficacy which his word had upon them for their conversion to him; which confessions being taken in writing from their mouths by able interpreters, were scanned by the people of God, and found much acceptance with them. I need pass no further censure upon them, than what is given by my grandfather, Richard Mather, in an epistle of his, published on this occasion: says he, "There is so much of God's work among them, as that I cannot but count it a great evil, yea a great injury to God and his goodness, for any to make light of it. To see and hear Indians opening their mouths, and lifting up their hands and eyes in prayer to the living God, calling on him by his name Jehovah, in the mediation of Jesus Christ, and this for a good while together; to see and hear them exhorting one another from the word of God; to see and hear them confessing the name of Christ Jesus, and their own sinfulness; sure this is more than usual! and tho' they spoke in a language, of which many of us understood but little, yet we that were present that day, saw and heard them perform the duties mentioned, with such grave and sober countenances, with such comely reverence in their gesture, and their whole carriage, and with such plenty of tears trickling down the cheeks of some of them, as did argue to us, that they spake with the holy fear of God, and it much affected our hearts. At length was a church-state settled among them: they entered, as our churches do, into an holy covenant, wherein they gave themselves, first unto the Lord, and then unto one another, to attend the rules, and helps, and expect the blessings of the everlasting gospel: and, Mr. Eliot having a mission from the church of Roxbury, unto the work of the Lord Christ among the Indians, conceived himself sufficiently authorized unto the performing of all church-work about them; grounding it on Acts xiii. 1, 2, 3, 4. and he accordingly

administred, first the baptism, and then the supper of the Lord unto them.

We find four assemblies of praying Indians, besides that of Natick, in our neighbourhood. But why no more? truly, not because our Eliot was wanting in his offers and labours for their good; but because many of the obdurate infidels would not receive the gospel of salvation. In one of his letters, I find him giving this ill-report; "Lyn-Indians are all naught save one, who sometimes comes to hear the word; and the reason why they are bad, is, principally because their Sachim is naught, and careth not to pray unto God." Indeed the Sachims, or the princes of the Indians, generally did all they could that their subjects might not entertain the gospel: the devils having the Sachims on their side, thereby kept their possession of the people too. Their Pauwaws did much to maintain the interest of the devils in this wilderness; those "children of the devil, and enemies of all righteousness, did not cease to pervert the right ways of the Lord;" but their Sachims did more towards it; for they would presently raise a storm of persecution upon any of their vassals that should pray unto the eternal God. The ground of this conduct in them, was, a fear, that religion would abridge them of the tyranny which they had been us'd unto; they always, like the devil, held their people in a most absolute servitude, and rul'd by no law, but by their will, which left the poor slaves nothing that they could call their own. They now suspected that religion would put a bridle upon such usurpations, and oblige them to a more equal and humane way of government; they therefore, some of them, had the impudence to address the English, that no motions about the Christian religion might ever be made unto them; and Mr. Eliot, sometimes in the wilderness, without the company or assistance of any other Englishman, has been treated in a very threatening and barbarous manner by some of these tyrants; but God inspired him with so much resolution, as to tell them, "I am about the work of the great God, and my God is with me; so that I fear neither you, nor all the Sachims in the country; I'll go on, and do you touch me if you dare!" upon which the stoutest of them have shrunk and fell before him. And one of them he at length conquered, by preaching unto him a sermon upon the temptations of our Lord; particularly, temptations fetch'd from the kingdoms and glories of the world. The little kingdoms and glories of the great men among the Indians, was a powerful obstacle to the success of Mr. Eliot's ministry; and it is observable, that several of those nations which thus refused the gospel, quickly afterwards were so devil-driven, as to begin an unjust and bloody war upon the English, which issued in their speedy and utter extirpation from the face of God's earth. It was particularly remarked in Philip, the ring-leader of the most calamitous war that ever they made upon us, our Eliot made a tender of the everlasting salvation to that king; but that Philip entertained it with contempt and anger, and after the Indian mode of joining signs with words, he took hold of a button of Mr. Eliot's coat, adding, "that he cared for his gospel, just as much as he cared for that button." A terrible ruin soon came upon that woful creature, and upon all his people. It was not long



before the hand which now writes, upon a certain occasion took off the jaw from the blasphemous exposed skull of that Leviathan; and Samuel Lee is now pastor to an English congregation, sounding the praises of heaven, upon that very spot of ground, where Philip and his Indians were lately worshipping the devil.

Sometimes the more immediate hand of God, by cutting off the principal opposers of the gospel among the Indians, made way for Mr. Eliot's ministry. As I remember, he relates that an association of profane Indians near our Weymouth, set themselves to deter and seduce the neighbour Indians from the right ways of the Lord. But God quickly sent the small-pox among them, which like a great plague soon swept them away, and thereby engaged the rest unto himself. I need only to add, That one attempt made by the devil, to prejudice the pagans against the gospel, had something in it extraordinary. While Mr. Eliot was preaching Christ unto the other Indians, a spectre appeared unto a prince of the Eastern-Indies, in a shape that had some resemblance of Mr. Eliot, or of an English minister, pretending to be the English-man's God. The spectre commanded him, "To forbear the drinking of rum, and to observe the sabbath day, and to deal justly with his neighbours;" all which things had been inculcated in Mr. Eliot's ministry; promising therewithal unto him, that if he did so, at his death his soul should ascend unto a happy place; otherwise descend unto miseries; but the apparition all the while, never said one word about Christ, which was the main subject of Mr. Eliot's ministry. The Sachim received such an impression from the apparition, that he dealt justly with all men, except in the bloody tragedies and cruelties he afterwards committed on the English in our wars; he kept the sabbath-day like a fast, frequently attending in our congregations; he would not meddle with any rum, though usually his country-men had rather die than undergo such a piece of self-denial. At last, and not long since, this spectre appeared again unto this Pagan, requiring him to kill himself, and assuring him that he should revive in a day or two, never to die any more. He thereupon divers times attempted it, but his friends very carefully prevented it; however at length he found an opportunity, and hanged himself; it is easy to see what a stumbling-block was here laid before the miserable Indians.

The same spirit which acted Mr. Eliot, quickly inspired others elsewhere, to prosecute the work of rescuing the poor Indians out of their worse than Egyptian-darkness, in which evil angels had been so long preying upon them. One of these was the godly and gracious Richard Bourn, who soon saw a great effect of his labours. In the year 1666, Mr. Eliot accompanied by the governor, and several magistrates and ministers at Plymouth-colony, procured a vast assembly at Mashippaug; and there a good number of Indians made confessions touching the knowledge and belief, and regeneration of their souls, with such understanding and affection as was extremely grateful to the pious auditory. Yet such was the strictness of the good people in this affair, that before they would countenance the advancement of these Indians unto church-fellowship, they ordered their confessions to be written and sent unto

all the churches in the colony, for their approbation; but so approved they were, that afterwards the messengers of all the churches giving their presence and consent, they became a church, and chose Mr. Bourn to be their pastor; who was then by Mr. Eliot and Mr. Cotton ordained unto that office over them. From hence Mr. Eliot and Mr. Cotton went over to an island called Martha's Vineyard, where God had so succeeded the honest labours of some, and particularly of the Mayhew's as that a church was gathered.

This church, after fasting and prayer, chose one Hiacoomes to be their pastor, John Tockinosh, an able and a discreet Christian to be their teacher; Joshua Mummeecheegs, and John Nanafo, to be ruling elders; and these were then ordained by Mr. Eliot and Mr. Cotton thereunto<sup>a</sup>. Distance of habitation caused this one church by mutual agreement afterwards to become two; the pastor and one ruling-elder taking one part, and the teacher and one ruling-elder another; and at Nantucket, another adjacent island, was another church of Indians quickly gathered, who chose an Indian, John Gibs, to be their minister. These churches are so exact in their admission, and so solemn in their discipline, and so serious in their communion, that some of the Christian English in the neighbourhood, who would have been loth to have mixed with them in a civil relation, yet have gladly done it in a sacred one.

'Tis needless for me to repeat what my father has written about the other Indian congregations; only there having been made mention of one Hiacoomes, I am willing to annex a passage or two concerning that memorable Indian. That Indian was a very great instrument of bringing his Pagan and wretched neighbours to a saving acquaintance with our Lord Jesus Christ; and God gave him the honour, not only of so doing much for some, but also of suffering much from others of those unhappy savages. Once particularly, this Hiacoomes received a cruel blow from an Indian prince, which, if some English had not been there, might have killed him, for his praying unto God. And afterwards he gave this account of his trial in it; said he, "I have two hands; I had one hand for injuries, and the other for God; while I did receive wrong with the one, the other laid the greater hold on God." The Pawaws did use to hector and abuse the praying Indians at such a rate, as terrified others from joining with them; but once when those witches were bragging that they could kill all the praying Indians if they would; Hiacoomes replied, "Let all the Pawaws in the island come together, I'll venture myself in the midst of them; let them use all their witchcrafts, with the help of God I'll tread upon them all." By this courage he silenced the Pawaws; at the same time also he heartned the people, at such a rate as was truly wonderful; nor could any of them ever harm this eminent confessor afterwards; nor indeed an proselyte which had been by his means brought home to God; yea, 'twas observed after this, that they rather killed than cured all such of the Heathen as would yet make use of their enchantments for help against their sicknesses.

<sup>a</sup> See a farther account of Hiacoomes, John Tockinosh, and John Nanafo, in the next Section.

So little was the soul of our Eliot infected with any envy, as that he longed for nothing more than fellow-labourers; he made his cries both to God and man, for more to be thrust forth into the Indian harvest; and indeed it was an harvest of so few secular advantages and encouragements, that it must be nothing less than a divine thrust, which could make any to labour in it. He saw the answer of his prayers, in the generous and vigorous attempts made by several other most worthy preachers of the gospel, to gospelize our perishing Indians. At the writing of my father's letter there were four; but the number of them encreases apace among us. At Martha's Vineyard, old Mr. Mayhew, and several of his sons, or grand-sons, have done very worthily for the souls of the Indians; there were fifteen years ago, by computation, about fifteen hundred seals of their ministry upon that one island. In Connecticut, Mr. Fitch has made noble essays towards the conversion of the Indians; but, I think, the prince he has to deal withal, being an obstinate infidel, gives unhappy remoras to the successes of his ministry. And godly Mr. Pierston has in that colony deserved well, if I mistake not, upon the same account. In Massachusetts we see at this day Mr. Daniel Gookin, Mr. Peter Thatcher, Mr. Grindal Rawson, all of them hard at work, to turn these poor creatures from darkness unto light, and from Satan unto God. In Plymouth we have the most active Mr. Samuel Treat, laying out himself to save this generation; and there is one Mr. Tupper, who uses his laudable endeavours for the instruction of them<sup>a</sup>. 'Tis my relation to him, that causes me to defer to the last place, the mention of Mr. John Cotton, who addresses the Indians in their own language with an admirable dexterity, and has done great service to them. Having told my reader that the second edition of the Indian Bible was wholly of his correction and amendment, I shall only add this remarkable story; Mr. Cotton, accompanied by the governor and major-general, and sundry persons of quality, made a journey to a nation of Indians in the neighbourhood, with a free offer of the words whereby they might be saved. The prince took time to consider of it; and, at length, he told them, "He did not accept the tender which they made him." They then took their leaves of him, not without first giving him this plain and short admonition, "If God have any mercy for your miserable people, he will quickly find a way to take you out of the way." 'Twas presently after this, that this prince going forth to a battle against another nation of Indians, was killed in the fight; and the young prince being in his minority, the government fell into the hands of protectors, who favoured the interest of the gospel. Mr. Cotton being advised of it, speedily and prosperously renewed the tidings of an eternal Saviour to the savages, who have ever since attended upon his ministry; and the young Sachim, after he came to age, expressed his approbation of the Christian religion; especially, when a while since he lay a dying of a tedious distemper, and would keep reading of Mr. Baxter's *Call to the Unconverted*, with floods of tears in his eyes, while he had any strength to do it.

<sup>a</sup> I suppose he might have added Mr. Leverich of Sandwich.

Such as these are the persons whom our Eliot left engaged in the Indian-work; and they are so indefatigable in their labours, as that the most equal judges must acknowledge them worthy of much greater salaries than they are generally contented with.

Some of the Indians quickly built for themselves good and large meeting-houses; and some of the English were helpful to them upon this account; among whom I ought particularly to mention that learned, pious, and charitable gentleman, Samuel Sewal, who at his own charge built a meeting-house for one of the Indian congregations.

As to their worship, the very name of praying Indians will assure us, that prayer is one of their devotions; be sure they could not be our Eliot's disciples if it were not so. They study the words of God, and their own sins and wants, and can pray with much pertinence and enlargement. Their preaching has also much of Eliot, and therefore you may be sure much of scripture, but perhaps more of the Christian than of the scholar in it. As for holy-days, our Eliot would not persuade his Indians to any stated ones. But, he taught them to set apart days both for fasting and prayer, and for praise, when there should be extraordinary occasions for them; and they perform the duties of these days with a very laborious piety. One party of the Indians long since, of their own accord, kept a day of supplication together, wherein one of them discoursed upon Psal. lxi. 7. "He rules by his power for ever, his eyes behold the nations: let not the rebellious exalt themselves." And when one asked them afterwards, what was the reason of their keeping such a day? they replied, "It was to obtain five mercies of God." First, "That God would slay the rebellion of their hearts. Next, That they might love God and one another. Thirdly, That they might withstand the temptations of wicked men, so that they might not be drawn back from God. Fourthly, That they might be obedient unto the counsels and commands of their rulers. Fifthly, That they might have their sins done away by the redemption of Jesus Christ. And lastly, That they might walk in the good ways of the Lord.

Our cautious Eliot was far from the opinion of those who have thought it warrantable, to adopt some Heathenish usages into the worship of God, for the more easy and speedy gaining of the Heathen to that worship. He would not gratify them with a Samaritan sort of mixed worship; and he imagined, as well he might, that the apostle Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians had enough in it, for ever to deter us all from such unhappy temporizing.

'Tis too usual with old men, that when they are past work, they are least sensible of their inabilities and incapacities, and can scarce endure to see another succeeding them in their office. But our Eliot was of a temper quite contrary thereunto; for finding many months before his death, that he had not strength enough to edify his congregation with public prayers, and sermons, he importuned his people with some impatience to call another minister; professing himself, unable to die with comfort, until he could see a good successor ordained, settled, and fixed among them. For this cause, he also cried mightily unto the

Lord Jesus, our ascended Lord, that he would give such a gift unto Roxbury; and he sometimes called his whole town together, to join with him in a fast for such a blessing. As the return of their supplications, our Lord quickly bestowed upon them, a person young in years, but old in discretion, gravity, and experience, Mr. Nehemiah Walter; who being by the unanimous vote and choice of the church there, become the pastor of Roxbury, immediately found the venerable Eliot embracing and cherishing of him, with the tender affections of a father. After this, he for a year or two before his death, could scarce be persuaded unto any public service, but humbly pleaded, what none but he would ever have said, "It would be a wrong to the souls of the people, for him to do any thing among them, when they were supplied so much to their advantage otherwise." But altho' he dismited himself (as one so near to the age of ninety, might well have done) from his public labours; yet he would not give over his endeavours, in a more private sphere, to do good unto all. For he had always been an enemy to idleness. His little diary shews there was no day without a line. A young boy in the neighbourhood, had in his infancy fallen into a fire, so as to burn himself into a perfect blindness; but this boy being now grown to some bigness, the good old man took him home to his house, and taught him. And the boy so profited, that in a little time he could repeat many whole chapters verbatim, and if any other in reading missed a word, he would mind them of it.

He had once a pleasant fear, that the old saints of his acquaintance, especially those two dearest neighbours of his, Cotton of Boston, and Mather of Dorchester, who were got safe to heaven before him, would suspect him to be gone the wrong way, because he staid so long behind them.

For many months before he died, he would often tell us, "That he was shortly going to heaven, and that he would carry a deal of good news thither with him; he said he would carry tidings to the old founders of New-England, who were now in glory, that church-work was yet carried among us; that the number of our churches was continually increasing; and that the churches were still kept as big as they were, by the daily additions of those that shall be saved." He used most affectionately to bewail the death of all useful men; yet if one brought him the notice of such a thing with any despondencies, or said, O Sir, such a one is dead, what shall we do? he would answer, Well, but God lives, Christ lives, the old Saviour of New-England yet lives, and he will reign 'till all his enemies are made his footstool.

The last thing that ever our Eliot put off, was, the care of all the churches, which he was continually sollicitous about. When the churches in New-England were under a very uncomfortable prospect, by the advantage which men that sought their ruin had obtained against them, God put it into the heart of one well known in these churches, to take a voyage into England, that he might, by his mediations at Whitehall, divert the storms that were then impending over us. It is not easy to express what affection our aged Eliot prosecuted this undertaking with; and what thanksgiving he rendered unto God for any hopeful

successes of it. But because one of the last times, and for ought I know the last of his ever setting pen to paper in the world was upon this occasion, I shall transcribe a short letter which was written by the shaking hand that had heretofore by writing deserved so well from the church of God. It was written to the person that was engaging for us, and thus it ran:

*Reverend and beloved Mr. Increase Mather,*

"I cannot write. Read Nehemiah ii. 10. When Sanballat the Horonite, and Tobijah the servant, the Ammonite, heard of it, it grieved them exceedingly, that there was come a man to seek the welfare of the children of Israel. Let thy blessed soul feed full and fat upon this and other scriptures. All other things I leave to other men; and rest,

Your loving brother,

JOHN ELIOT."

[ From Turner's Remarkable Providences, Part i. Chap. 18. ]

The following speeches of some of the Indians, formerly published by Mr. Eliot, were delivered to me by a friend that brought them with him from Boston, in New-England, and are so great a rarity, that it was with difficulty he procured them in New-England, where they were printed; neither was there a copy of them to be found in London. Mr. Eliot begins thus: here be but a few of the dying speeches and counsels of such Indians as died in the Lord. It is an humbling to me, that there be no more; it was not in my heart to gather them, but major Gookins hearing some of them rehearsed, he first moved that Daniel should gather them, in the language as they were spoken, and that I should translate them into English; and here is presented what was done that way. These things are printed, not so much for publication, as to save charge of writing out of copies for those that did desire them. JOHN ELIOT,

1. WABAN. He was the first that received the gospel; our first meeting was at his house; the next time we met, he had gathered a great company of his friends to hear the word, in which he hath been stedfast; when we framed ourselves in order, in way of government, he was chosen a ruler of fifty; he hath approved himself to be a good Christian in church order, and in civil order, he hath approved himself to be a zealous, faithful, and stedfast ruler to his death. His speech is as followeth, "I now rejoice, though I be now a dying; great is my affliction in this world, but I hope that God doth so afflict me, only to try my praying to God in this world, whether it be true and strong, or not; but I hope God doth gently call me to repentance, and to prepare to come unto him; therefore he layeth on me great pain and affliction. Though my body be almost broken by sickness, yet I desire to remember thy name. Oh my God, until I die, I remember those words, Job xix. 23, to 28. Oh that my words were now written! oh that they were printed in a book; that they were graven with an iron pen and lead, in a rock for ever. For I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth. And though after my skin worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh I shall see God, &c." I desire not to be troubled about matters of this world; a little I am

troubled. I desire you all, my brethren, and you my children, do not greatly weep and mourn for me in this world; I am now almost dying, but see that you strongly pray to God, and do you also prepare and make ready to die, for every one of you must come to dying: therefore confess your sins, every one of you, and believe in Jesus Christ; I believe that which is written in the book of God. Consider truly and repent, and believe; then God will pardon all your great and many sins. God can pardon all your sins as easily as one; for God's free mercy and glory do fill all the world. God will in no wise forget those that in this world do sincerely repent and believe: verily, this is love, oh my God. Therefore I desire that God would do this for me, tho' in my body I am full of pain: as for those that died afore we prayed to God, I have no hope about them, now I believe that God hath called us for Heaven; and there in Heaven are many believers souls abiding. Therefore I pray you, do not overmuch grieve for me, when I die in this world, but make yourselves ready to die, and follow me, and there we shall see each other in eternal glory. In this world we live but a short while; therefore we must always be preparing, that we may be ready to die. Therefore, oh my God, I humbly pray, receive my soul, by thy free mercy in Jesus Christ, my Saviour and redeemer; for Christ hath died for me, and for all my sins in this world committed. My great God hath given me long life, and therefore I am now willing to die. Oh Jesus Christ, help my soul; I believe that my sickness doth not arise out of the dust, nor cometh at peradventure, but God sendeth it, Job v. 6, 7. By this sickness God calleth me to repent of all my sins, and to believe in Christ; now I confess myself a great sinner; oh pardon me, and help me, for Christ's sake. Lord, thou callest me with a double calling, sometimes by prosperity and mercy, sometimes by affliction. And now thou callest me by sickness, but let me not forget thee, O my God: for those that forget thy name, thou wilt forsake them; as Psalm. ix. 17. all that forget God shall be cast into hell; therefore let me not forget thee, oh my God. I give my soul to thee, oh my Redeemer, Jesus Christ; pardon all my sins, and deliver me from hell: oh do thou help me against death, and then I am willing to die; and when I die, oh help me, and receive me. In so saying he died."

2. PLAMBOHU. He was the second man next Waban, that received the gospel; he brought with him to the second meeting at Waban's house, many; when we formed them into government, he was chosen a ruler of ten; when the church at Hassenamessit was gathered, he was called to be a ruler in that church; when that was scattered by the war, they came back to Natick church, so many as survived, and at Natick he died. His speech was as followeth, "I rejoice, and am content and willing to take up my sorrows and sickness; many are the years of my life; long have I lived, therefore now I look to die: but I desire to prepare myself to die well. I believe God's promise, that he will for ever save all that believe in Jesus Christ. Oh Lord Jesus help me; deliver me, and save my soul from hell, by thine own blood, which thou hast shed for me, when thou didst die for me, and for all my sins: now help me sincerely to confess all my sins; oh pardon all my sins: I now beg,

in the name of Jesus Christ, a pardon for all my sins; for thou, O Christ, art my redeemer and deliverer: now I hear God's word, and I do rejoice in what I hear; though I do not see, yet I hear and rejoice, that God hath confirmed for us a minister in this church of Natick; he is our watchman; and all you people deal well with him, both men, women and children; hear him every Sabbath day, and make strong your praying to God; and all you of Hassaunemesue, restore your church and praying to God there. Oh Lord help me to make ready to die, and then receive my soul; I hope I shall die well by the help of Jesus Christ: oh Jesus Christ deliver and save my soul in everlasting life in Heaven, for I do hope thou art my Saviour: oh Jesus Christ." So he died.

3. OLD JACOB. He was among the first that prayed to God; he had so good a memory, that he could rehearse the whole catechism, both questions and answers. When he gave thanks at meat, he would sometimes only pray the Lord's prayer; his speech is as followeth: "My brethren, now hear me a few words; stand fast all you people in your praying to God, according to that word of God, 1 Cor. xvi. 13. Watch ye, stand fast in the faith; quit you like men, and be strong in the Lord. Especially, you that are rulers and teachers: fear not the face of man, when you judge in a court together; help one another, agree together: be not divided one against another; remember the parable of ten brethren that held together; they could not be broken, nor overcome; but when they divided one against another, then they were easily overcome; and all you that are rulers, judge right judgment; for you do not judge for man, but for God, in your courts, 2. Chron. xix. 6, 7. Therefore judge in the fear of God. Again you that are judges, see that you have not only human wisdom, for man's wisdom is in many things contrary to the wisdom of God, counting it to be foolishness. Do not judge that right which only seemeth to be right, and consider Matth. vii. 1, 2. Judge right, and God will be with you, when you so do. Again, I say to you all the people; make strong your praying to God, and be constant in it. 1 Thess. 5. 17. Pray continually. Again lastly, I say to you Daniel, our minister, be strong in your work, as Matth. v. 14, 16. You must bring light into the world, and make it to shine, that all may see your good work, and glorify your heavenly Father. Every preacher that maketh strong his work, doth bring precious pearls: as Matth. 13. 52. And thou shalt have everlasting life in so doing. I am near to death; I have lived long enough; I am about ninety years old; I now desire to die, in the presence of Christ. Oh Lord, I commit my soul to thee."

4. NEHEMIAH. This very hopeful young man going out to hunt with a companion, he fell out with him, and stabbed him mortally, and killed him; a little was gathered up spoke by him, as followeth: "I am ready to die now, but knew not of it, even now when I went out of my door; I was only going to hunt, but a wicked man hath killed me: I see that word is true, He that is well to-day, may be dead to-morrow. He that laughed yesterday, may sorrow to-day. My misery overtook me in the woods. No man knoweth the day and time



when his misery cometh. Now I desire patiently to take up my cross and misery; I am but a man, and must feel the cross. Oh Christ Jesus help me; thou art my Redeemer, my Saviour, and my Deliverer: I confess myself a sinner; Lord Jesus pardon all my sins by thy own blood, when thou diedst for us; O Christ Jesus save my soul from hell; receive my soul into heaven; Oh help me, help me." So he died; the wicked murderer is fled.

5. JOHN OWUSSUMUG senior. He was a young man when the Indians began to pray to God: he did not at the present join with them, but would say to me, I will first see into it, and when I understand it, I will answer you. He did after a while enter into the civil covenant, but was not entered into the church covenant before he died. He was propounded to join to the church, but was delayed, he being of a quick passionate temper; some witty litigations prolonged it till his sickness, but had he recovered, the church was satisfied to have received him: he finished well. His speech is as followeth: "Now I must shortly die; I desired that I might live; I sought for medicines to cure me; I went to every English doctor, at Dadham, Medfield, Concord, but none could cure me in this world. But oh Jesus Christ, do thou heal my soul; now I am in great pain, I have no hope of living in this world; a whole year I have been afflicted; I could not go to the public Sabbath-worship to hear God's word; I did greatly love to go to the Sabbath-worship. Therefore I now say to all you, men, women, and children, love much, and greatly to keep the Sabbath; I have been now long hindered from it, and therefore now I find the worth of it: I say unto you all, my sons and children, do not go into the woods among non-praying people, but abide constantly at Natick. You my children and all my kindred, strongly pray to God, love and obey the rulers, and submit unto their judgment, hear diligently your ministers; be obedient to Major Gookins, and to Mr. Eliot, and to Daniel. I am now almost dead, and I exhort you strongly to love each other, be at peace, and be ready to forgive each other. I desire now rightly to prepare myself to die, for God hath given me warning a whole year by my sickness, I confess I am sinner; my heart was proud, and thereby all sins were in my heart; I knew that by birth I was a Sechim, I got oxen, and cart, and plough, like an Englishman, and by all these things my heart was proud. Now God calleth me to repentance, by my sickness this whole year. Oh Christ Jesus help me, that according as I make my confession, so through thy grace I may obtain pardon of all my sins, for thou Lord Jesus didst die for us, to deliver us from sin. I hear and believe that thou hast died for many; therefore I desire to cast away all worldly hinderances, my lands and goods; I cast them by, they cannot help me now, I desire truly to prepare to die; my sons, I hope Christ will help me to die well: now I call you my sons, but in heaven we shall all be brethren, this I learned in the Sabbath-worship; all miseries in this world upon believers shall have only joy and blessing in Jesus Christ: therefore oh Christ Jesus help me in all my miseries, and deliver me, for I trust in thee; and save my soul in thy heavenly kingdom, now behold me and look upon me, who am dying:" so he died, &c. &c.

## SECTION III.

*Of the English Ministers in Martha's Vineyard.*—*Some Examples of pious Indians there:* 1. *Of those who were Ministers, Elders or Deacons.* 2. *Of others who were not in any Church-Office.* 3. *Of Women.* 4. *Of young Persons.*

[ From the Appendix to MAYHEW's Indian Converts. ] a

*Some Account of the English Ministers in Martha's Vineyard.*

1. THE Rev. Mr. THOMAS MAYHEW jun. the only son of Thomas Mayhew, Esq; he was a young gentleman of liberal education, and of such repute for piety as well as natural and acquired gifts, having no small degree of knowledge in the Latin and Greek languages, and being not wholly a stranger to the Hebrew, that soon after their settlement on the island, the new plantation called him to the ministry among them. But his English flock being then but small, he beheld, with great compassion, the wretched natives, who then were several thousands on those islands, perishing in utter ignorance of the true God, and eternal life, labouring under strange delusions, enchantments, and fears of the devils, whom they most passionately worshipped, and in such a miserable case as those, Eph. ii. 12. "Without Christ, being aliens from the common-wealth of Israel, from the covenants of promise, having no hope, and without God in the world." And God who had ordained him an evangelist, for the conversion of these Indian Gentiles, stirred him up with an holy zeal and resolution, to labour their illumination and deliverance. He first endeavours to get acquainted with them, and then earnestly applies himself to learn their language. He treats them in a condescending and friendly manner. He denies himself, and does his utmost to oblige and help them. He takes all occasions to insinuate and show the sincere and tender love and good-will he bore them; and, as he grows in their acquaintance and affection, he proceeds to express his great concern and pity for their immortal souls. He tells them of their deplorable condition under the power of malicious devils, who not only kept them in ignorance of earthly good things, but of those things which might bring them to heaven for ever, what a kind and mighty God the English served, and how the Indians might happily come into his favour and protection. The first Indian that embraced the motion of forsaking their false gods, and adoring the true God, was Hiacoomes, which was in the year 1643; an account of whom we have in the first of the following examples. This Indian living near the English settlement, quickly grew into an acquaintance with them; and, being a man of a sober, thoughtful, and ingenious spirit, he not only visited their houses, but also their public and religious meetings, at which time Mr. Mayhew took particular notice of him, discoursed often with him, in-

a The book itself has an attestation prefixed by eleven ministers in Boston, dated June 14th, 1726. And the Appendix is written by Mr. Prince, one of their numbers.

vited him to his house every Lord's-day at evening, gave him a clear account of the nature, reasonableness, and importance of the Christian faith, and quickly brought him to a firm and resolute adherence to it. Mr. Mayhew having gained Hiacoomes, he first employs him as a faithful instrument to prepare his way to the rest of the natives, instructing him more and more in this new religion, showing him how to recommend it to them, and to answer all their arguments and objections against it. And then in 1644, he proceeds to visit and discourse them himself; and whereas, at first, he could not hope to be heard in public, he therefore begins to instruct them in a more private way, sometimes going to the houses of those he esteemed most rational and well qualified, and at other times treating with particular persons. And, as Mr. Mayhew endeavoured the good of these Heathens, by discoursing with as many as were willing to have any conference with him; so with Hiacoomes in particular, whom he from time to time directed to communicate the knowledge received to those that Mr. Mayhew could not so easily meet with. And thus they united their counsels, and wrought together, and, by the blessing of God, soon gained some others. But that which especially favoured the progress of religion among them, was an universal sickness, wherewith they were visited in the following year; wherein it was observed by the Heathen Indians themselves, that those who hearkned to Mr. Mayhew's pious instructions, did not taste so deeply of it, and Hiacoomes and his family in a manner nothing at all. This put the natives, who lived within six miles of the English, upon serious consideration about this matter, being much affected, that he who had professed the Christian religion, and had thereby exposed himself to much reproach and trouble, should receive more blessings than they; whereupon Myoxeo, the chief man of that place, and Towanquatick, the Sagamore, with many others, sent for Hiacoomes, to tell them what he knew of the God which the English worshipped. At this very meeting, which was in 1646, Myoxeo was happily enlightened, and turned to chuse and acknowledge this God for his own, and Towanquatick soon after, encouraged by some others, desired Mr. Mayhew to give them a public meeting, to make known to them the word of God in their own tongue; and, among other incitements, addressed him thus: "You shall be to us as one that stands by a running river, filling many vessels, even so shall you fill us with everlasting knowledge." So Mr. Mayhew undertook to give them a meeting once a month; but as soon as the first exercise was over, they desired oftner than he could well attend; however, once a fortnight was the settled course; and, as this was the first public audience among them, so from hence, both Mr. Mayhew on the week-days lecture, and Hiacoomes on the Sabbaths, were constantly heard in public as long as they lived. However, Mr. Mayhew here met with three very great obstacles: for, 1st, Many strongly stood for their own meetings, ways, and customs, as being in their account much more advantageous and agreeable than ours, wherein they have nothing but talking and praying, and this in a manner too sober for them. 2d, Others alledged that the Sagamores were generally against this new way. But the 3d, and greatest of all, was, how they

should come off from the Pawaws. This was the strongest cord that bound them; for the Pawaws, by their diabolical forceries, kept them in the most slavish fear and subjection to them. There were about twelve at the meeting who were halting between two opinions, and others only came to see and hear what was done; for, though they had heard something of the One God of Heaven, yet was there unspeakable darkness and bondage to sin and the Pawaws, that they durst not for fear desert them; and though a few were better enlightened, yet the natives round about stuck fast in their brutishness. The Sagamore Towanquatick was exceedingly maligned by them; and, in 1647, his life was villainously attempted, for his favouring the Christian religion: but his great deliverance, with a due reflection on the villany, the rather confirmed him in it, and enflamed him with the more active zeal to espouse and assert it; and the meeting went on, to the joy of some Indians, and the envy of the rest, who derided and scoffed at those who attended the lecture, and blasphemed the God whom they worshipped, which very much damped the spirits of some for a time in his ways, and hindred others from looking towards them. But Towanquatick and Hiacoomes were inspired with a wonderful courage and constancy; and, in the following year, had a general meeting of all that were inclined for Christianity, to confirm and assist one another in their abiding by it. This assembly was held in Mr. Mayhew's presence; and therein he tells us, That twelve of the young men went and took Sacochanimo, Towanquatick's eldest son, by the hand, telling him, they loved him, and would go with him in God's way, and the elder men encouraged them, and desired them never to forget these promises. And so, after they had eaten, and sung part of a Psalm in their own language, and Mr. Mayhew had prayed, they returned home with expressions of great joy and thankfulness. The next year there was a greater convention, wherein was a mixt multitude, both of Infidel and Christian Indians, and those who were in doubt of Christianity; but Mr. Mayhew, it seems, was not now present. In this assembly the dreadful power of the Pawaws was publicly debated, many asserting their power to hurt and kill, and alledging numerous instances that were evident and undoubted among them; and then some asking aloud, "Who is there that does not fear them?" Others replied, "There is not a man that does not." Upon which Hiacoomes breaks forth, and boldly declares, "That though the Pawaws might hurt those who feared them, yet he believed and trusted in the great God of heaven and earth; and therefore all the Pawaws together could do him no harm, and he feared them not." At which they all exceedingly wondered, and expected some dreadful thing to befall him; but observing he remained unhurt, they began to esteem him happy in being delivered from their terrible power. Several of the assembly declared they now believed in the same God too, and would be afraid of the Pawaws no more; and desired Hiacoomes to tell them what this great God would have them to do; and what were the things that offended him; he immediately fell to prayer and preaching; and, by a rare and happy invention, he readily discovered and mentioned forty-five or fifty sorts of sins committed among

them, and as many contrary duties neglected; which so amazed and touched their consciences, that, at the end of the meeting, there were twenty-two Indians who resolved against those evils, and to walk with God, and attend his word; among whom was Momonequem, a son of one of the principal Indians, who sometime after became a preacher. (Of whom in the second of the following examples.)

And now, in 1650, comes on the critical point of the credit and power of the Pawaws among them; for Hiacoomes thus openly renouncing and protesting against the false gods he had worshipped, with all the Pawaws their familiar ministers; and with an amazing courage despising and defying their power, the Pawaws were greatly enraged, and threatened his utter destruction; but to their own and their people's surprize and confusion, were unable to hurt him. Mr. Mayhew improves the advantage, and redoubles his diligence, is incessant in his pious endeavours: and now, while many are in doubt of their way, he offers to show them the right one; he spares not his body either by day or by night. He readily travels, and lodges in their smoaky wigwams<sup>a</sup>; when he usually spends a great part of the night in relating the ancient stories of God in the scriptures, which were surprizing and entertaining to them, and in other discourse, which he conceives proper. He proposes such things to their consideration, which he thinks firstly requisite; he fairly solves their subtle objections, and tells them they might plainly see it was purely in good-will to them, from whom he could expect no reward, that he spent so much time and pains, and endured so much cold and wet, fatigue and trouble. But God was pleased to animate, uphold, and preserve him, and quickly to give success to his painful labours: for soon after, an Indian standing up at the lecture confessed his sins, declared his repentance, and desire to forsake them, and to go in God's way; and then going to Towanqustick, took him by the hand, and in his native simplicity said, "I love you, and do greatly desire to go along with you for God's sake:" the same he said to some others; and coming to Mr. Mayhew, he said, "I pray you to love me, and I do love you, and desire to go with you for God's sake;" upon which they received him with gladness of heart. After this, there came five more; and by the end of the Summer, there were thirty-nine Indian men in this meeting, who had not only the knowledge of the main points of religion, and professed their belief of them, but had also solemnly entered into a covenant to live agreeably to them: besides the well-instructed and believing women, who were supposed to exceed the number of the men, tho' they had not yet entered the covenant.

Mr. Mayhew's way in public now is, by a lecture every fortnight, whereto men, women, and children come; and first he prays, and then preaches, then catechizes, then sings a psalm, and all in their own language. After sermon, he generally spends more time than in the sermon itself, in a more familiar reasoning with them. And every Saturday-morning, he confers with Hiacoomes more privately about his subject-matter of preaching to the natives on both the parts of the following day.

\* Indian dwellings, like tents, covered with bark or mats; with a hole at the top to let out the smoke.

About this time, Mr. Henry Whitfield pastor of the church at Guilford New-England, in his voyage to Boston, in order to return to England, happened to put in at the Vineyard, and to stay there ten days. There, he tells us, he found a small plantation, and an English church gathered, whereof this Mr. Mayhew was pastor; that he had attained a good understanding in the Indian tongue, could speak well, and had laid the first foundation of the knowledge of Christ among the natives there by preaching, &c. Mr. H. Whitfield attends Mr. Mayhew to a more private Indian meeting, and the next day, to the Indian lecture, where Mr. Mayhew preached; and then catechized the Indian children, who answered readily and modestly in the principles of religion; some of them answering in English, and others in the Indian tongue; and then Mr. H. Whitfield adds the following lines: "Thus having seen a short model of his way, and of the pains he took, I made some enquiry about Mr. Mayhew himself, and about his subsistence; because I saw but a small and slender appearance of outward conveniences of life in any comfortable way: the man himself was modest, and I could get little from him; but afterwards I understood from others how short things were with him, and how he was many times forced to labour with his own hands, having a wife and three small children who depended upon him, to provide necessaries for them; having not half so much yearly coming in, in a settled way, as an ordinary labourer gets there among them; yet he is cheerful amidst these straits, and none hear him complain. The truth is, he will not leave the work in which his heart is engaged; for on my knowledge, if he would have left the work, and employed himself elsewhere, he might have had a more comfortable maintenance. I mention this the rather, because I have hope that some pious mind, who reads this, might be inwardly moved to consider his condition, and come to his succour, for his encouragement in this great work." Thus Mr. H. Whitfield.

But quickly after he left Mr. Mayhew, there happened a thing which amazed the whole island, and turned to the great and speedy advancement of the Christian religion. For it pleased God, who had drawn the Indians from the Pawaws to worship himself, whereat the Pawaws were greatly offended, yet now to persuade even two of themselves to run after those who sought him, and desire they might also go with them in the ways of that God whose name is Jehovah. They came very deeply convinced of the sins they had lived in, and especially pawawing, revealing the diabolical mysteries, and expressing the utmost repentance and detestation of them; intreating that God would have mercy upon them, pardon their sins, and teach them his ways, for Christ Jesus his sake. And very affecting it was to Mr. Mayhew and all who were present, "To see these poor naked sons of Adam, and slaves to the devil from the birth, to come towards the Lord as they did, with their joints shaking and their bowels trembling; their spirits troubled, and their voices with much fervency uttering words of sore displeasure against sin and Satan; which they had embraced from their childhood with great delight. And now accounting it also their sin that they had not the knowledge of God, that they had served the devil, the great e-

enemy both of God and man, and had been so hurtful in their lives; but yet being very thankful that, through the mercy of God, they had an opportunity to be delivered out of their dangerous condition." The Christian Indians rejoiced to see the Pawaws begin to turn from their wicked ways to the Lord; and in a little time after, on a lecture-day, at the close of the exercise, there were several more of the natives who expressed their desire to become the servants of the most high God; among whom was Tequanonim, another Pawaw of great esteem and very notorious. And now indeed both the common Indians, and the Pawaws themselves, began to observe and confess, that since the gospel had been preached to them, the Pawaws had been very much soiled in their diabolical essays; and instead of curing as formerly, they now had rather killed many. At the same time there came pressing in about fifty Indians more in one day, desiring to join with the worshippers of God in his service, confessing their sins; some, those actual sins they had lived in; and others, the naughtiness of their hearts: desiring to be made better; and for this end, to attend on the word of God, and looking only to Christ for salvation. And upon this occasion, Mr. Mayhew observes that they generally came in by families; the parents also bringing their children with them, saying, I have brought my children too; I would have my children serve God with us; I desire that this son and this daughter may worship Jehovah; and if they could but speak, their parents would have them say something to shew their willingness to serve the Lord: and when the commandments were repeated, they all acknowledged them to be good, and made choice of Jehovah to be their God, promising by his help to walk according to his counsels. And when they were received by those that were before in this general covenant, it was by loud voices, giving thanks to God that they were met together in the ways of Jehovah.

This was all before the end of the year 1650; and by the midst of October 1651, there were one hundred and ninety nine men, women and children, who had professed themselves to be worshippers of the great and ever-living God. And now there were two meetings kept every Lord's day, the one three miles, the other about eight from Mr. Mayhew's house. Hiacoones taught twice a day at the nearest, and Mono-nequem as often at the farthest; and God greatly assisted them. And Mr. Mayhew had then undertaken, in a dependance on God, to keep two several lectures among them, which would be at each assembly once a fortnight.

On January 11th, 1651-2, Mr. Mayhew set up a school, to teach the natives to read, viz. the children, and any young men who were willing to learn, whereof they were very glad: and as there quickly came in about thirty Indian children, he found them apt to learn; and more and more were coming in every day.

In the spring of the year 1652, the Indians, of their own accord made a motion to Mr. Mayhew, that they might have some method settled among them for the exercise of order and discipline, that so they might be obliged to live in a due subjection to the laws of God; whereto they desired to enter into a covenant; they desired him also to inform them

what were the punishments which God had appointed for those who broke his laws, to which they were also willing to subject themselves; and that they might have some men chosen among them, with his father and himself, to see that the Indians walked in an orderly manner; encouraging those who did so, and dealing with those who did not, according to the word of God. In order to this, a day of fasting and prayer was appointed to repent of their sins, and seek the divine presence and help; and another shortly after to finish the work. Being then assembled together, some Indians spake for their excitation, and about ten or twelve of them prayed, as Mr. Mayhew describes it, not with a set form, like children, but like men indued with a good measure of the knowledge of God, their own wants, and the wants of others, with much affection, and many spiritual petitions, favouring of an heavenly mind. The same morning Mr. Mayhew drew up an excellent covenant in their native language, which he often read and made plain to them: and they all with free consent and thankfulness united in it, and desired the grace and help of God to keep it faithfully; which, were it not for making this account too large, I should have here inserted. And Mr. Mayhew observed, that when they chose their rulers, they made choice of such as were best approved for piety, and most like to suppress all wickedness, and encourage goodness; and that afterwards they were upon all occasions forward to show their earnest desire of the same.

In short, by the end of October 1652, there were two hundred eighty two Indians, not counting young children in the number, who were brought to renounce their false gods, devils and pawaws, and publicly, in set meetings, before many witnesses, had freely disclaimed and defied their tyrannical power; yea, eight of their pawaws had now forsaken their diabolical craft, and profitable trade, as they held it, to turn into the ways of God. And as not any of these were compelled thereto by power, so neither were they allured by gifts, having received none from the very beginning. Indeed the natives in general observed, to their wonder, that the Christians were all along exempted from being hurt by the pawaws; even some of the Heathen pawaws themselves came at length to own, that they could not make their power to seize on a Christian: and those who were enemies to the Christian Indians, could not but acknowledge that the blessing of Heaven was in an eminent manner among them. But this was intirely the distinguishing favour of providence to recommend this religion to those who were not otherwise yet induced to see the excellence of it.

The praying Indians, as the christianized Indians were commonly called, being distinguished by this pious exercise, were constant attenders on the public worship; and even the barbarous Indians, both men and women, came often to Mr. Mayhew's lectures, bewailing their ignorance, disliking their sinful liberty, and seeking subjection to God, to be taught, governed and saved by him, for Christ Jesus's sake. Thus this worthy gentleman continued his almost inexpressible labour, and vigilant care for the good of the Indians, whom he justly esteemed his joy and crown. And God was pleased to give such success to his painful and unwearied labours, that by the year 1657, there were many



hundred men and women added to the Christian society. of such as might truly be said to be holy in their conversation; and for knowledge, such as needed not to be taught the first principles of the oracles of God: besides the many hundreds of looser and more superficial professors.

While he was labouring in this blessed work with indefatigable pain and difficulties, expecting no reward, but from him who said, "Go teach all nations, lo I am with you," God was pleased to move the hearts of many good people in England, who had heard of the same, to advance a considerable sum, to encourage the propagation of the gospel among the New-England Indians. And having seen so great a blessing on his painful labours, and seeing the Spirit given to sundry Indians, with the gift of prophesying, according to the promise made by him who ascended on high and gave gifts to men; having also an able, godly Englishman, named Peter Foulger, employed in teaching the youth in reading, writing, and the principles of religion by catechizing; being well learned likewise in the scriptures, and capable of helping them in religious matters: and Mr. Mayhew, the father, being pretty competently skilled in the Indian language, and highly honouring the labour for their conversion, whereby, if any difficulties should arise, they might have suitable assistance: in the year 1657, which was the thirty seventh of his age, he intended a short voyage to England, to give a more particular account of the state of the Indians than he could well do by letters, and to pursue the most proper measures for the further advancement of religion among them. He accordingly took passage in a ship, with his wife's brother, and with an Indian who was a preacher among the natives. But alas! the mysterious ways of providence! neither the ship, nor any of the passengers were ever heard of more! Thus came to an immature death Mr. Mayhew junior, who was so affectionately beloved, and esteemed of the Indians, that they could not easily bear his absence so far as Boston, before they longed for his return; and for many years after his departure, he was seldom named without tears. I have myself seen the rock on a descending ground, upon which he sometimes used to stand and preach to great numbers crouding to hear him. And the place on the way-side, where he solemnly and affectionately took his leave of that poor and beloved people of his, was for all that generation remembred with sorrow. In a letter of Mr. Eliot, of December 28th, of the following year, and published at London in 1659, he thus expresses himself: "The Lord has given us this amazing blow, to take away my brother Mayhew. His aged father does his endeavour to uphold the work among the poor Indians, whom by letters I have encouraged what I can," &c. This brings us to

2. THOMAS MAYHEW Esq. the father of the former. This gentleman was both patentee and governor of Martha's Vineyard and the neighbouring islands. After his son's death, seeing no probability of a regular minister to labour among the Indians, his zeal for the glory of God, and charity for the souls of this perishing people, raised him above all those forms and distinctions that lay in the way, which he accounted nothing in competition with their eternal salvation. He therefore re-

solves to do his utmost, both to preserve and carry on this public work. He goes once every week to some of their plantations. At so advanced an age he sets himself with unwearied diligence to perfect himself in their language; and tho' a governor, yet is not ashamed to become a preacher among them. He sometimes travelled on foot in this work near twenty miles thro' the woods. In a few years, with the assistance of those religious Indians who taught on the Lord's-day, he persuaded the natives on the west-end of the island to receive the gospel. About the year 1664 he was greatly relieved and assisted by the reverend Mr. John Cotton. The Indians were so edified and pleased with Mr. Mayhew's labours, that they desired him, tho' now about fourscore years of age, to accept the pastoral charge over them; but he thought this would not so well consist with the prime place he held in the civil government, wherein they also very greatly wanted him; and therefore advised them to chuse such Indian pastors as he thought would do good service among them; which they accordingly did, making choice of Hiacoomes and Tackanath for their pastors. The day appointed being come, which was August 22, 1670, an Indian church was compleatly formed to the satisfaction of the English church, and other religious people on the island, who by advantage of many years acquaintance, had sufficient experience of their qualifications. Nor did this abate his ministerial care or pains. He still proceeds in the laborious work, even to the ninety-third year of his age, and the twenty-third of his ministry, which was in 1660, when he dies, to the great lamentation both of the English and Indians. A little before his death he told a grandson of his, yet living, "That the time of his departure was near at hand; but he earnestly desired that God would give him one opportunity more in public to exhort the English of the town where he lived; whom he had for some time been also obliged to teach, thro' the want of a regular minister." God granting his desire, he taught them the following Sabbath, and then took his affectionate farewell of them; and falling ill that evening, he assured his friends, "That his sickness would now be unto death, and he was well contented therewith, being full of days, and satisfied with life," &c. He gave many excellent counsels and exhortations to all about him; his reason and memory not being at all impaired, as could be perceived. And he continued full of faith, and comfort, and holy joy, to the last. Tho' the loss of his only son in his old age was a great and lasting sorrow, yet by God's lengthening out his life to so uncommon a term, he had the reviving consolation to see a very valuable son of that son associated with him in the Indian service to their great acceptance, a few years before he died; and which doubtless made his departure more easy and joyful to him. We therefore now come to

3. The rev. Mr. JOHN MAYHEW, the youngest son of Mr. Thomas Mayhew junior. Mr. Thomas Mayhew junior left three sons, viz. Matthew, Thomas, and John. This John born in 1652, applied himself entirely to the work of the ministry, wherein he was for some small time contemporary with his aforesaid grandfather; and succeeding him, continued therein to his death. When he was but twenty-one years

of age, he was first called to the ministry among the English in a new and small settlement, at a place named Tilbury, near the midst of the island, where he preached with great acceptance. But he also naturally cared for the good of the Indians; and understanding their language well while he was a very young man, he used frequently to give them good instructions, and even the chief Indians on the island used often to resort to him for counsel. And being arrived at the age above-mentioned, they would not be contented till he became a public preacher to them likewise; so ardent and urgent were their desires, that he could not deny them, even tho' his grandfather was then a laborious and acceptable preacher among them. And having both the English and Indians under his care, his diligence was now to be doubled, especially after his grandfather's death; and this much the more, by reason of certain erroneous opinions in danger of taking root in the island. Mr. Mayhew was rightly for repelling them with spiritual weapons; and being a person of very superior abilities, and acquaintance with the scriptures, he used to desire such as began to imbibe those principles, to produce the reasons; and those who wanted to be resolved in their difficulties, to give them the advantage to resolve them in public, that others might also receive light and satisfaction; whereby they came to be more clearly instructed, and more fully convinced and satisfied, than in the ordinary way of preaching, which yet always preceded the other. In short, he had such an excellent talent for the defence of the truth against gain-sayers, that those who would have spread their errors, found that they could make no progress, in their designs on the island: and the churches and people, and in them their posterity, were happily saved from the spreading of those erroneous opinions, and the disturbance and troubles they would have produced among them.

And as for the Indians; his custom was to tarry some time with them after the public exercise was over, allowing them to put questions to him for their own instruction, and also trying their knowledge, by putting questions to them. And he was so very well skilled in their language, as to be able to discourse freely with them upon any kind of subject, and to preach and pray in their tongue with the greatest readiness. The whole of what was allowed him for his incessant labours, both among the English, and Indians, put together, would scarce amount to ten pounds a year, except the two last years of his life, when the commissioners being sensible of the eminent service he did, raised his salary to thirty pounds. But he went on cheerfully, in hopes of a rich and joyful harvest in heaven. And having finished what God in his all-wise and perfect providence saw meet to employ him in, he deceased in February 3, 1688-9, about two in the morning, in the 37th year of his age, and the 16th of his ministry; leaving the Indians in a very orderly way of assembling on the Lord's-day, for public worship in four or five several places, and of hearing their several well instructed teachers, who usually began with prayer, and then after singing part of a Psalm, from some portion of scripture spake to the auditors: as also an Indian church, of one hundred communicants, walking according to the rule of the scriptures. And thus expired this third successive In-

dian preacher of this worthy family; after he had set another bright example of disinterested zeal for the glory of God, a lively faith of the invisible and eternal world, and a generous and great concern for the salvation of all about him. He left eight children; the eldest of which was but sixteen years of age, and soon after succeeded him in the Indian service. And this is now

4. The Rev. Mr. EXPERIENCE MAYHEW, the eldest son of Mr. John Mayhew. He was born January 27, 1673, and began to preach to the Indians in the Vineyard, March 1694, about five years after his father's decease; and has continued in the same laborious employment, having the oversight of five or six Indian assemblies; to whose service he has been wholly devoted, and to one or other of which he has constantly preached for above these thirty two years. The Indian language has been from his infancy natural to him, and he has been all along accounted one of the greatest masters of it that has been known among us. The honourable commissioners therefore employed him to make a new version of the whole book of Psalms, and the gospel of John; which he did in collateral columns of English and Indian, with a great deal of accuracy, in 1709. He has several children living, and is now endeavouring to bring up one of them for the college, in order to the Indian service. But this worthy man, the compiler of the [following] Indian examples, being now alive, and flourishing among us, I may not venture to trespass so much on his modesty, as to enter into any further description of his character.

*Some Examples of the pious Indians in Martha's Vineyard, viz. 1. Of those who were Ministers, Elders or Deacons, who were justly esteemed godly Persons.*

[ From MAYHEW's Indian Converts, Chap. 1. ]

*Example 1.* HIACOOMES, the first Christian Indian, and minister in the island of Martha's Vineyard. This Hiacoomes was an Indian of Great-Harbour, now Edgartown, where a few English families first settled in the year 1642. His descent was but mean, his speech but slow, and his countenance not very promising. He was therefore, by the Indian Sachins, and others of their principal men, looked on as but a mean person, scarce worthy of their notice or regard. However, living near the English, some of them visited him in his wigwam, and were courteously entertained by him. These endeavoured to discourse a little with him about the way of the English, and the man seemed to hearken to them, and in a little time began to pay them visits again, going frequently to some of their houses; and it was thought that he was trying to learn something of them that might be for his advantage. About the same time he went also to the English meeting, and observed what was done there. This was soon observed by the reverend Mr. Thomas Mayhew, who was then minister to the few English inhabitants in that new plantation, and was at the same time contriving what might be done in order to the salvation of the miserable Indians round about him. But now, observing in this Hiacoomes a disposition to hear

and receive instruction ; observing also, that his countenance was grave and sober, he resolved to essay, in the first place, what he could do with him, and immediately took an opportunity to discourse him ; and, finding encouragement to go on in his endeavours to instruct him, he invited him to come to his house every Lord's-day evening, that so he might then more especially have opportunity to treat with him about the things of God. Hiacoomes accepting this kind invitation, Mr. Mayhew used his utmost endeavours to enlighten him ; and Hiacoomes seemed as eagerly to suck in the instructions given him, as if his heart had been before prepared by God, and made good ground, in order to a due reception of his word sown in it. And thus, as a new-born babe, desiring the sincere milk of the word, that he might grow thereby, he increased daily in knowledge, and, so far as could appear, grew in grace also.

But Hiacoomes' thus conversing with, and hearkening to the English, was soon noised about among the Indians ; and the news of it coming to the Sachims and Pawaws of the island, they were, as obscure a person as Hiacoomes was, much alarmed at it ; and some of them endeavoured, with all their might, to discourage him from holding communication with the English, and from receiving any instructions from them : but all that they could say or do to this end, was to no purpose ; for it seems that God, " By whom not many wise men after the flesh, nor many mighty, nor many noble are called," had by his special grace effectually called him out of darkness into his marvellous light ; and having now had a taste of that knowledge of God and Christ, which is life eternal, he was resolved that nothing should hinder him from labouring after still higher attainments in it. About this time therefore Hiacoomes going with some Englishmen to a small island near by, called Chapaquiddick, they there met a surly Sagamore, whose name was Pahkehpunnassoo ; and the said Sagamore reviling him for his communion with the English in things both civil and religious, and railing at him for being obedient to them, Hiacoomes replied, " That he was gladly obedient to them ; neither was it for the Indians hurt that he was so." Upon his saying of which, the Sachim gave him a grievous blow in the face, and would have struck him again, if the English present would have suffered it ; but the poor man thus wronged, made this improvement of the injury done him : " I had, said he, one hand for injuries, and another hand for God ; whilst I received wrong with the one, I laid the faster hold on God with the other."

There was this year, 1643, a very strange disease among the Indians ; they ran up and down, as if delirious, till they could run no longer ; they would make their faces as black as a coal, and snatch up any weapon, as tho' they would do mischief with it, and speak great swelling words ; but yet they did no harm. Many of these Indians were by the English seen in this condition. Now this, and all other calamities which the Indians were under, they generally then attributed to the departure of some of them from their own heathenish ways and customs ; but Hiacoomes being built upon that foundation which standeth sure, and being one of those whom God hath set apart for himself, and knew

to be his, none of these things moved him; but the things which he had heard and learned he held fast: and that he might be in a way to learn more than he had done, he now earnestly desired to learn to read; and having a Primer given him, he carried it about with him, till, by the help of such as were willing to instruct him, he attained the end for which he desired it.

A while after, in the year 1644, Hiacoomes going to an Indian's house, where there were several Indians met together, they laughed and scoffed at him, saying, "Here comes the Englishman." At this his old enemy, Pahkehpunnassoo, then asleep in the house, awaked, and joining with the other Indians, said to him, "I wonder that you that are a young man, and have a wife and two children, should love the English and their ways, and forsake the Pawaws; what would you do if any of you were sick? whither would you go for help? if I were in your case, there should nothing draw me from our gods and Pawaws." To this Hiacoomes at present answered nothing, perhaps foreseeing, that, if he should answer, it would only put the man into a rage, as formerly. However, he soon after told a friend of his, that he then thought in his heart, that the God of heaven did hear and know all the evil words that Pahkehpunnassoo said; and he was further confirmed in this, when a little after the said Pahkehpunnassoo was by the just hand of God terribly smitten with thunder, and fell down in appearance dead, with one leg in the fire then in the house where he was, the same being grievously burned before any of the people present were aware of it (it being in the night, and dark.) But for this time Pahkehpunnassoo was spared, though a young man that was helping him to cover the chimney of the house, at which the rain then beat in, was killed outright at the same time. I shall have done with this Pahkehpunnassoo, when I have said, "That as obstinate an infidel as he was; yet so victorious is the grace of God, that he afterwards renounced his Heathenism, and became a worshipper of the only true God, in and through his son Jesus Christ; so that it is to be hoped that he was at last a brand plucked out of the fire, in a better sense than that before-mentioned."

In this and the following year 1645, Mr. Mayhew went on with his design of instructing his Hiacoomes, and several others of the Indians, as he had opportunity; and now Hiacoomes begins to be so far from needing to be taught the first principles of the oracles of God, that he becomes a teacher of others; communicating to as many as he could the knowledge he himself had attained: and some there were that now begin to hearken to him, yet seemed not to be duly affected with the truths taught by him, and many utterly rejected them; but God now sending a general sickness among them, it was observed by the Indians themselves, that such as had but given a hearing to the things Hiacoomes preached among them, and shewed any regard to them, were far more gently visited with it than others were; but Hiacoomes and his family in a manner not at all; At this many of the Indians were much affected, for they evidently saw that he, who, for the sake of the truth, exposed himself to the rage of his enemies, and such as adhered to him, fared better than those that opposed both him and that. And being thus

affected, many of the people desired to be instructed by him; and some persons of quality, such as before despised him, sent for him (as Cornelius for Peter) to come and instruct them, and those about them: so in particular did one Miohsoo, afterwards to be mentioned. And now the Indians began not only to give some credit to the truth by Hiacoomes brought to them, but were also awakned by what they heard and believed, so as humbly to confess their sins, and be concerned how they should obtain the pardon of them, and also to renounce their own gods and pawaws, and promise to serve the true God only: and Hiacoomes could now tell Mr. Mayhew, that this was the first time that ever he saw the Indians sensible of their sins.

Hitherto the Indians had not any public preaching to them; but now (in the year 1646) Tawanquatick, one of the chief sachins of the island, invited both Mr. Mayhew and Hiacoomes to preach to himself and such of his people as would hear them; and Hiacoomes was from this time forward heard as a public preacher, by a considerable number of the Indians, and God gave him not only light, but courage also for this work: and the Indians then said of him, that tho' formerly he had been a harmless man among them, yet he had not been at all accounted of, and therefore they wondered that he that had nothing to say in all their meetings formerly, was now become the teacher of them all. The pawaws, and those that adhered to them, observing those things, and seeing two meetings of the praying Indians set up, in opposition to that way which themselves and their fathers had long walked in, were very much disturbed and enraged: and now they thought to terrify Hiacoomes and the rest of the praying Indians, by threatening to destroy them by witchcraft. To this end several Indians went to a meeting of the praying Indians, and there told many stories of the great hurt which the pawaws had in this way done to many: of which these Indians could not be ignorant, and which seemed above any thing else to discourage them from embracing the true religion now preached to them. Then this question was asked by one that was on the pawaws side, who is there that does not fear the pawaws? to which another of them answered, there is no man that is not afraid of them; which said, he looked upon Hiacoomes, who protested most against them, and told him the pawaws could kill him; but he answered, that they could not; for, said he, I believe in my God, and put my trust in him, and therefore all the pawaws can do me no hurt. The Indians therefore wondering to hear Hiacoomes speak thus so openly, divers of them said one to another, that tho' they were before afraid of the pawaws, yet now because they heard Hiacoomes' words, they did not fear them, but believed in God too. A while after this, on a Lord's-day after meeting was done, where Hiacoomes had been preaching, there came in a pawaw very angry, and said, I know all the meeting Indians are liars, you say you don't care for the pawaws. Then calling two or three of them by name, he railed at them, and told them they were deceived; for the pawaws could kill all the meeting Indians, if they set about it. But Hiacoomes then told him, that he would be in the midst of all the pawaws on the island that they could procure, and they should do the utmost

they could against him; and when they should do their worst by their witchcraft to kill him, he would without fear set himself against them, by remembering Jehovah: he told them also, he did put all the pawaws under his heel; pointing to it. By which answer he put the Pawaws to silence, so that they had nothing to say, but that none but Hiacoomes was able to do so. Such was the faith of this good man! nor were these Pawaws ever able to do the Christian Indians any hurt, tho' others were frequently hurt and killed by them. And with respect to Hiacoomes in particular, I cannot forbear here adding, that a converted Sachim, who was before a Pawaw, did in his public protestation afterwards declare as followeth, viz. "That having often employed his god, who appeared unto him in the form of a snake, to kill, wound, or lame such as he intended mischief to, he employed the said snake to kill, and that failing, to wound or lame Hiacoomes, the first Indian convert on the island: all which proved ineffectual. And that, having seriously considered the said Hiacoomes' assertion, that none of the Pawaws could hurt him, since his God whom he now served was the great God to whom theirs were subservient, he resolved to worship the true God. And he further added, that from the time of his doing so, for seven years, the said snake gave him no disturbance; but that he never after his praying to God, in Christ, employed that snake in any thing; about which time the said snake ceased to appear to him."

The piety of our Hiacoomes did further appear in that which here followeth. None of the praying Indians or their children having died until the year 1650, as if God would on purpose in this way distinguish them from the rest of their neighbours, it now pleased him to begin with Hiacoomes, as being the best able to make a good use of such a providence, and carry well under it; God now by death took a young child from him, and he had grace to shew an excellent example under this trial, and so did his wife also, who was a very pious woman. At the funeral there were no black faces, or goods buried, or howling over the dead, as the manner of the Indians in those times was; but instead thereof a patient resignation of the child to him that gave it. At the funeral Mr. Mayhew made a speech concerning the resurrection of the godly, and their children, to life eternal at the last day: which great truth these good people believing, mourned not as those that had no hope were wont to do.

What I have hitherto related concerning this Hiacoomes, being mostly extracted from some of Mr. Mayhew's letters concerning the Indian's affairs, I shall add this testimony concerning him, in one of them, dated 1650. "I must needs give him this testimony after some years experience of him, that he is a man of a sober spirit, and good conversation; and as he hath, I hope, received the Lord Jesus in truth, so I look upon him to be faithful, diligent, and constant in the work of the Lord, for the good of his own soul and his neighbours with him." To this testimony of Mr. Mayhew, let me add one of the reverend Mr. H. Whitfield's, who was once pastor to a church of Christ in New-England. This Mr. H. Whitfield in his voyage to Boston, and so to England, was, by reason of contrary winds, stopped at Martha's



Vineyard about ten days; in which time he conversed frequently with Hiacoomes, and in a book which he published after his return to England, he says, "I had speech with some of the Indians (Mr. Mayhew being my interpreter.) Above the rest, I desired to speak with the Indian that now preacheth to them twice every Lord's-day; his name is Hiacoomes; he seemed to be a man of prompt understanding, of a sober and moderate spirit, and a man well reported of for his conversation, both by English and Indians. I thought him to be about thirty years of age; with this man I had often speech, and I asked him many questions about the Christian religion, and about his own estate before God: as 1. Whether he had found sorrow for sin as sin? 2. Whether he had found sorrow for his sins as they had pierced Christ? 3. Whether he had found the Spirit of God as an inward comforter to him? unto all which he gave me very satisfactory and Christian answers."

As Hiacoomes was a good Christian, so he was doubtless a good minister, and herein his being a godly man was yet more evident. If any man might say, "I believed, therefore have I spoken," with respect to his entering on the ministry, it seems our Hiacoomes might truly do so. As soon as he came to understand and believe the great truths of the Christian religion, he began to publish and declare them to his countrymen, nor could he be hindered from doing so by all that the Pawaws, and their wretched instruments, could do or say, to discourage him from it: and as he daily increased in knowledge under the instructions of Mr. Mayhew, to whom he continually resorted for that end, so he went on to preach to his neighbours, according to the measure of the gift of Christ, which he had received; and it pleased the Lord abundantly to succeed his endeavours for the good of these miserable creatures, to whom he sent him. For three years after his conversion, this good man only instructed his neighbours in private, as he had opportunity: but after they were prepared and disposed to give him public audience, viz. in the year 1646, with what zeal and boldness did he preach to them? he then not only declared and opened the great mysteries of religion to them, as that of the trinity, the covenant of works by God made with man, man's fall and apostacy by Adam's first transgression, and the wretched conditions which mankind were thereby brought into, and the way of redemption which God has in and by his son Jesus Christ provided for them, &c. I say, he not only instructed them in these things, but boldly charged them with the sins and abominations in which they daily lived; especially with their worshipping of false gods, and adhering to Pawaws or wizards, and giving that honour to creatures that was due to Jehovah only. Thus as Hiacoomes had God's word, so he spake it faithfully, and God did abundantly own this his servant, in the work to which he had called him. For when he reckoned up the sins of the people to them, instead of being provoked at him for it, they would many of them, with tears, confess their guilt, and promise to turn to the true God, and serve him only, and seek for the pardon of them thro' the blood of his son, the only Saviour of sinners. His piety did also much appear in his humility. Tho' God blessed his ministry, giving him much success in it, yet did

he not at all appear to be exalted or lifted up therewith; nor did he thereupon think himself sufficient for the work of the ministry, but thought he still needed the continual help and instructions of Mr. Mayhew, by whom God had called him out of darkness into his marvellous light. To him therefore he frequently resorted, that he might be yet more taught by him, and in particular, on the day before the Sabbath he constantly did so, and that in order to his being the better prepared for the duties and service of that holy day. This course Hiacoomes held, till, to his great grief, he lost Mr. Mayhew in the year 1657; which was indeed a very heavy stroke on these poor Indians, and exceedingly lamented by them. However, this good man went on still in the faithful discharge of his duty; and God so succeeded the labours of this, and some other servants of his, that most of the Indians here, were in a few years brought to an acknowledgment of the great truths of religion; and it is hoped, that many of them were effectually called. However, there was no Indian church here completely formed and organized till the year 1670, when the Rev. Mr. John Eliot, and Mr. John Cotton, came and ordained our Hiacoomes, and another Indian named Tackanash, pastor and teacher of an Indian church on this island. After he was ordained, he went on steadily and faithfully in the work to which he was called, till he arrived to so great an age, that he was not able to attend the public ministry any longer. He survived his colleague beforementioned, made a grave speech at his funeral, and laid hands on, and gave the charge to Mr. Japhet at his ordination, who succeeded the said Tackanash in his office, in the year 1683. My father, who then preached to the Indians on this island, and assisted them in the management of their ecclesiastical affairs, being present at the funeral of the said Tackanash, took in writing the heads of the said speech made by Hiacoomes, with what else he thought observable in the said Tackanash's funeral obsequies; which having now by me, among his reserved papers, I shall here insert.

“ Here, said he, is my deceased brother. Paul said, this body is sown in corruption, but it shall be raised in strength; now it is a pityful mean body, but then it shall be a glorious body: yea, however this body shall be consumed, and be as if it had never been, as it were turned into nothing; yet the power of God shall bring it forth again, and raise it up an excellent and glorious body; yea this body is now a precious body; for example sake, tho' this body is but one, yet there are many people round about come together to see it sown. But if a man should go about to put one grain of wheat into the ground, there would not be so many people present at the doing of it, as there are at the interring of this one body. And as you see there are many people present at the burial of this body, so there shall be many people at the resurrection also. But it shall not be then as you see it now, now every one is diversly apparelled, some after one manner, and some after another, but all after a pitiful mean sort; but the righteous at the resurrection shall have all one uniform glory. Thus much I say as to that; but I shall now speak a short word to the relations of the person deceased, especially to his wife and children. If you be desirous to see your father, seek your

father; for your father went before you in every good work, therefore seek your father in every good work, and you shall find your father again; for God's mercies are exceeding great."

Having finished his speech, saith the writer thereof, they proceeded to their work, (viz. of filling up the grave) and this good man standing by, I heard him say, This is the last work man can do for him, the next work God himself will do. Which words he often repeated; and further adds, that when this good father spoke of the resurrection, he uttered himself with such fervency and confidence, as would have become one who had himself actually seen the dead raised:

Hiacoomes was of a great age when this speech was made by him; yet he lived several years after it, if I mistake not, till the year 1690; but was not able, for some years before he died, to preach publicly. I saw him frequently when I was a youth, and still remember him, the gravity of his countenance, speech, and deportment: He seemed always to speak with much thought and deliberation, and I think very rarely smiled. I was present when he laid hands on Mr. Japhet, prayed, and gave the charge to him: which service he performed with solemnity; and as I have heard my father say, with very pertinent and suitable expressions. He was, by both the English and the Indians, looked upon as a man of a very blameless conversation. In his last sickness, he breathed forth many pious expressions, and gave good exhortations to all about him, and so went into eternal rest.

*Example 2.* MOMONEQUEM, the first Indian preacher at Nastow-ohkamuk, now called Chilmark. This Momonequem was the son of one of the principal Indians, named Annomantooque, who lived in Edgartown. At this place our Momonequem dwelt, when Mr. Mayhew and Hiacoomes began to preach the gospel there; and it was by the ministry of Hiacoomes that he was converted in the year 1649: for Hiacoomes now preaching a sermon, wherein he reckoned up many of the great sins of which the Indians were guilty, and as many good duties which ought to be performed by them, there were no less than twenty two of his hearers who at this time professed their resolutions against the sins mentioned, and that they would walk with God in newness of life. Of this number Momonequem was one, and one who above all the rest seemed to be exceedingly affected; for to the great admiration of all the Indians then present, with much sorrow of heart and indignation against sin, he did now enumerate about twenty of his own sins, manifesting his repentance of them, and professing his resolution to follow the only living and true God against all opposition. He told those to whom he said these things, that he was brought into this condition by the counsel of Hiacoomes from the word of God; which at first he said he liked not, and afterwards laid by him as a thing to be considered of, not knowing well what to do: at last looking over things again, I am come, said he, to this resolution, which you have now heard; and Mr. Mayhew, out of some of whose writings this account of his conversion is extracted, has added this testimony of him: "I confess, saith he, this action of his makes me think he spake from more than a natural principle, considering that the man hath been since an earnest seeker of

more light, both publicly and privately; for that he also refused the help of a Pawaw, who lived within two bow-shot of his door, when his wife was three days in travail, and waited patiently on God till they obtained a merciful deliverance by prayer." Momonequem being thus himself effectually turned from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, and being looked upon as a man of much wisdom and prudence, the praying Indians soon began to resort to him, when they wanted counsel and encouragement in any of their difficulties; and such as inclined to become Christians, did so too: nor was he an unfit person to be applied to in such cases.

About this time a famous Pawaw, called Tequanomin, entertaining thoughts of turning from the devil to the only true God, and Jesus Christ the only Saviour of sinful men, providentially meeting with Momonequem in the woods, opened his case to him, and took his advice upon it; and the effect was, that the Pawaw became, as there was reason to believe, a sincere convert and good Christian. After this, the next news I heard of Momonequem is, that he was become a minister at Nashowohkamuk before-mentioned, a place about five or six miles from that where before he lived, and that he preached twice every day to his countrymen there. And to the end he might be the better provided for the entertainment of his hearers, he still waited on Mr. Mayhew on the last day of the week, in order to his assisting him in his preparation for the work of the approaching day. Thus was Momonequem employed in the year 1651, as Mr. Mayhew has written; and in a letter of that holy man Mr. John Willson, pastor of the first church in Boston, dated October 27, 1651, I find the following testimony concerning him: "There was here, a few weeks since, the prime Indian of Martha's Vineyard, with Mr. Mayhew (Momonequem) a grave and solemn man, with whom I had serious discourse, Mr. Mayhew being present as interpreter between us. He is a great proficient both in knowledge, and utterance, and love, and practice, of the things of Christ and religion, much honoured, revered, and attended, by the rest of the Indians there, who are solemnly in covenant together, I know not how many, between thirty and forty at least." (He might have said near two hundred of them.) This and much more Mr. Willson in that letter speaks in his commendation; and by all that I can learn, he was indeed a very excellent man.

*Example 3.* JOHN TACKANASH, who was ordained teacher of the Indian church at Martha's Vineyard, whereof Hiacoomes was pastor. This John Tackanash was ordained as a colleague with Hiacoomes above-mentioned in the year 1670. He was reckoned to exceed Hiacoomes both in natural and acquired abilities. These for some years went on hand in hand as fellow-labourers in the same church: but whereas the members of the church lived partly at Chappaquiddick, and partly on the main island of Martha's Vineyard, at some miles distance, and it was found on that account difficult for the church with its officers to meet at one place, it was at length agreed that they should divide into two: and they accordingly did so; Hiacoomes, and Joshua Mamesegin one of the ruling elders, taking charge of that part which was

at the Chappaquiddick, (where they now dwell) and John Tackanash and John Nohnoso taking charge of that on the main island of the Vineyard where they lived. And thus they remained two distinct churches, and carried on as such, until Hiacoomes being superannuated, was not able, with advantage to the interest of religion, to carry on the work of his ministry any longer; and then both the English and the Indians being well satisfied in the qualifications of the said Tackanash for his office, and there not being a suitable person found to take the pastoral charge of the said church at Chappaquiddick, these two churches did by consent become one again under the pastoral care of the said Tackanash; Hiacoomes still assisting him, as occasion called for, in such things as he still remained capable of.

John Tackanash was at the time of his ordination esteemed a person of good abilities, and a very exemplary conversation; but by that time to which I am now arrived in my account of him, he was very much improved both in his gifts and graces. His natural parts were esteemed very excellent, both by the Indians and English that were in any measure capable to judge of them: and he diligently endeavoured to improve his understanding, and increase in knowledge. To this end he not only followed his study and reading closely, allowing himself, as I am credibly informed, but little time for such diversions as many ministers and other persons use, but also frequently applied himself to such English persons as took care of the Indians here, for their instruction in those things wherein he apprehended himself to need them. By these means he so increased in knowledge, as to be esteemed inferior to none of his own nation that have succeeded him; and for a preacher, no Indian in these parts has been thought to come up to him. Nor was the said Tackanash only esteemed a person of good knowledge, for he was, so far as I can learn, in his conversation without spot, and blameless, being even wholly free from any imputation of immoderate drinking, which is the national sin of our Indians. And he was looked upon by all that knew him to be a very serious and godly man, very devout and zealous in prayer, preaching, and administering the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's-supper. When there was no English pastor upon the island, some of our godly English people very cheerfully received the Lord's-supper administered by him; and I suppose none would have scrupled it, had they understood the Indian language. The last time he administered that holy ordinance, I was present, and saw with what gravity and seriousness he performed the duty; which, tho' then a youth, I could not but take special notice of, as did many other English persons then present. He was indeed then so weak and low of body, as not to be able himself to preach, but desired my father to preach for him; which he did, and immediately repeated to the English then present the heads of his discourse. After this, our Tackanash was never able to exercise his ministry in public any more. He, during the time of his ministry, upheld and maintained a good discipline in the church, censuring and debarring from ordinances such as walked disorderly, 'till such time as, by due manifestations of repentance, they qualified themselves for them. He had in the beginning of his last sickness, as my father has observed.

In the account he gives of his funeral, a very fore conflict with Satan, but, having obtained the victory, his mind was afterwards calm and serene to the end of his life. His mind being thus quieted, he professed a stedfast hope in the mercy of God, thro' his only Saviour Jesus Christ, gave good instructions and exhortations to his own family, and such as came to visit him; nominated three persons to the church, one of whom he desired might succeed him in his office; and one of them accordingly did so. He was highly esteemed in his life, not only by those of his own nation, but by such of our English as were acquainted with him. He was interred January 23d, 1683-4. There were a number of people at his funeral, many of whom seemed much to lament his death: and there were two grave and serious speeches then made, one by Hiacoomes, which my reader has already, in his life; the other by good Japhet, which I shall give some of the heads of, when I come to speak of him.

*Example 4.* JOHN NAHNOSOO, ruling elder of the church whereof John Tackanath, above-mentioned, was pastor. He lived on the East-side of Martha's Vineyard, at a place called Sanchetcantacket. I think he was one of those who soon embraced the Christian religion when first published among the Indians; and he was, so far as I can learn, esteemed by all that knew him, to be one that walked worthy of the vocation wherewith he was called, as many of the first called among the Indians did. Upon strict inquiry, I cannot find that he ever did, by any miscarriage, bring any blemish either on himself, or the holy religion which he professed. Being of such a good conversation, and being generally esteemed a very pious and zealous man, and a person of good knowledge in the things of God, and his law, he was approved as a preacher of righteousness in the place where he lived, and was chosen, together with Joshua Momatchegin, a ruling elder of the church whereof Hiacoomes and John Tackanath were ordained pastors and teachers; but when that church was afterwards divided into two as is above-mentioned, this Nahnofoo, together with the said Tackanath, took the oversight of that part thereof which was on the East-end of the Vineyard, some of the members whereof lived in other towns and villages on the said island. He was esteemed by some of good judgement to be a notable preacher, a very zealous reprovcr of sin, and much set for the promoting of all things that are holy, just and good. He carefully inspected the conversation of the members of the church, and faithfully admonished and reprovcd such as fell into any faults among them; and this both publicly and privately. Ruling elders are by our Indians very frequently called *Aius komuacni nuog*, i. e. Reprovers, or men of reproof, because they judge that their office mainly consists in reproving of sinners, and censuring offenders: therefore in this part of church government they generally lead, as do the pastors when any members are to be admitted, &c. Now, in the execution of this office, I have heard that our Nahnofoo was very exemplary, and would not let offenders go unrebuked, nor yet uncensured, when the case called for it, and so would not willingly let the holy ordinances of God be profaned by unqualified persons partaking of them.

I do not remember that ever I saw this excellent man, he dying while I was but young, sometime before his pastor, the said Tackanath, died, about the year 1678; but he was so universally esteemed a good man, that I could not forbear giving some brief account of him. I am informed by persons, whom I esteem as worthy of credit, who were well acquainted with him, "That he all along behaved himself as became a good Christian, and minister of Jesus Christ; so, in his last sickness in particular, he did so, then giving good counsel to such as were about him, and professing to rely upon the mercy of God in Christ, for the eternal welfare of his own soul; but what more particularly he then said, I cannot now inform my reader. This good man left behind him a good wife, and a good son, whom I may afterward mention. [The above four Examples are only a specimen: there are eighteen more in the book.]

[ FROM MAYHEW'S Indian Converts, Chap. 2. ]

*Of Indian Men not in any Church-Office, who have appeared to be truly good Men.*

*Example 1.* MIOHQSOO, an Indian of Nunpang, within the bounds of Edgartown, who was converted in the year 1646.

After the memorable Hiacoomes had embraced the Christian religion in the year 1643, he joined with Mr. Mayhew, by whom he had been instructed in the mysteries of God's kingdom, in an essay to make known those mysteries to the rest of the Indians living on the same island with them; but, for the present, these could only treat with the said Indians in a private way about the things of God, a public audience not being yet attainable: nor were there many of them who were privately instructed, that seemed much to regard the great things of God's law that were declared to them, but rather looked on them as a strange thing: and especially the Sachims, and chief men among the Indians, would not give any countenance to that religion which was then proposed to them; but did, on the contrary, most of them, either openly or secretly, oppose it. Thus things remained till the year 1646, at which time the Indians being visited with a sore distemper, which God sent among them, and made mortal to many of them, but apparently less so to those who had given any countenance to the great truths that had been proposed to them; and Hiacoomes and his family, who openly professed the same, were scarcely at all hurt by it: being, I say, visited by God, and observing the distinction which he was then pleased to make betwixt those that favoured religion, and such as did despise and reject it, they were many of them thereby put on a serious consideration of the things which before they slighted; and some began earnestly to desire to have the mysteries of religion opened up to them, and to hearken with great attention to the things that were by Mr. Mayhew and Hiacoomes preached among them.

About this time Miohqsoo, of whom I am speaking, being the chief man of the place where he lived, sent a messenger in the night to Hiacoomes, about five or six miles, entreating him to come to him; and Hiacoomes receiving the message about break of day, readily went to

the said Miohqfoo's house, where, when he came, there were many Indians gathered together, amongst whom was Teyagantuck, the chief Sachim of that end of the island, whom I shall have occasion again to mention. Hiacoomes being come, Miohqfoo gladly received him, and told him what he desired of him; the first whereof was, "That he would shew his heart to them, and let them know, how it stood towards God, and what they ought to do." All that company very gladly embraced this call and opportunity to intrude themselves into them all things which he himself had learned, concerning the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, shewing them what their duty was towards mankind, and what their duty was towards him. He concluded his speech, Miohqfoo asked him, "How many gods do the Indians worship?" Hiacoomes answered, "ONE, and no more." Whereupon Miohqfoo reckoned up about thirty-seven principal gods which he had; and shall I, said he, throw away all these thirty-seven for the sake of one only? What do you yourself think, said Hiacoomes. For my part, I have thrown away all these, and many more, some years ago; and yet I am preserved, as you see, this day. "You speak true, said Miohqfoo; and therefore I will throw away all my gods too, and serve that one God with you." Miohqfoo having thus spoken, Hiacoomes proceeded more fully to instruct him, and the rest of the company with him, and did, as Miohqfoo desired, open his heart to them: he told them, "That he did fear the great God only, and did greatly reverence his Son, who had suffered death, to satisfy the wrath of God, his Father, for all those that trust in him, and forsake their sinful ways; and that the Spirit of God did work these things in the hearts of the children of men. He told them also, that he was very sorry for his own sins, and desired to be redeemed through Jesus Christ from them, and to walk according to God's commandments. Hiacoomes also now told these his poor countrymen of the sin and fall of Adam, and what a dreadful estate mankind were thereby brought into; and did also boldly reckon up their own sins to them, and charged them home on them, as that of having many gods, and going after Pawaws," &c. And having thus opened his heart to his hearers, he concluded his discourse, by telling them, "That if they could obtain such hearts, as, through grace, he had, they should receive such mercies as he did." This sermon of Hiacoomes being ended, several of his hearers were much affected; and some of them said, that now they had seen their sins. But it is time to return to Miohqfoo.

Miohqfoo having promised, as is above declared, to worship the true God, and serve him only, was as good as his word; for he carried himself as a true servant of God all the days of his life after it. Upon diligent inquiry of such as knew him, I cannot understand that he was ever known to be guilty of any considerable fault after he made a profession of religion, but carried himself in all respects like a good Christian. One thing in particular, wherein the sincere piety of this Miohqfoo was discovered, I shall here relate: An Indian of some note coming hither from the Main, good Miohqfoo fell into a discourse with him, and told him many of the great things of God, and of his Son, where-



in he had been instructed; declaring also to him what a foolish and sinful people the Indians were, and how they might obtain the pardon of all their sins through Jesus Christ, the only Saviour of sinful men; shewing him likewise what a good life those lived, that were indeed the saved of the Lord. And so greatly were they both affected with these things, that they continued their discourse about them for near twenty four hours together, till their strength was so spent, that they could discourse no longer. Among the things which Miohqfoo now said to the person with whom he discoursed, this was one, that true believers did live above the world, and did keep worldly things always under their feet; and this, he said, did appear in that, when they were either increased or diminished, it was neither the cause of their joy nor of their sorrow: neither did they stoop so low as to regard them, but stood upright, with their hearts heavenward, their whole desire being after God, and their joy in him only. Such a Christian, it was much to be hoped, this Miohqfoo was.

Miohqfoo himself being so good a man, was very desirous that his children should be so likewise; to this end he committed two of them, viz. a son and a daughter, to the special care and charge of Mr. Mayhew, who was very highly esteemed by him; being desirous that they should be well instructed. The daughter will be afterwards mentioned; the son Mr. Mayhew took with him, when he undertook that voyage to England, in which he was lost, and all that went with him in the ship, in the year 1657. After this Miohqfoo lived many years, until he arrived to a great age, and was looked on as a wise and good man, both by the English and Indians that knew him. He frequently served his generation in the place of a magistrate, and was esteemed faithful in the discharge of that trust. The year of his death I cannot now find, nor can I give a more particular account concerning him.

*Example 2.* TAWANQUATUCK, the first Indian sachim that became a Christian on Martha's Vineyard. This person was the chief sachim on the East-end of Martha's Vineyard, where the English first settled in the year 1642. He was kind to the English at their first coming, and was, as I have been informed, willing to let them have land to settle on; but several of his council, or chief men, called in Indian Ahtoskouaog, being much against his selling any land to these new comers, he, to quiet them, gave several parts of his sachimship to them, and sold to the English a considerable part of what he reserved to himself, to make that settlement on, now called Edgartoun. But tho' this sachim was thus kind to the English, he did not presently see reason to embrace their religion, nor was he one of them that appeared as an enemy thereto, being willing, as it seems, to consider what he did in a matter of so great importance. However, in the year 1646, when Miohqfoo above mentioned invited Hiacoomes to come to his house, and instructed him in the religion which he professed, this Tawanquatuck was then present as an auditor, with several other Indians, and, in a short time after, invited Mr. Mayhew to preach publicly to his people, and he himself became a constant hearer of him. On Mr. Mayhew's first going to preach to the Indians, on this invitation, the sachim told him, "That

a long time ago the Indians had wise men among them, that did in a grave manner teach the people knowledge, but they, said he, are dead, and their wisdom is buried with them; and now men live a giddy life in ignorance till they are white-headed, and tho' ripe in years, yet they go without wisdom to their graves." He also told Mr. Mayhew, that he wondered the English should be almost thirty years in the country, and yet the Indians fools still; but said, he hoped the time of knowledge was now come. He then also (others joining with him in it) desired Mr. Mayhew, to preach in a stated course to the Indians, to make known the word of God to them; and soon after, going to Mr. Mayhew's, to encourage him to comply with his request, told him that he should be to them as one that stands by a running river, filling many vessels, even so said he, shall you fill us with everlasting knowledge. He likewise told Mr. Mayhew, that the reason why he desired him to preach to the Indians was, because he was desirous that the Indians should grow more in goodness, and that their posterity might inherit blessings after he was dead; and that he himself was also desirous to put the word of God to his heart, and to repent of, and throw away his sins, that so after he should cease to live here, he might enjoy eternal life in heaven. Mr. Mayhew complying with the pious request of this good sachim, and preaching to him, and as many of his people as were willing to come to hear him, the sachim was hated and persecuted by such as were yet enemies to the Christian religion among the Indians. I shall here give one instance of his sufferings, and I shall set it down in Mr. Mayhew's own words written on that occasion about three years after the thing happened.

"We had not, said he, long continued our meeting, but the Sagamore, Tawanquatuck, met with a sad trial; for being at a weare, where some Indians were fishing, where also there was an Englishman present, as he lay along on a mat on the ground asleep, by a little light fire, the night being very dark, an Indian coming down, as being ready fitted for the purpose, and being about six or eight paces off, let fly a broad-headed arrow, purposing, by all probability, to drench the deadly arrow in his heart's blood; but the Lord prevented it: for, notwithstanding all the advantages he had, instead of the heart, he hit the eyebrow, which, like a brow of steel, turned the point of the arrow, which glancing away, slit his nose from the top to the bottom. A great stir there was presently; the Sagamore sat up and bled much, but was, thro' the mercy of God, not much hurt. The darkness of the night hid the murderer, and he is not discovered to this day. The next day I went to see the Sagamore, and found him praising God for his great deliverance; both himself and all the Indians wondering that he was alive. The cause of his being shot, as the Indians said, was for walking with the English: and it is also conceived both by them and us, that his forwardness for the meeting was one thing."

About a year and a half after Mr. Mayhew's writing this account, a great number of the praying Indians, of whom this Tawanquatuck was one of the most eminent, entered into a solemn covenant to serve the true God, and him only; which covenant was, at their request, by

Mr. Mayhew, written in their own language for them, and a copy of it was soon after published in a letter of his to the corporation. The praying Indians did also about the same time earnestly desire that Christian civil government might be set up over them, and that transgressions of the law of God might be punished according to the rules of his word, as Mr. Mayhew had in his said letter declared; which being, according to their desire, some time after done, this Tawanquatuck became a Christian magistrate among the people, over whom he had before ruled as an Indian Sachim, and did so far, as I can learn, faithfully discharge that trust so long as God continued his life. All, both Indians and English that I can meet with, who knew any thing of the man while he lived, do give him this testimony, that he continued all his days to be a person of a blameless conversation. [There are eighteen more Examples of this kind in the book.]

[ From MAYHEW'S Indian Converts, Chap. 3. ]

*Of Indian Women that have been justly esteemed Religious.*

*Example 1.* WUTTUNNUNOHKOMKOOH, who was the wife of Pamchannit, and the mother of the memorable Japheth, and died about the year 1675. Considering whose mother I have already said this WuttunnunohkomkooH was, and also what may be further related concerning her, it will not, I suppose, be thought strange that I have mentioned her as my first example of women fearing God; though, through want of care to preserve her memory, I can give but a very general account of her. There is one thing, however, to be said of her, which can scarce be said of any other of our Indians, who lived a considerable part of their time before the word of God was ever preached to them, viz. That, by a due improvement of the light of nature, assisted by the Spirit of God, she attained to so right a conception of the only true and living God, and her own relation to, and dependence on him, as that she did worship and call on him, and, as it seemeth, obtained a gracious answer to her prayers. A particular account of which is already given in the life of her son Japheth, Chapter 1. Example 17. which I shall not repeat here<sup>a</sup>; only I must say, that such a discovery

<sup>a</sup> The passage in Chap. 1. Example 17. is this, "Pamchannit and his wife having buried their first five children successively, every one of them within ten days of their birth, notwithstanding all their use of the Powaws and medicines to preserve them, had a sixth (a son) born to them, the same whom I am here speaking of, a few years before the English first settled on the said Vineyard. The mother being then greatly distressed with fear that she should lose this child, as she had done the former, and utterly despairing of any help from such means as had been formerly tried without any success; as soon as she was able, which was within ten days after his birth, she with a

forrowful heart took him up and went out into the field, that she might there weep out her sorrow. But while she was there musing on the insufficiency of human help, she found it powerfully suggested to her mind, that there is one almighty God who is to be prayed to; that this God, both created all things that we see; and that the God who had given being to herself and all other people, and had given her child to her, was able to preserve and continue his life. On this she resolved that she would seek to God for that mercy, and did accordingly; the issue was that her child lived, and her faith (such as it was) in him who had thus answered her prayer, was wonderfully strength-

of the true God to her, before she was favoured with the light of the gospel, did very wonderfully prepare her for a ready reception of it, when the providence of God brought it to her, as within a few years it did. From whence it was thought, that as soon as this woman heard of the devotions of the English, who settled on the east-end of Martha's Vineyard in the year 1642, at a considerable distance from where she lived, she presently alledged that they were worshippers of the same God to whom she had prayed: and she soon after found that she was not mistaken, when Mr. Mayhew began to preach the word of God to the Indians on the island; and when she heard the gospel preached, she accordingly readily believed it and embraced it. This woman thus becoming a Christian, lived like such a one all the remaining part of her life, which was well nigh thirty years, never (that I can on the strictest enquiry hear of) doing any thing which might be an occasion of stumbling to such as were acquainted with her, but did in all respects order her conversation as did become the gospel. Her husband being, on the preaching of the gospel, soon converted to Christianity, they lived together as joint heirs of the grace of life, constantly worshipping the true and eternal God, both publicly and privately, devoting also their children to him, and bringing them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. The piety of this woman was further discovered in that, as she seriously joined with others in the worship of God, when it was her duty so to do, so she was not ashamed herself vocally to call on him, when it was proper and convenient that she should do so, as when the hour of prayer being come, there was none present for whom it might be more proper and decent to perform that duty. There are yet several living witnesses of the serious and fervent prayers that this woman offered up to the Lord. As piety towards God was one part of her character, so charity towards her neighbours was another; and for this latter, she was so eminent an example, that she was thereby distinguished, not only from those who were totally destitute of a true love to their neighbours, but even from most of them who have had some measure thereof bestowed on them. I have been credibly informed, she was so extraordinarily courteous and obliging to all those that were about her, or whom she had any thing to do withal, that herein she could scarcely be parallel'd; and that she was unwearied in going about, and doing good among the poor, and in communicating to them such good things as she was able to bestow on them.

ened; and the consideration of God's goodness herein manifested to her, caused her to dedicate this son of hers to the service of that God who had thus preserved his life: of her doing of which she early informed him, and did, as far as she could, educate him accordingly. But this she did yet more vigorously and to better purpose prosecute, when a few years after she was by the preaching of the gospel, instructed in the way of salvation by a Redeemer, and by the grace of God enabled truly to believe in Jesus Christ our only Saviour.

Japheth's father being also about this time converted, and so becoming a serious and godly man, this his son had the advantage of a christian education, while he was but a child, not only living in a family where God was daily worshipped, but was himself taught to call on the name of that God to whose service he had been devoted: and when there was a school set up for the Indians on the island in the year 1651, his father sent him to it. And he became at last the third pastor of the Indians in Martha's Vineyard.

*Example 2.* DINAH AHUNNUT, who died at Nashowohkamuk in or about the year 1684. The father of this woman was, as I am informed, a praying Indian, who lived at Monument, on the main-land, and was called by the Indians Panupuhquah. When she was a woman grown, she married an Indian of Martha's Vineyard, called Henry Ahunnut, with whom she lived many years, and had several children, to whom she was a kind and tender mother, 'till God took her from them. She was a person of a very blameless life: neither was she the subject of a mere negative goodness only; for the good works she did praised her. She was particularly a very remarkable example of kindness and charity to her neighbours, being ready on all occasions to visit and help them. This testimony some of her English neighbours, as well as many Indians do give her. She was much given to hospitality, being always ready to entertain in her house such as Providence called her to receive into it, and cheerfully performed all the labour that was needful in providing well for them. She living some years near my father's house, while I was a youth, the family had opportunity and occasion to take notice of her carriage, and could not but observe that she was a very courteous, discreet, and diligent woman, seldom went abroad, but tarried at home and minded her own business, except when duty called her to go out. These things were commendable in her; but the best part of her character is yet to be given: she was a woman that feared the Lord, she not only with her husband constantly worshipped God in the family whereof they were the parents, but did also publicly and solemnly avouch him to be her God, and gave up herself to be his, to love, fear, and serve him for ever; and to expect all from him that she stood in need of. Being joined in full communion with the church, whereof John Tackanash was the faithful pastor, she highly prized, and diligently improved, the privilege which she therein enjoyed, constantly and seriously attending the worship and ordinances of God in his house; and therein shewing her love to God, and his word and ways. Her piety was also farther manifested in the care she took to bring up her children in the knowledge and fear of the Lord, by her constant endeavours to instruct them in the mysteries of religion, and pressing them to the duties in the word of God required of them: and there was thro' grace, a good effect of her essays to do them good in this way, several of them afterwards appearing to be pious, especially two of her sons that died some time after, while they were but about sixteen or seventeen years old, concerning one of which Mr. Japheth said he had scarce ever known so great faith in so young a person. The name of this youth was Eliha, and that of the other, Nathan; but these youths dying on the Main, whither their father carried them after their mother's death, I cannot give a particular account of them. The husband of the good woman, who was a person very worthy of credit, told me but a few months before he died, that he had great reason to praise her, as one that greatly helped and encouraged him in the ways of God and religion, wherein by his profession he was obliged to walk. He said she not only excited him to pray without ceasing to God, but prayed herself also in the family, when he was not present to do it. She died of a strong

fever, which in a few days carried her out of the world; tho' I hope not before she was prepared for death. In the time of her sickness she professed her reliance on the only Son of God, and her only Saviour, for the everlasting mercies which she needed; and did with hands and eyes lifted up towards heaven, earnestly call upon God, that for his sake she might see and enjoy his kingdom: and then with great seriousness and affliction exhorted all about her to seek the Lord while he might be found, and call upon him while he was yet near. "Blessed is that servant whom his Lord when he cometh shall find so doing." [There are twenty-eight more examples of this kind in the book.]

[ From MAYHEW'S Indian Converts, Chap. 4. ]

*Of young Men, Maids, and Children, that have appeared to be truly pious.*

*Example 1.* JOSEPH NAWNOSOD, who died at Nafnowohkanuk, now Chilmark, if I mistake not, in the year 1685, when he was about twenty years old. This Joseph was a son of that good Nahnosod, of whom I have spoken in Chapter 1st, Example 4th. Some time after the death of his father, he was committed to the care of Mr. Japheth Hannit, with whom he dwelt several of the last years of his life. He was taught to read both in English and Indian, and was well instructed in his catechism. He spent much time in reading and meditation, and seemed to delight very much therein: nor did he appear to be any way viciously inclined, or to delight in such company as were known so to be. When good Japheth was at any time gone from home, as about that time on necessary occasions he often was, this sober and pious young man read the scriptures, prayed, and sung psalms, in the family, as he himself did when at home with them. By wrestling at a husking he broke one of his legs, and lay lame a long while with it; lamenting the vanity of which he had been guilty, and saying that he should not from thenceforth delight in such exercises. When he was taken with the fever whereof he died, he quickly declared his apprehensions, that that sickness would put an end to his life; and withal expressed his willingness to submit to the will of God therein: he then also confessed his sins, and lamented them, and prayed earnestly to God for the pardon of them, and for cleansing from them. He declared his firm belief of the great truths revealed in the word of God, particularly those which relate to the person of Jesus Christ, and his mediation betwixt God and sinners, and professed that he did rely on the mercy of God thro' him. He earnestly exhorted all that were about him to pray constantly and earnestly to God, and to lay hold of him, and cleave continually to him; and so died, hoping in the Lord. Good Japheth, from whom I received a considerable part of what I have written concerning this young man, was exceedingly troubled at his death, as having had great hopes of his proving serviceable among his own countrymen: but God had otherwise determined.

*Example 2.* JEREMIAH HANNIT, a son of Japheth Hannit, who died at Chilmark, in or about the year 1686, when he was about fifteen

years of age. This Jeremiah was Japheth's eldest son, and was looked upon as a very hopeful youth by all that knew him, whether English or Indians. He was much kept at school, and plied his time well at it. He was also taught his catechism, and well instructed in the principles of religion, and had the advantage of a very strong memory to facilitate his learning. He was very sober from a child, and not given to such idle talk as most young people are addicted to; and was very obedient to his parents, and very faithful and diligent in any business which they set him about. Nor was he known to be given to any of those vices, which persons of his age are apt to run into: and what more strongly argued his real piety than any thing yet said of him was, that he used to pray in secret places, as some yet living can of their own knowledge testify. He was long sick and weak before he died, and in that time expressed a deep sense of the sins of his nature and life, and earnest desires that God would pardon all his transgressions, and renew and sanctify his soul. He said, he believed that Jesus Christ was an all-sufficient Saviour, and would be a Saviour to him, if he could by faith lay hold of him. He declared his resolution to seek to him as long as he lived, and did accordingly call often upon him. And he exhorted his relations and others to pray always to the Lord. Falling more violently sick a few days before his death, he declared his expectations of dying speedily, and withal, his hopes of obtaining eternal life, through Jesus Christ his only Saviour; and continued to the last calling on him for his mercy. When he perceived himself dying he looked about on his friends, and said, Farewell. My father, who was acquainted with this youth, looked on him as a truly pious, and very much lamented his death. Japheth had another son whose name was Joshua, and he was also said to die hopefully, but of him I cannot give any particular account. [There are twenty more Examples of this kind in the book.]

## C H A P. IV.

In Germany 1662, &c. 1683, &c.

## S E C T I O N I.

*A Revival of practical Religion in and about the University of Hall in Saxony, which spreads to many other Places.—Arndt's True Christianity.—The Watchman's Voice.—Dr. Spener and Dr. Raith's Conferences in 1662, from which some date the Rise of the whole Affair.—Dr. Spener's Zeal.—His Pin Desideria.—At Frankfort he keeps a College of Piety in his own House twice a Week, and preaches a whole Year upon the Necessity as well as Possibility of practical Religion.—At Dresden he sets up in his own House the catechizing of little Children.—He encourages the Society for studying the Scriptures at Leipfick.—Mr. Franck opens a fresh Society of this Kind.—Mr. Schade's affecting Behaviour in his Sickness.—Great Love to the holy Scriptures among the Students of Divinity.—The Booksellers Shops hardly able to supply them with Greek Testaments.—Persecution.—Providence interposes.—Dr. Spener is called to Berlin in 1691.—Where they are protected and countenanced.*

[ From the Preface to *Pietas Hallensis* in PRINCE's Christian History, N<sup>o</sup> 85, &c.]

WHEREAS that public work of God, which has broke out so eminently of late in and about the university of Hall, as from its chief centre, dispersing itself far and near, lay for sometime before hidden, as it were, in embryo; and that there manifestly appears to have been a seed of purer Christianity, gradually quickening and springing up in the midst of the Lutheran reformation: and whereas the greatest part of English readers are not much acquainted with what relates either to the rise or progress of these matters, how considerable soever in themselves; and several have desired some just account hereof, which they might rely on: it has been thought expedient to answer here, in brief, the desires and solicitations of such, by giving a faithful and simple view of this whole affair, not only in this, but also in several other provinces and circles of Germany, and pointing out the principal persons and springst hat have been set on work in the propagating Christian piety, and promoting a solid reformation of manners, among all orders both of the clergy and laity.

About an hundred years after Luther, there arose near the same place, and upon the same stock, another reformation; but which did not respect so much opinion as practice. This was first promoted by the pious Dr. Gerhard, divinity professor at Jena, whose great candour as well as zeal is sufficiently conspicuous both in his works and life: but chiefly by the excellent John Arndt, general superintendent of the churches under the princes of Lunenburgh. These two, laying deep



ly to heart the decay of Christian piety, were wholly taken up with the thoughts of reviving the spirit and life of Christianity among those of the Augustan Confession in particular, as among all professed Christians in general. The latter of these by his most celebrated piece of *True Christianity* published in several languages, and by that of his *Garden of Paradise*, was an instrument of the divine blessing in the conversion of many souls into the true Christianity. However, it happened to him, as it generally happens to all, that are engaged in great and good designs: he was misunderstood, misrepresented, opposed and vilified by many; and even by some, who, from their education and profession, should have better understood him; and whose truest interest it certainly was, laying aside needless disputations, to have concurred, according to all obligations, general and special, in the promoting together with him purity and spirituality of religion. The learned Lucas Osiander, a divine of Tübingen, was among these much taken notice of, by reason of a book of his written against him in a most satirical style, called, his *Theological Cogitations*: and whereof he is said to have seriously repented, when he came to die. It was not long before he was most solidly answered by Varenius, a judicious divine, in a piece intitled, *A Vindication of true Christianity*: nor were there wanting also some others of the more pious and candid Lutheran divines, who by their public writings and testimonies, about the same time, defended the cause of true religion and of this holy person: such were Egardus, an Holsteiner, Dilgerus, a Dantzicker, one M. B. T. B. and Dorfscheus, a professor of Stralsburgh. He was an early trumpet, about the time (which is not a little observable) when Germany was embroiled in an intestine war, for thirty years together, and the Protestant cause seemed to ly at stake: but God, then in the midst of his indignation, remembered his mercy, and raised several eminent instruments of the truth, amongst which this was the most conspicuous: even as in the present judgments of war and desolation he has also remembered his covenant, and excited many persons, both in Germany and in other countries, to bear a living and powerful testimony to the truth of Christianity, as originally delivered by its blessed Founder. He was a man truly of deep fundamental piety, knowledge, and religion, and almost continually exercised in the blessed cross of our dear Saviour. And all that he wrote was in a scriptural style, and adapted to all, even the infants of Christ.

And within a few years after him, Dr. Balthasar Meisner, professor at Wittenberg, who was deeply sensible of the great neglect of practical Christianity, through the multiplying of disputes, and particularly of the stirr and motions raised against the aforesaid book of *True Christianity*; of whom it appears, that he had laid a design of opening a practical college for the students of that university, or *collegium pietatis*, in which he had determined to treat concerning the way of removing and correcting such things either in church or state, as do really need the same. This is to be seen from his *Funeral Programma*, as also from his *Pia Desideria*, published sometime after his death.

Next to him we may place Conradus Horneius, a man of singular piety and zeal for God, who insisting in the same steps, seriously labouring,

ed to promote real and practical Christianity, who underwent many severe oppositions and hardships. As also, not to insist here too long, did Dr. Andreas Kestler, superintendent at Coburg, suffering much for his reproofing the public abuses and vices: together with Dr. Arnoldus Mengerius superintendent of Hall; Dr. John Mathew Mayfart, professor and pastor of Erfurt, who witnessing against the corrupt state of the Universities, drew upon himself thereby the hatred of many of the learned men; Dr. John Schmidius a professor at Strasburgh, noted for his great moderation and piety; Dr. Justus Gesenius of Hanover, superintendent general; Solomon Glasius of Sax-Gotha; the most candid Saubertus; his disciple Dilherus; and John Valentine Andreae a divine of Wittenberg. This Andreae being a person of a very piercing wit and understanding, of solidity of judgment and prudence, and well exercised from his youth in all the affairs of religion, had such an insight into the state of the Lutheran church in particular, as very few of his age had: but while having discovered the disease, he studied how to apply a remedy, he could expect to fare no better than all others that went before him. Besides these there might also be mentioned D. Paulus Tarnovius, that eminent divine of Rostock; and Theophilus Grotzgebauer a deacon of the same church of Rostock, who in the year 1661, left the church a legacy at his death, which with the approbation of the faculty of divines of that university and their preface to it, was then printed not without a great blessing; 'tis called, *The Watchman's Voice*, being written in High Dutch, and contains a discovery of the causes of the decay of Christian piety, and of the unsuccessfulness of the word of God and of the sacraments, in the evangelical churches for the promoting a real conversion in souls.

This is that book, which by God's blessing upon it became the means of first opening the eyes of Dr. Spener, and which made him to look more into what is solid and interior, who thereupon the next year frequently conferred with Dr. Raich, he being a very good divine, they living then both at Tubing, so that they had opportunities of freely discussing the subject of it, and of examining into the causes of the abuses in the administration of the word and sacraments, and consequently of the little edification of the laity; together with the remedies fit to be applied. This was in the year 1662; from whence some therefore have dated the rise of this whole affair, which has made such a noise in Germany for some years past. And about the same time at Rostock there were Dr. Muller, Dr. Lutkeman, and Dr. Quistorp junior, who both by their writing and preaching, laboured very much to prepare a way for a better state of the church, and for the advancement of solid piety in its members. The first of these suffered a great deal of contradiction by some of the more rigid Lutherans, on account of some expressions which he used in a sermon on 1 Cor. xii. 2. and was this, viz. Our modern Christians and superficial pretenders to religion, have four dumb idols which they worship, and these are (1) the pulpit. (2) the font. (3) the altar, and (4) the stool of confession; which put him to the trouble to apologize, and to apply himself to some of the most eminent divines to have their determination; who then gave it in

his favour, and approved of this his expression, as whereby he only rejected the *opus operatum* people too much dote on. He died in the year 1676, chusing for his funeral text, Jer. li. 9. The like did Dr. Kortholt under the name of Theophilus Sincerus, Dr. Hartman superintendent of Rotenburg, Reiserus and several others. But as for Dr. Spener he became as it were the very soul in this cause: and having a deep inspection into the decayed lapsed state of Christendom, he wrote and published a book, long before the name of pietism was brought into use, as being deeply affected with the sense thereof, called *Pia desideria*, wherein he shews evidently the apostacy of the spouse of Christ from her first love, with the abuses and corruptions consequent hereof, and then proposes such methods, by which the same might be in some manner redressed. Among which one was this, that he caused to appear again such spiritual books of the best note, as had lain quite buried hitherto, and failed not of his ends therein, in that many were disposed and induced by these to embrace the practice of true solid Christianity and the power of godliness. And since he was chosen of God for a peculiar instrument of a more practical reformation, he was accordingly by divine providence put into such places, where the Lord in this dark night of apostacy could best make use of him according to his pleasure: hence it will be worthy of our observation to see, what his main and principal work was in the three great places, where he has been intrusted with the pastoral care of the Lord's flock, Francfort, Dresden and Berlin, where he was living since this narrative was in the press, and is newly departed hence, his works following him.

In Francfort, whither he was called in the year 1666, he kept *Collegia Pietatis*, or exercises of piety in his own house twice a week, where he gave first his own exposition on some chapter of the sacred scriptures, with suitable exhortations tending much to edification. Afterwards he allowed also others, whose mind and senses were exercised in the word of God, though not divines by profession, to bring forth any experience or spiritual meditation, that was upon their spirits<sup>a</sup>. Which being done under his directorship, was accompanied with a great heavenly blessing: so that he left there a seed of many pious and well disposed people. When first this private college or meeting came to be opened, it was soon noised about, some praising, and more blaming it, but Dr. Spener well knowing, that a servant of God, ought not to stick to go through evil report and good report, (which apostolical expression he was often heard to cite, when acquainted with the censures of others) was little hereat concerned. Abundance of people coming to Francfort flocked to this meeting intended for private devotion, to hear what the meaning of this religious novelty (as they stiled it) was: and although the most part went on no better principle or motive than that of meer curiosity, nay or even on an ill design, nevertheless it has been observed, that the Lord has made this an hour of visitation to many a soul, upon hearing the convincing discourses both of the doctor and of some other good Christians there assembled. Nay even those, who endeavoured to suppress it, blew up more and more the same thereof, so

<sup>a</sup> See *Speneri Confil. Theol.* Tom. 3. Page 123, 111 Seqq.

that occasionally 'twas frequented by professors, superintendents, nay, by imperial, royal, electoral, &c. ministers, and now and then by persons of the best quality happening to come to town<sup>b</sup>. Nay further the whole faculty of divines at Kiel in Holsatia approved of it, and by a particular responsum or determination spoke in the favour of Dr. Spener, which proved no small discouragement to those, who in what they act and judge are rather moved by academical determinations, than the very oracles of divine scripture.

In his public sermons he preached here in the year 1676, and part of 1677, a whole year upon the necessity as also possibility of practical religion; shewing hereby the great obstacles that are pretended, to be altogether unable to hinder the advances of a willing mind. Now his peculiar character being candor and humility, with condescension even to the meanest of the household of God, whom he endeavoured, as well as the high and great ones, to bring to a sense of piety; this made him to go up and down to their houses, to instruct them in what is necessary to salvation. And because his moderation was so greatly eminent, he was there not only loved and esteemed by the Lutherans, but also by many of the Calvinists, of whom many came to frequent his church. But among what happened with him, whilst he was at Francfort, must not be omitted a passage worthy of our observation in this place, which is, that his tender care and love for the poor had then already so taken up his heart and head, that he was most busy in labouring and contriving, how to set up an hospital to maintain them. In which enterprise he met at first with a great opposition from the magistracy, who upon his application to them, answered, they were incapable of maintaining such a number of poor. But he, not discouraged or beaten down by their denial, prevailed notwithstanding, and carried their consent by this argument, that if they had been able hitherto to maintain the poor in a confused and irregular way through their going up and down in the streets, (since none had yet starved for want of bread) how much more would they be able to do the same, in a way more orderly and regular; which gained so much on them, that the good doctor's desire and travail of his soul was answered. And this happy success in so laudable a cause, made him afterwards, when professor Frank was about erecting his hospital, so chearful and ready in assisting him therein, as also in forwarding and promoting the same to his utmost capacity. In order to which he caused a sermon on the *Duties of the Poor* to be printed, which was dedicated to all the poor in Germany, and subjoined to the first edition of this professor's account of the Orphan-house.

Now further seeing that Dr. Spener's work, which the Lord had cut out for him to do, was not to terminate in Francfort; he was called to Dresden to be the elector of Saxony's first chaplain, though he was unwilling to leave his beloved Francfort (as he calls it.) God ordering it so in his holy providence, that upon the breaking out of pietism (which happened not long after his settlement in this function) the instruments by whom God was pleased to raise it first, they being yet but young beginners in the practical part of religion, and either but

<sup>a</sup> See *Speneri Respons. Theol. Tom. 3. Page 223. et 548. Seqq.*

students of divinity or masters of arts, might have some assistance and support from a grave and experienced divine (which they had indeed occasion for) who by being accustomed to the opposition and difficulties, which the enemy uses to lay in the way, might in like manner carry them through the same; and so be a considerable help and promoter of piety, for which he was also by the adversaries in way of derision called, *the patriarch of the Pietists*. This he knew nothing of in the beginning, when he was sent for from Francfort, which was in the year 1686, that he might succeed Dr. Lucius in the court of Dresden. In the mean time the elector John George the third, was no admirer at all of his public sermons, which were seasoned with the salt of the divine wisdom, and were most quick and piercing to the very heart; and much less still could he bear with his private visits, wherein he would hold him in an unpleasing conference and intercourse about his future state, dealing plainly and roundly with him as an ambassador of God and Christ, and manifesting the only way to true happiness both here and hereafter. For the house of Saxony which had been heretofore the support and prop of the reformation, was then in a visible declension as to matters of religion. But notwithstanding this indifferent reception at the said court, lest the grace of God, and the call for which he was sent hither, should prove fruitless, he begins here at Dresden, to set up in his own house the catechizing of little children: which succeeded so well, that he was quickly crowded with their numbers. Whence followed reflections upon him from the university-professors, who thought it unbecoming, that such a man, both of great parts and learning, and withal in such an eminent station, should stoop to so mean and vile an employ in their eye, as the teaching and catechizing of children. But the doctor little regarding this, saw well enough, that the basis and ground-work of reformation was to be laid in little children; old people being grown for the most part inflexible, and unwilling to forsake the darling of their accustomed formalities or opinions: and therefore he accounted it rather to be the true character of a real divine, to feed both the sheep and the lambs of Christ. During his stay at Dresden, he published one of his most excellent pieces of practical divinity, wherein he did set forth the discriminating marks, whereby to discern the workings of nature and grace from each other: which being a point of most needful observation to all pastors and teachers, and of great use to them on the account of their hearers, that so a just application may be made to their several states, he dedicated it to the clergy of Saxony, in a sort of Pastoral Letter to their whole body, exhorting them to a faithful discharge of their duty in looking to the flocks committed to them. He published here also a set of Sunday-sermons, called, *Evangelical duties*; in which he endeavours to shew the difference betwixt the graces and virtues that are truly evangelical, and do proceed from a principle of divine charity in the soul, and those that are merely external or but moral. Which he dedicated to his present majesty king Frederick of Prussia, then elector of Brandenburg: who had sent him a vocation and commission, that he might accept of a prepositure or superintendency of some part of the Lutheran

churches in his dominions, with which, as seeing the hand of God in it, he readily complied; especially also since the elector of Saxony, being not overfond of his awakening sermons, was soon prevailed on to part with him. This set of sermons was printed in the year 1692. in 4to. In this new ministerial function he was scarce settled, when it pleased God to increase and enlarge the new reformation of pietism, even in the large dominions of the then elector of Brandenburg, and therefore it fell out about the same time, that the new university at Hall in Saxony, belonging to Brandenburg, was projected and in a solemn manner inaugurated. Here now our Dr. Spener was made again beneficial and useful, not only bringing some of the principal authors of pietism, that were little favoured and persecuted in other dominions, into Brandenburg, where they were gladly received in the new founded university of Hall; but also having proved ever since no small promoter and supporter, both to the professors of divinity there, by the world called pietists, as also to all the pious foundations erected there and elsewhere within the territories of that prince, yea also much beyond them: and indeed to the whole Protestant reformation in general, and the churches of the dispersion, till about the beginning of February in this present year 1705, he received his *quies* by the will of God, being sweetly translated hence as in the chariot of divine love and peace, and leaving his name as a most fragrant perfume to posterity.

To this blessed man, whom God wonderfully conducted thro' all the stages of his life, richly adorning him with the manifold graces of his spirit, making him an instrument of blessings to nations, and a father to many thousands; we owe under God that hopeful reformation in the first place, which spreads itself at present so victoriously not only in the territories of the king of Prussia, but in many other parts of Germany also, under the name of pietism; and therewith consequently all those good fruits which have flowed thence, whereof certainly both the university of Hall and the hospital of Glaucha are not the least inconsiderable. It may truly be said of him, that he was a burning and shining light in his generation. And as God in his infinite wisdom, was pleased to set up his light as it were in three candlesticks successively; so in each of these there was a peculiar dispensation and work, which was passed through; and without ever growing dim, it burnt still brighter and brighter, the light being greater in the second, than in the first; and in the third, than in the second. In the first, what is called pietism, was but an embryo: in the second, it was born into the world, and received its name: after what manner this was, the reader shall now see in short; for to be very particular herein, might fill up of itself a large history.

Some masters of arts in the university of Leipstick had set up a private college, or conference among themselves, for the better understanding of the scriptures, and for the regulating both of their studies and conversation accordingly. This was called *Collegium Philobiblicum*; and, after the example of such like other exercises in the university, of which there were many kinds in all the arts and sciences, there were also certain rules agreed on for the sake of order and method. They met together once a week: and in the beginning they had more a regard to

learning, than to the advancing of sincere piety. Their method generally was for one of the society to read a select portion out of the Old Testament in the Hebrew, or out of the New in Greek, or both one, and then the other: and after he had explained the same, the rest to add their observations likewise. The first part of our exercise was altogether critical, for the finding out the literal meaning of the text; and this was their chief labour. The other part consisted in the deducing of propositions and uses from it. This was kept up for some time with good success in a private chamber, after the evening service was ended on Sundays. But, as the number of students frequenting the same grew greater, and their zeal was more enflamed to the divine word, this could not continue as it was: and therefore, seeing that this their institution, contrary to their first intention, was become almost as good as public, they desired, for the better convenience, to have now a director out of the order and faculty of divines, that might preside in these their meetings, and regulate the same in the best manner. So upon application to him for this end, Dr. Valentine Alberti, readily accepts the charge offered him, and the meetings are thereupon kept in his house, at which he himself is often present, assisting in these exercises, and adding his own observations both practical and theoretical. There is a great concourse presently of the students, and even among the professors themselves, some openly encourage the same, and honour now and then with their presence this Philobiblical society, as do also several travellers visiting the university. Which whole matter being early communicated to Dr. Spencer, a little before he removed into Saxony, and he being very much pleased with the design, a confirmatory letter was written by him hereupon to the masters, that were concerned in it, in which he not only fortified and encouraged them in their good resolution, but gave them also certain advices, by means whereof all things might be better directed for Christian edification, and the advancement of solid piety. By this means, in many was excited a vehement love for the study of the Holy Scripture, an earnest desire to search into the depths of it, and a fervent breathing after the life of Christ, with sincere endeavours to promote the ends of his holy religion. To which the method did very much conduce that was here observed. All was now begun and ended with prayer: after the lecture, both explicatory and applicatory of the text, it was a custom for the director to add his monitions and counsels, the rest of the members to confer their observations, and even the students and auditors sometimes to propose theirs too. All this for a good while passed on very well, without raising any suspicion, but being generally rather commended and applauded as a most useful design. And from this sprung several other private exercises of the same nature among the students, by which the scripture-learning was exceedingly cultivated. Mr. Franck, who had been one of the first authors of this exercise, but had been absent from the university for a year or two, in which time he visited Lunenburg and Hamburg, diligently insisting in both these places on the same sacred study, while what was here begun took still deeper and deeper rooting; after having spent some of the first

months of the year 1689 at Dresden, in the house of Dr. Spener, who in all matters sufficiently instructed him, returned again to Leipſick; and there is not only joined a second time to the college and ſociety aforeſaid, for the propagating the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, but he himſelf opens a freſh Biblical ſchool, as he had done before juſt upon his taking his maſter's degree. He began with the epiſtle of St. Paul to the Philippians, in which he ſucceeded even beyond hope, the divine bleſſing accompanying his labours: wherein his principal aim was the reformation of his academical auditors; and powerfully to perſuade as many as were content to take him as their tutor or maſter, that they ſhould not take up only with the knowledge and learning that is needful to accompliſh a good divine, but that, ſetting before themſelves the primitive pattern, they ſhould in all things ſtudy to behave themſelves accordingly, as perſons more peculiarly dedicated and conſecrated to the ſervice of the bleſſed Jeſus. Being thus encouraged, he proceeded to read upon the epiſtle to the Ephesians, and after that, upon the latter epiſtle to the Corinthians; whence he took occaſion to ſet forth both the obſtacles and the helps to the ſtudy of divinity, and this with ſo great a concurrence of ſtudents, that neither his own chamber, nor the ſchool of the electoral ſcholars, which he had obtained for this end from the rector of the univerſity, was able to hold them. In the middle of the Summer Dr. Maebius, dean of the faculty of divines, appointed him to read in his ſtead the public theological lectures for that ſeaſon, according to cuſtom, in the divinity-ſchool: at which lectures (called *Cercules*) he reading upon the ſecond epiſtle to Timothy, was ſtock'd to in a moſt unuſual manner, he having ordinarily about three hundred auditors. Moreover the maſters, who were members of the Philobiblical ſociety, being hereby mightily encouraged and excited, were ſteadily confirmed in their reſolution for the uniting with the reſearch of ſcripture the ſtudy of piety, and conſulted all proper ways and methods to be taken for the ſame, under the conduct of the divine grace, according to what in theſe lectures had been moſt lively repreſented. Hereupon ſome of them met together privately in the fear of the Lord. Mr. Frank's ſtudy was the place pitched on for this purpoſe as moſt convenient; and here they gave themſelves up diligently to ſacred reading and meditation, with prayer, following the method of St. Paul in his epiſtle to Titus, which was for the uſe of the candidates of divinity expounded at this private exerciſe. But it was not permitted them to enjoy long this exerciſe alone; for many of the ſtudents, ſo ſoon as they heard of it, began to flock to it as much as to any other of the academical exerciſes.

At or about the ſame time, Mr. John Caſpar Schade, of the county of Hennebergh, as a faithful fellow-labourer in the word, was inſtant both publicly and privately in promoting this holy deſign: wherefore he read upon the firſt epiſtles of St. John and St. Peter, to the no ſmall excitement and edification of his auditors, which were as many as the ſtraitneſs of the place could bear, and not much leſs numerous than what followed Mr. Franck. In the year 1691, he was made deacon of St. Nicholas church at Berlin, the rector whereof was Dr. Spener. He had



notwithstanding his youth, a deep insight into the great decay of the church, and spent his time much in catechizing of youth, for which he had a particular gift. He published a small treatise at Berlin, called, *A Memorial for Berlin*, upon the words, Luke xix. 42; wherein he exhorts them to prevent, by true repentance, the approaching judgments. In his two last sermons he foretold his death, commending to God the small flock of the pious as in a most serious and compassionate farewell, and exhorting them with a great deal of fervency to remain faithful. After he had preached his last sermon, a malignant fever seized him, with which his head being disordered, he nevertheless, instead of talking in his delirium, as is usual, a deal of idle and nonsensical stuff, spent his hours with praising of God, in praying to him, and in incessantly repeating some devout ejaculation or other. Thus he repeated some hundred times the following expressions: "My Lord Jesu! Jesu! I live unto thee; I die unto thee; I belong to thee; I serve thee, my Jesu; I am thine:" and all this he cried from out of all the strength of his life, and with so loud a voice, as that in the neighbouring houses it was heard, and people flocked together at his house, not knowing what to make hereof. Being told of this, and cautioned that he might not tire himself with crying so loud, he said: "It doth not tire me; I must cry and preach repentance while there is yet a gasp of breath in me. Oh! if I had but cried louder, when I was in the pulpit, then I might now forbear it." At the beginning of his sickness he went through a vehement inward combat to his greater purification, but soon after cried out: "Victory! victory! I have fought with the devils, and conquered them: oh! let us sing eternal hallelujahs!" He was so fervent in catechizing, and took such a pleasure in it, that, in the midst of his sickness, he caused the flock of little children to come before his bed; and having sung and prayed with them, he dismissed them with blessing. Once also when he observed that some of those that attended him were asleep, he said: "See how securely they sleep, being a lively emblem both of the ecclesiastical, political, and oeconomical state, who are all fallen asleep; but the Lord is risen up to awaken them with a strong voice." A little before his death he prayed most fervently for the elector, the city, and his own congregation; but especially for his successor in that place, wishing that the same might reap, what had been sown by him. He died in the Lord 1698, in the 32 year of his age.

But to return to the affairs of Leipzick, while Mr. Schade and Mr. Franck were so usefully employed in reading upon the apostolical epistles, many were inflamed with an holy zeal hereby: and just then in the very warmth of these transactions there comes unexpected, and is added to them, as by a singular providence of God, Mr. Paul Anthony, being newly returned from his travels, he having accompanied, in the quality of chaplain, duke Augustus (now elector of Saxony, and king of Poland) in his tour through France, Spain, Portugal, and Italy; who had been a companion of Mr. Franck a few years before, and had assisted in laying the foundation of the Philobiblical college: and therefore now with all cheerfulness unites himself with Mr. Schade and him in this undertaking, (to whom also soon after join'd Mr. Achilles.) He

then being much affected with the zeal and ardent love of the scholars for the study of the scriptures, took in hand St. John's gospel, and in the Prince's college (of which he was fellow) expounded the same, with a mighty concourse also of the students, equal, if not superior, to any of the rest. After which he in like manner expounded St. Paul's first epistle to Timothy with the same satisfaction of his auditors.

Now, upon the opening of these Biblical schools or exercises, the students of divinity, who had been wont before to frequent none but either the philosophical or the homiletical schools, gave themselves up to the study of the Bible, as these were little followed. The latter of these were a sort of exercises; in which the art of preaching was chiefly taught, and of which, at one time, there were no less than thirty at Leipsick; the great abuses whereof were taken notice of, and sharply reprehended by some eminent divines, as an impediment to solid theological learning. For the candidates of divinity being herin bred up to a superficial smattering in divine matters, and to an empty and fallacious oratory, made little or no progress in true and genuine theology, or would take much pains in searching the originals whence it flows. But now, instead of thinking it enough to fill handsomely a pulpit, and to act thence the orator, so as to draw into admiration a vulgar auditory by the help of some cramp, theological or metaphysical terms, with a little vain rhetoric, and gingling music of words; most of the students of divinity were convinced of the necessity of applying themselves to the original books themselves, where are the springs of all sacred and solid learning, with much more diligence than hitherto had been customary in the university. Nay, several would hardly read any other books besides; and these were so bought up in the original, as the booksellers shops were hardly able to supply what was called for; especially the Greek editions of the New-Testament. Another consequence was this, that it was complained of hereupon earnestly by some, that the logical, metaphysical and homiletical schools were no longer frequented, as before: which could not possibly be, since so great a part of the students did daily employ several hours in these sorts of exercises on the holy Bible. It fell out also by the means hercof, that several young students, who, though they professed the study of divinity, did nevertheless walk after the manner of the world, being now awakened and convinced by the power of the divine word, which they met with in those lectures and exercises, began henceforward to lead a serious and sober life with all diligence, and carefully to direct their studies to God's greater glory, and to the good and welfare of the church in a more eminent manner. Now, from some that frequented these pious exercises out of a vain curiosity, being unregenerate in their lives, and not able to bear the admonitions given them, first the masters, that were members of the Philobiblical-society, then the hearers of Mr. Franck, and lastly, as many as constantly frequented any of these schools or exercises, and entered upon another course of life more suitable to the principles and spirit of Christianity, were, in derision, called *Therists*.

This new name being coined, there was no more to do for the adversaries, but straight to search out some heretical opinions to affix on

them; which is no hard matter to do at any time. To speak of abuses crept in, was presently interpreted a contempt of the holy institutions themselves: to inculcate holiness of life, was looked on as an asserting our salvation by works: and to press after a vital knowledge of God, as distinct from a dead one, was represented as altogether fanatical. The electoral court, and whole province of Saxony, is filled with the rumours of it, and in a little while after, all Germany. Books are written on both sides; *Apologies*, and *Anti-apologies*, come forth thick, and the first instruments of Pietism were banished from Leiplick.

But since God purposed, that this new reformation should spread further, he ordered it so, that Mr. Franck was gladly received by Dr. Breithaupt, then professor of divinity, and superintendent at Erfurt in Thuringia, who being a person not only addicted to solid piety from his youth upwards, but also of great experience, learning, and knowledge in spiritual things, wanted but an opportunity of being supported and assisted, the better to push on a more practical reformation. And therefore seeing the wonderful hand of God in all that had been transacted hitherto with Mr. Franck and his fellow-labourers at Leiplick, he promoted him to the pastorate of St. Austins in Erfurt; where now, by union of these two instruments, a marvellous revolution and change was wrought in the said great city of Erfurt, both by their preaching, and by Mr. Franck's catechizing of little children, (who being crowded with great multitudes of them, succeeded therein to admiration) as also by the ministry of those students, that upon their being first awakened at Leiplick, flocked thither in great numbers, and were taken by the Lutheran citizens of Erfurt into their houses, in order to tutor their children, and educate them in true fundamental piety and the fear of the Lord. So that at last the Roman Catholick magistrate being jealous of this unusual applause, and apprehensive, lest a new sect should rise there, referred the whole cause of the Pietists to the elector of Mentz; and carried their fears, suspicions, and accusations, so far, that by a mandate from the said elector of Mentz (to whom the city of Erfurt belongs) all spiritual exercises were stopt and interdicted. And after some little while, both Dr. Breithaupt and Mr. Franck, were obliged to leave their city and territories. After this, in the year 1691, by Dr. Spener's removal to Berlin, the face of affairs began much to change, and the persecuted to breathe a little freely, in that Dr. Breithaupt was called by the court of Berlin to the professorship in divinity at the university of Hall, which was then but newly founded, and Mr. Franck receiving likewise a call thither, was chosen to be professor of the oriental languages, and pastor at Glaucha near Hall. And as it was in the time of the reformation of Luther, that as soon as he appeared at the head of the reformation, many begun to be raised and awakened both in Suisserland and France; so likewise here, after the first motion at Leiplick, some were in like manner stirred up at Lunenburgh, Halberstad, Wolfenbittel, Gotha, and in other places; who unanimously laboured in their respective places for a practical reformation, and more than superficial piety and spirituality: but received at

the two first places a very sorry treatment, which ended at last in an utter banishment of all Pietism thence.

But it must not be forgotten here, that as in the aforesaid reformation begun by Luther, so also in this, amidst the variety of subjects that entertained it, not being alike prepared, certain excesses and abuses did insinuate themselves, and tares were sown among the good wheat. All which was presently charged on the first instruments of this new reformation, who have soberly and solidly vindicated themselves on this head. And thus the evil, which the malice of the adversary hereby designed, has been made to work for an abundant good. Dr. Antonius in his *Programma* to the students for Whitsontide two years since, as pro-rector then of the university at Hall, taking notice then of this artifice of the enemy, to hinder the progress of the work of God, very warmly expostulates the injustice and unreasonableness of such a proceeding. "But how unjust is this, and how impious? For who but a mad man would charge Christ with the guilt of Judas? or would blame the apostles and the godly presbyters of the church at Ephesus, for that out of their own-selves there did men arise speaking perverse things, and did thereby, as the apostle had before testified, draw away disciples after them." And afterward he makes his most solemn appeal to the whole body of the students, that they might be witnesses both of what they heard and saw, and judge what manner of credit was to be given to the several particulars, vulgarly charged against the promoters of Christian learning and piety in that university, which is indeed worthy of being transcribed here whole. But this would be too far to transgress the bounds here set us. This may serve at present to give an idea of what is called Pietism, and to let the reader into an account of the manner of its rise: for to write an history of it, would be to fill a volume.

However, it must not be omitted, that the cause of the persecutions on this account, both in Saxony, and in some other parts of Germany, was principally this, viz. When the first instruments of Pietism (so called) came to be sensible where the root of the apostasy did lie, and that the decay of Christian piety, and corruption both in rites and doctrines, did generally spring for the most part from them that make a gain of godliness in the worst sense; and who climb into the sheepfold of Christ not by the true door; but either by the way of mere scholastic learning and unsanctified reason; or by application to worldly patrons, and other unlawful and sinister means; they could not but declare what they found and knew to be true. They saw raw, unexperienced, unexercised students in the cross of Christ entrusted with the pastoral care of souls, while they themselves were often stupidly ignorant of the state of their own souls, and destitute of all the requisite qualifications of a true Christian pastor. By witnessing against which they drew presently on themselves the odium of the guilty, which produced several persecutions. Not only what was done at the courts of Saxony and Lunenbourg, in order to suppress this growing sect (as they called it) of Pietism, are more than sufficient evidences of this matter; but besides, there are numerous other instances also, which might, for confirmation of this, be brought both from other courts of Germany, as also (not to mention

the Suissers) that of Sueden itself. And no wonder it is, if in the midst of so much dust as was raised, several even of the more sober and religious part, were at first afraid of them, and were carried away with a multitude to think and speak evil of them. The refugees, that fled from other provinces of Germany for shelter into the marches of Brandenburg, were also attacked again, as they had been before, by the violence of many of the clergy strongly prejudiced against them. But when the slanderings and accusations from the pulpit grew daily hotter and hotter, and the rumour thereof was spread, even to the electoral court of Berlin, several commissions were issued out for examining into the truth of the matters charged against them; which all turned to the disadvantage of their adversaries, and the justification of the truth. But chiefly the last commission of all, to which a certain sermon of professor Franck gave birth, which he preached and printed against the false prophets: for when he spoke out plainly, that the general degeneracy of Christianity was owing principally to the lukewarmness of the clergy, they were so offended at it, as by aggravating hence their grievances at the royal court of Prussia, to necessitate the king to appoint a public commission for inquiring into the reports and grounds of all their accusations. But which fell out so favourable on the part of the Pietists, contrary to their expectations, as the accusers were silenced and confounded. And whereas the Pietists were chiefly accused and charged by the Anti-pietists with heterodoxy, these delegates and commissioners did search into and examine most strictly and impartially their doctrine: whereby they found what was taught by them, to be perfectly conformable to the symbolical books, and the Augustan confession of faith. And since that time they have been protected, and favoured by his Prussian majesty, who has confirmed the foundations at Hall with many privileges.

## SECTION II.

*The above Work attended with various good Fruits.—A general View of them.*

[ From the Appendix to PIETAS HALLENSIS, Part II. for the years 1707 and 1708. ]

*Some of the most considerable Heads of the Work of Reformation, carried on in the Lutheran Church in Germany, since the Year 1688. Gathered by some strict Observers of the Signs of the present Time.*

1. CATECHETICAL Exercises have been set up in a great many places, and carried on in a plain and more practical method. 2. The Holy Bible, and the New Testament in particular, having been printed in vast multitudes, have either been given away gratis to the poorer sort of people, or at least sold at a very low and reasonable rate. 3. Spiritual and Biblical conferences on more practical subjects, have been set on foot in several universities, for the greater edification and reformation of scholars. 4. Private exercises of piety have been set up in several places, for mutual edification, and met with some encouragement and

approbation from the magistrates. 5. The education of youth has been more seriously laid to heart than formerly. Several pedagogues, and new schools, have been erected up and down, and some old ones refined from inveterate corruptions and profane customs. A greater regard is now had to religion in the modelling and governing of children than heretofore. 6. A more easy and compendious way, and a method more adapted to the capacities of children, has been found out, and begun to be practised in many schools. Many authors, stifled with meer heathenish trash and fancies, apt to leaven and to prepossess the minds of children with a multitude of delusions and popular mistakes, have been turned out, and such taken in again, as favoured of more Christian and substantial principles. 7. The gentry up and down the country have been provided with good and able tutors, for the education of their children. This has proved exceeding helpful for spreading some degree of reformation throughout the country. 8. There are likewise some public schools furnished of late, with able and faithful teachers. 9. By this means children have in a little time made a considerable progress in learning, which heretofore was not to be obtained, but with a deal of toil and labour. Likewise there have not been wanting such, as in their more younger years, have given most visible proofs of a real and lively sense of piety. 10. Several good establishments have been set on foot, for educating young gentlewomen in a sober and virtuous life. Hereby abundance of fashionable mistakes, obstructing a sound education of daughters, have been rectified, and a foundation laid for a future reformation of that sex. 11. Abundance of spiritual hymns, composed by able persons, have been added to the old ones, for the promoting of piety and devotion, both in church and private families. 12. Many writings of the fathers, and other pieces of a primitive stamp, done into the vulgar language, have been published for the edification of the unlearned. 13. The intrinsic beauty and brightness of the primitive church has been more unfolded, and the vast degeneracy and apostacy of the modern churches in all parties, drawn up to the life. 14. A great many writings, treating upon the several heads of practical divinity, have been published for the increase of Christian life and knowledge. 15. The article of justification, and its coherence with true sanctification, or holiness of life, hath been set in a clearer light than formerly it was. 16. A better and exacter translation of the Bible, into the vulgar tongue, has been attempted in these years. 17. The abominable corruptions, both in church and state, have been laid open, and methods formed for opposing the farther inundation thereof. 18. Many false prophets and greedy intruders have been discovered and exposed. 19. The common way of philosophizing has begun to lose its credit, and a philosophy more favouring of a Christian temper, and raised on more solid principles, set up again. 20. The logical, metaphysical, and homiletical schools have been less frequented, and more time spent on the Bible and exegetical conferences of theology, to a visible improvement of divinity scholars. 21. The wonted way of preaching, too much tied up to a fallacious and luxurious oratory, and fitted for catching the applause of men, has been discountenanced,

and a plainer method, derived from power and inward experience, begun to be encouraged. 22. Funeral sermons, which used to be stuffed with I know not what vain praises and flatteries, begin to be rectified, and the names of happy, blessed, dear brother, &c. more sparingly, and with due regard bestowed on the deceased. 23. Some remains of poppish fancies and superstitions have been purged out more fully. 24. The liturgy of the church, or the symbolical books, raised by some rigid men to too high a pitch of authority have been reduced to their true boundaries. 25. Poetry begins to be refined from heathenish dregs and fancies, and to favour more of the gravity of a Christian stile and temper. 26. In some universities, the life, manner, and conduct of young students, has been more narrowly inspected, and greater care taken, by timely discipline, to form them into a pious and virtuous life. 27. Public sermons have been more ordered for a general edification to give people a full insight into the main scope, and the whole drift of the apostolical writings. 28. The same writings of the apostles have been handled with children in a plain catechetical manner. Hereby the very children have been enabled, to give an account of the whole drift and purport of each epistle and book in particular, and to read the word of God with a greater gust, than what is usual. 29. Brotherly love among different parties of religion begins to sprout forth, and the rigid spirit of partiality, deadning brotherly love and embraces, begins to give way. 30. The weakness of such endeavours, as only tend to the uniting of people of differing persuasions into one religious form and outward way of worship, hath been fuller discovered, and the impossibility thereof better looked into than in former ages. The uniting of people into one form, without the Spirit of Christ to raise an union on, begins to be thought labour in vain. 31. The brightness of the gospel of Christ begins to shine forth in most distant countries. The voice of the turtle is heard in foreign parts. 32. The distinction betwixt the essential and accessory points of religion has been revived, and the former more preached up by some than the latter. 33. Likewise has the distinction betwixt meer morality and true spiritual Christianity been set up again. The idol of an heathenish morality has been turned out of some churches, and the pure Spirit of Christ, as the only restoring principle of fallen nature, suffered to come in again, for rightly framing a Christian's life and conversation. 34. The greatest points of Christian religion, viz. of a living faith in Christ; likewise of regeneration, mortification, contrition, resignation, self-denial, imitation of Christ, and others of that nature, too slightly handled hitherto, have begun to appear again, and to be known among Christians. 35. A great number of students of divinity, who too much throw off religion, and let loose the reins to disorder and impiety, have been truly converted to God, and hereby a step made towards taking from the devil the usual armour wherein he trusts; i. e. the corruption of the clergy. 36. Hence the number of such as by sinister means, unlawful practices, and other underhand dealings and trickings, get into church-preferments, has begun to decrease. 37. Several courts of princes and counts have been perfumed with the sweet

favour of the gospel of Christ, and hereby the spirit of vanity too visibly influencing the courts of princes checked and discouraged. 38. Nay, even some priests have been reduced to the obedience of faith. 39. Several officers and soldiers, the generality of whom are too apt to plead an exemption from the strict rules of Christian discipline, have begun to repair to St. John, and to say, "Master, what shall we do?" 40. Likewise has the Lord been pleased to ordain a praise unto himself out of the mouth of babes and sucklings. 41. The spirit of prayer has been revived in a more eminent degree. Many young people have united in prayers and thanksgivings; the like being but little practised formerly. 42. The dying hours of some have been very edifying to the survivors. Many noble instances of a happy and comfortable death, and this even among children, have happened in these years. 43. Many unlawful trades condemned by the Christian religion, but connived at by the superiors, have been left off by some people, out of a principle of religion; and they themselves have chosen a more honest way of getting their livelihood. 44. Stage-plays, and other public nurseries of vice, have begun to be preached down. 45. Many stolen goods have been returned to the right owner. 46. Some marriages have been transacted in a manner more becoming Christians. Jesus and his disciples have been called in to assist at some marriages. 47. A spirit of piety is also stirring among servants. Some few families may be seen, where the master and the whole household truly fear the Lord. 48. People have been generally more inspired with a generous and enlarged care for the poor and indigent. There is up and down a motion towards erecting hospitals, and other good foundations, for a regular maintenance of the poor. 49. More particularly, care has been taken in some public foundations, not only to make provision for the body, but to see bodily gifts and charities improved to their true and genuine end, viz. the conversion and salvation of souls. 50. Many bad and inveterate customs, with other licentious practices, authorized in a manner by a long and sinful connivance of the magistracy, have been exposed by the well-wishers to a reformation, and checked by the rules of the holy gospel. 51. Several books of other nations, treating upon practical divinity, have been done into the vulgar language, for the encouragement of our own nation. 52. Many laymen (so called) have, by publishing books on practical subjects of divinity, highly promoted the interest of religion. 53. The duty of clergymen, and of ghostly fathers, set out in its several branches, and drawn up from primitive writers, has been published for an encouragement of the modern clergy. 54. Many false enthusiasts, and pretenders to sublime and uncommon operations of the Spirit, have been detected, and some of them reduced to moderation and soundness of mind. 55. Some generous spirits begin to be more zealous to propagate the interest of the church-universal, than their own hereditary form and usual way of worship. 56. Some have laid out vast sums to have the scripture translated into, and printed in foreign languages, (e. g. Bohemick, Vulgar Greek, &c.) for the universal benefit of whole nations. 57. Some regiments of soldiers have been furnished with pious chaplains, and hereby care taken of carrying



some degree of religion into the wars. 58. A useful correspondence for promoting a mutual reformation in divers nations has been set a-foot. 59. Several wits of the age have bowed to the gospel, and are become fools for Christ's sake. 60. Some princes and persons of quality have been moved to great and generous acts of charity. Other well-wishers to the common good have been stirred up to support the missionaries in Malabar with large and unexpected contributions. 61. The sacrament of the Lord's-supper has been rescued in some churches from the abominable profanation of the wicked, too promiscuously admitted by careless priests and clergymen; and has been confined to those only, who, after a strict search into their life and principles, have been thought worthy partakers thereof. 62. Some few politicians and great statesmen have been converted to God, now diligently employing their talents for the promoting of the glory of God, and the benefit of others. 63. The unhappy names of distinction into Lutheranism, Calvinism, and into other human parties, begin to lose their credit with some; and Christ begins to be more preached up, as the great and only restorer of fallen nature.

## SECTION III.

*Professor Franck's Orphan-house at Glaucha.—Dr. Woodward's and Dr. Kennet's opinion of it.—The first Occasion of it's Rise in the Year 1694.—Its wonderful Preservation.—The Advantages to be expected from it for the good of Souls.—Extract of a Letter from Professor Franck to Dr. Cotton Mather in New-England, December 19th, 1714.*

[ From the Preface and Recommendations prefixed to PIETAS HALLENSIS Part 1. second Edition. ]

We behold in the following narrative, such a glorious train of surprising providences in the behalf of a pious and charitable undertaking, as is enough to strengthen a very weak faith, and to enliven a heart almost dead in despondency. But here we must take due care that we do not abuse this glorious display of divine providence, by unwarrantable applications of it: where neither the call of God is so manifest, nor the matter so important, nor the qualifications for the undertaking so suitable, as in the case hereafter related. The mighty faith, zeal, diligence, self-renunciation, charity, and deep humility of Dr. Franck, seem to be endowments of an uncommon size, and God has been pleased to employ them in uncommon efforts. And at last the integrity of the good man's heart, supported by an invincible confidence in God, hath carried him through all the difficulties of a vast undertaking, and through all the hardships of unkind censures and oppositions (the usual treatment of good designs) to the great glory of a superintending providence. This serves to teach us, that human fore-sight cannot apprehend the height and length to which a good work may be advanced by a blessing from above: and it may be a seasonable encouragement to all those honourable and worthy persons among us, who have in singleness of heart engaged themselves in any of those four noble and

blest designs now, through the goodness of God, happily advancing among us, viz. The suppression of scandalous impiety and vice. The pious instruction of youth and ignorant families. The cultivation of religion by pious conference. And the propagation of the Christian faith among infidels.

John. 20. }  
1706. }

JOSIAH WOODWARD.

*A Passage out of a Sermon preached at the annual meeting of the Children educated in the Charity-Schools in London and Westminster, May 16. 1706. by Dr. KENNETT.*

This divine guardianship has lately appeared after a wonderful manner, in the education of poor children, as well as in the common protection of them. Many persons here present have seen a late book, entitled, *Pietas Hallensis: or, a Public Demonstration of the Footsteps of a Divine Being yet in the World: in an Historical Narration of the Orphan-House, and other charitable Institutions at Glaucha near Hall in Saxony.* The book was written by an eminent professor of divinity, the pastor of that town, and director of the pious foundations there: and it seems to be written with a great air of integrity, clothed in modesty, and humility unaffected. What a surprizing account is there given of that charity-school, or orphan-house, or hospital for children! how mean was the beginning of it, from a little alms-box fixed at the minister's study-door? what inconsiderable mites were at first dropt into it? how did the sorry fund for some time hardly afford a few books for the poor children? but how, by degrees, did God open the hearts and hands of neighbours and strangers? till insensibly there was enough to provide first a room for the charity-school, then materials for a house, then to lay the foundations, and again, to enlarge them beyond the first project, and at last, by seasonable and unexpected supplies, to make up so fair and large a school and hospital, and sort of university, as no age has before seen. Nay, and after all, to maintain it and improve it with no settled endowment, but by contingent presents, and occasional contributions only. I confess, nothing in the world seems more providential. Could we trace the obscurer footsteps of our own charity-schools, the finger of God would be as evident in them, &c.

[ FROM PIETAS HALLENSIS Part I. Chap. 1. ]

*The Rise, Occasion, and Progress of this Undertaking.*

There being a very antient custom in the city and neighbourhood of Hall in Germany, that such persons as are disposed to make charitable distributions among the poor, do appoint a particular day in which they order poor people to come to their doors to receive it; I willingly (says professor Franck) fell in with this commendable custom, so soon as I came to be settled at Glaucha, as minister of that place: and withal I thought fit to give them some wholsome instructions, tending to the good of their souls, being grieved at the gross ignorance of this

sort of people; which is one great cause of that wicked and dissolute sort of life, to which the generality of them abandon themselves. I therefore ordered the poor people to come every Thursday to my house, and told them that now, for the future, both spiritual and temporal provision was designed for them. This exercise was begun about the beginning of the year 1694. The number of the poor increasing, I was obliged to try several ways to keep up the work once begun. I caused first an alms-box to be handed about every week to well-disposed students, and all such as were willing to contribute to so good a work; but this soon proving a burden to some, I laid this quite aside, and fixed a box in my parlour, with these words written over it, 1 John iii. 17. "Who so hath this world's good, and seeth his brother have need, and shutteth up his bowels of compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?" and under it 2 Cor. ix. 7. "Every man according as he purposeth in his heart, so let him give, not grudgingly, or of necessity: for God loveth a cheerful giver." This was intended for a tacit admonition to all that came in, to open their hearts towards the poor. This box was put up in the beginning of the year 1695.

About a quarter of a year after the box was set up in my house, a certain person put into it at one time, to the value of eighteen shillings six-pence English. When I took this into my hands, I said, in full assurance of faith: "This is now a considerable fund, worthy to be laid out in some important undertaking; wherefore, I'll even take this for the foundation of a charity-school." I did not confer with flesh and blood about this affair, knowing well enough that human reason foreseeing a future want, is too apt to fly back, and by its puzzling suggestions to break even the best ordered and concerted measures. So I caused the same day as many books to be bought as cost eight shillings, and then got a student to teach the poor children two hours in a day, who then readily accepted of these new books: but of twenty seven distributed among them, four only came to our hands again, the rest being kept or sold by the children who went away with them, and never came near us again. After this we obliged the children to leave their books behind when they had learned their lesson. For the charity-school I got a place fitted up before my study, and caused a box to be fixed on one of the walls, at the top whereof, I set down these words: "For defraying the charges of putting to school poor children, and providing books and other necessaries for them; Anno 1695." And at the bottom Prov. xix. 17. "He that has pity upon the poor, lendeth unto the Lord: and that which he hath given, will he pay him again."

After I had been thus employed for a while about this practice, I saw that all our endeavours upon these poor vagrants, and even upon such as seemed the most hopeful, were very much frustrated, because these good impressions, which perhaps during their stay in the school were stamped on their mind, were obliterated again whilst they were abroad. This therefore made me resolve to single out some of the children, and to venture upon their maintenance and their education too. And this was the first occasion that prepared my mind to concert measures for setting up an hospital, even before I knew of any fund where-

on to raise my design; it happening to me, which is usual to persons under such circumstances as mine were, I mean, if one hath but courage enough to bestow one groat upon the poor, he afterwards will be as willing to part with a crown. Thus the first foundation of our hospital was laid, neither upon any settled fund for this purpose, nor upon any sure promise of great persons and their assistance, as hath been since reported by some, and conjectured by others, but entirely upon the providence and fatherly blessing of our great God, who is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we can either ask or think; and this made me not to scruple the truth and certainty of things not seen. Such of the orphans as seemed the most promising, I put out to persons of known integrity and piety, to be educated by them, because we had poor children brought together before we had built an house to receive them. In the mean time the Lord inclined the heart of a person of quality, to lay out the sum of 2 thousand crowns for the use of the poor, and two other persons supplied us with four hundred crowns, to encourage the design on foot, so that we now were able not only to defray the charges of maintaining the orphans, but to purchase also an house, into which we removed the twelve orphans (for so many we had now got together) from the persons hitherto entrusted with their care; and a student of divinity was appointed for the management thereof, who furnished them with diet, cloaths, bedding, and other necessaries, provided them with good schooling, and so proved a father to them. This was begun in the year 1696, a week before Whitsonide.

After the children had been a while under this management, and the Lord most visibly relieved our wants, a larger project was set on foot, viz. to bring the hospital to a firmer and more compleat settlement, especially since we saw that the number of the children so far increased that the aforesaid house proved too strait for them. All which excited me more and more to attempt the building of an hospital myself, the hiring of more houses scattered up and down, being attended with too many difficulties. The Lord knows we had not so much as would answer the cost of a small cottage, much less such a building as might hold about two hundred people. And yet he so strengthened my faith, and gave me such a presence of mind, that I immediately resolved to lay the foundation of a new building. In the year 1698, July the 5th, the place being surveyed and adjusted, they begun to break ground, which being finished a few days after, on the 13th of July, the foundation of an hospital was laid in the name of God. However the Lord had provided so much money as enabled us to procure some timber; but as for the building itself, I was now to wait upon God, and from week to week to receive at his hand, what he would be graciously pleased to furnish me with, for carrying on the same. The building was carried on successfully, and after such a rate, that in the year 1699, by the 13th of July, that is, within the space of one year, they were ready to cover it with the roof, although it did not escape the froward censures of ill meaning people; it being sometimes censured on account of its bigness, and sometimes on account of its beauty and magnificence. But unto such I used to answer in short: "I must needs know of what bigness

and value the house ought to be, which is necessary to compleat my design. But in the mean time I assure you, that when the Lord has finished this house, he will be as able and rich to provide for the poor that are to lodge therein, as he was before."

[ From Chapter 2. ]

*Of the wonderful Providence of God, attending these Endeavours, to establish the Hospital and Charity-Schools, from their first Rise to this present Time.*

BY the foregoing account, any one may see in what manner our hospital was begun, viz. not with a settled fund laid up before-hand, but with an hearty dependance upon the providence of God, to which our care for a future supply was faithfully committed, after it had carried us safely through the trials and difficulties of one day. From whence any understanding man may easily gather, that the management of this business must have been now and then attended with many extraordinary perplexities, which shall now be exemplified in some instances. Before Easter 1696, I found the provision for the poor so far exhausted, that I did not know where to get any thing towards defraying the charges of the ensuing week; (which happened before I had been used to such awakening trials.) But God was pleased to relieve our want by an unexpected help: he inclined the heart of a person (who it was, where residing, or of what sex, the Lord knoweth) to pay down one thousand crowns for the relief of the poor; and this sum was delivered to me in such a time, when our provision was brought even to the last crumb. The Lord, whose work this was, be praised for ever, and reward this benefactor with his blessings a thousand-fold!

At another time all provision was gone, when the steward declared there was a necessity of buying some cattle to furnish the table, and of providing twenty or thirty bushels of flower to be laid up, besides other necessaries, as wood, wool, &c. if we would manage our business to the best advantage. Under these pressing circumstances, I found one comfort, which was a presence of mind in prayer, joined with a confident dependance upon the Lord, who heareth the very cry of the young ravens. When prayer was over, I heard somebody knock at the door, which when I opened, there was an acquaintance of mine holding in his hand a letter and a parcel of money wrapt up, which he presented to me, and I found therein fifty crowns sent a great way for the relief of our poor.

In the year 1699, about February, I found myself under great straits, and indeed it was an hour of probation. All our provision being spent, and the daily necessity of the poor calling for large supplies, that divine saying made deep impression upon me, "Seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you;" banishing temporal cares, and turning the whole bent of my soul upon a close union with God. When I was now laying out the last of the money, I said in my thoughts: "Lord, look upon my necessity!" Then going out of my chamber to repair to the college, where I was to attend

my public lecture, I unexpectedly found a student in my house, that waited for my coming out, and presented me the sum of seventy crowns, sent by some friends to support the hospital, from a place above two hundred English miles distant. And thus the Lord carried me through these trials, that neither the frame of my mind was discomposed within, nor our want discovered by any token without. — Soon after this, there was want again in every corner. The steward brought his book, and desired me to defray the weekly charges. My recourse was to God through faith. The expences were necessary, and I saw not the least provision, nor any way to procure it. This made me resolve to retire into my closet, and to beg the Lord's assistance in so pressing a necessity; but I designed first to finish the task I then was about, being employed in dictating something to my students. Having done with this, and preparing now for prayer, I received a letter from a merchant, intimating that he was ordered to pay a thousand crowns to me for the relief of the hospital. This put me in mind of that saying, Isaiah lxxv. 24. "It shall come to pass, that before they call, I will answer; and while they are yet speaking, I will hear." Nevertheless I entered into my closet, but instead of begging and praying, as I had designed, I praised and extolled the name of the Lord, and hope that others, who perhaps may come to read this, will do the like with me.

About Michaelmas 1699, I was in great want again. In a fair day I took a walk, and viewing the most glorious fabric of the heavens, I found myself remarkably strengthened in faith, by the gracious operation of the Spirit of God; and these and the like thoughts were suggested to my mind: "How excellent a thing it is for any one, though deprived of all outward helps, and having nothing to depend on, but an interest in the living God, the Creator of heaven and earth, to put his trust in him alone, and not despond in extreme poverty." Now, though I well knew that the very same day I wanted money, yet I found myself not cast down; just as I came home, the steward addressing himself to me, said, "Is there any money brought in?" for it being Saturday, he was to pay the workmen employed in the building of the hospital. To this I answered, "No, but I believe in God." Scarce was the word out of my mouth, when I was told a student desired to speak with me, who then brought thirty crowns from a person whose name he would not discover. Hereupon I asked the steward, "How much he wanted at present?" He said, "Thirty crowns." I replied, "Here they are; but do ye want any more?" No, says he. And so we were supplied in that very moment we wanted some relief, and even with that very sum that was required, which rendered the providence of God the more conspicuous.

Another time all our provision was spent. Then it fell out, that in addressing myself to the Lord, I found myself deeply affected with the fourth petition of the Lord's prayer: "Give us this day our daily bread;" and my thoughts were fixed in a more particular manner upon the words, "This day," because on the very same day we greatly wanted it. While I was yet praying, a friend of mine brought four hundred crowns for the relief of the poor, and then I perceived the

reason why I had found such a sweet savour in that expression, "This day," and praised the Lord, at whose disposal are all things. Another time I fell into the deepest poverty, and (what was more) I was urged by the importunity of most that were about me, calling for a supply to their pressing necessity. But having cast my eye upon the Lord, I answered them plainly thus: "Now, ye come all to seek money of me, but I know of another benefactor to go to," (meaning the Lord.) The word was scarce out of my mouth, when a friend, who was then just come off a journey, cast privately fourteen ducats into my hands, which proved a fresh instance of the endearing providence of God. Another time I stood in need of a great sum of money, inasmuch that an hundred crowns would not have served the turn; and yet I saw not the least appearance how I might be supplied with an hundred groats. The steward came and set forth the want we were in. I bid him to come again after dinner, and I resolved to put up my prayers to the Lord for his assistance. When he came again after dinner, I was still in the same want, and so appointed him to come in the evening. In the mean time a friend of mine came to see me, and with him I joined in prayers, and found myself much moved to praise and magnify the Lord for all his admirable dealings towards mankind, even from the beginning of the world, and the most remarkable instances came readily to my remembrance whilst I was praying. I was so elevated in praising and magnifying God, that I insisted only on that exercise of my present devotion, and found no inclination to put up many anxious petitions to be delivered of the present necessity. At length my friend taking his leave, I accompanied him to the door, where I found the steward waiting on one side for the money he wanted, and on the other a person who brought an hundred and fifty crowns for the support of the hospital.

At another time, thirty crowns were required to pay off the workmen. When the overseer of the building came to fetch the money, I was obliged to dismiss him with this comfort: "The Lord who is faithful will take care for us." Away he went, and found the workmen before the hospital waiting for their pay; but, by the way, he unexpectedly met with one of his acquaintance, to whom he unboasted himself, and discovered the pressing circumstances he then was in, who thereupon readily lent him fourteen crowns; and so he went to pay at least some part of the money due to the workmen; but, before he had done, I received above thirty crowns from another place; whereupon I immediately sent away the aforesaid thirty crowns to pay off the workmen. At the end of the following week, we were reduced to like straits; and I was called upon for money, to recruit our provision, according to custom, on Friday, and to pay the workmen on Saturday; but there was not a farthing for either of these uses: so I said, "Twas now time again to rejoice; for the Lord would undoubtedly give us another instance of his providence." I dispatched the steward with that saying of Samuel: "Hitherto hath the Lord helped us." 1 Sam. vii. 12. Which expression is, as it were, turned into a most comfortable proverb among us, and experience hath been the most useful comment upon it. Betimes, next morning, fifty crowns were sent in,

by means whereof the Lord graciously carried us through the difficulties of that week. Another time, being reduced to the lowest ebb, and the burden of unavoidable expences lying upon the steward, he found himself oppressed with care and concern, how to extricate himself. He got together as much as he could to discharge the debts; and, among the rest, he sold a silver spoon that had been presented to the hospital. But all this would not serve the turn. In this extremity an hundred crowns were delivered to me for the poor; and being thus provided, I sent presently sixty of them to the steward. Which strange providence, how effectual it was to raise his languishing faith, and to refresh his mind after so many toils and cares, may I think be easily conjectured. He said indeed: "Now I will rejoice, even in time of want, in hopes of seeing some discovery of the admirable providence of God, which had been hitherto, as he said, beyond his strength." A little while after, we had another hour of probation, but the Lord was pleased to supply us then likewise with fifty crowns, which was an help not in the least foreseen. At the same time I was acquainted, that twenty-eight cumin cheeses were forthwith to be sent us from Leyden in Holland. Another time, being taken up with other affairs, I quite forgot the want we were in, having composed my mind to a quiet frame, that I might the better dispatch the business in hand. But at the same time I received a letter with a piece of gold of eighteen crowns value, whereby both our want was relieved, and I myself kept from any disturbance in my other affairs. I remembered then the saying of the Lord: "All these things shall be added unto you."

Upon another time, when all provision was spent, one of my fellow-labourers, in the evening conference, mentioned the present want, which proved a matter of comfort, and presented to us an occasion to strengthen our faith, by means of a grateful remembrance of all the benefits we all along had received at the hand of God, and to rejoice in that great privilege, of a resigned dependence upon God, which alone is able to free the mind both from fearful doubts and wavering hopes, whereby generally such are haunted and hurried about, as for want of resignation, are left to their own shifts. Hereupon we put up our petitions, unanimously extolling the name of the Lord for his infinite goodness, and resigned our want to his fatherly protection. That very hour the Lord was pleased to incline the heart of a patron to relieve our want the next morning, giving a particular charge to some of his attendants to remember him of it. Accordingly the next day he sent three hundred crowns. Upon which occasion, I think fit to take notice, that a particular juncture of circumstances, working both from within and without, was observable in this affair, which rendred the providence of God more conspicuous at this time. In the year 1701, a certain lady offered to bestow every year as much salt as the hospital wanted. No sooner had she resolved on this, but another was moved hereby to send some corn for the benefit of the hospital. About June 1701, our stock beginning to decay, a person, who would not be known, presented us with five and twenty crowns, and a General paid down the sum of an hundred crowns, which was followed with a gift



of six, sent by a professor of divinity. But (O how faithful is God!) when all this was not sufficient to defray the necessary charges, I just then received two letters of advice by the post; in one whereof I was told, that two hundred and fifty crowns should be paid down for the relief of the hospital. This sum came from a certain doctor of physic beyond sea, who ordered the payment thereof here; and I must needs say, it gave me no small encouragement; for I thought, "The Lord will rather excite some good souls beyond sea to assist us, than to let us suffer any want." The other letter of advice promised seventy crowns, which were collected far from the place in a charity-box by some friends for the relief of the hospital.

Soon after this the Lord inclined also the heart of a person in England, bountifully to disburse the sum of three hundred crowns for the hospital, which, by a bill of exchange, was sent hither. The Lord remember this benefit! I must say, that this support coming from abroad, proved a fresh instance both of the admirable providence of God, and of his perpetual care for relief.

About Harvest we met with a wonderful train of trials and deliverances: for, though a certain minister had sent in twelve crowns, acquainting us withal, that a certain person had designed them for the hospital, who desired in the mean time the prayers of our poor in a certain concern they were then engaged in, and some other small sums fell in, yet all this seemed too little to carry us through the present want. But soon after a student brought forty crowns in silver, and five ducats in gold from a person whose name he would not tell, desiring only a receipt, which, while I was writing, a godly minister came to see me, and praised the Lord, when he heard after what manner our want was just then supplied, offering me at the same time a parcel of silver-lace, which a gentlewoman, now growing sensible of her vanities, had given him for the relief of our hospital; she having ript them off from her fine clothes, wherewith she heretofore usually endeavoured to adorn herself in the eye of the world, with positive order, that we should not sell it till we had burnt it, for fear that some-body else would apply it to the same ill use of gratifying their pride. But all this was soon spent in that extremity to which we were reduced. When the steward came for money, I had but a crown to give him; and soon after, when he importuned me again, I told him: "He had received the last crown yesterday; and I had not a farthing left." He asked, "What he should do with the man that used to cleave the wood, and the women that cleaned the children; for, being poor people, they would sadly want their money?" adding, "If there was but one crown to be had, he would make shift." I replied, "There was not so much now in store; but the Lord knew it was an hospital for the poor, and that we had nothing for its maintenance." 'Tis true, says he; and so away he goeth pretty comfortable. Coming within sight of the hospital, he sees a waggon before it laden with corn, which one of our benefactors had caused to be conveyed thither; (knowing nothing of the want we then were reduced to) at which sight the steward was surprized with joy, exceedingly admiring the wonderful providence of God. Soon

after he got also together the little money he wanted for the cleaver of the wood, and the women that cleaned the children; and so was happily carried through the difficulties he at that time did lie under. It hath often happened, that some persons having only heard or read some account either of the good design of the undertaking, or of the wonderful ways by which the Lord supported us, have presently found themselves inclined to cast in something into our treasury for our relief: for instance, a certain nobleman hearing some passages of God's providence over this work, freely offered to pay down yearly the sum of twenty crowns; and he has been as good as his word.

In the year 1705, the account of the hospital was done into English at large, and published at London; and soon after about one hundred and fifty rix-dollars were sent over from England, which some charitable gentlemen, upon reading the account of the Divine Providence over the hospital, were inclined to contribute towards its support. I must needs here mention, That the providence of God in the whole undertaking, hath been more illustriously visible, in regard of a train of many particular circumstances, and especially his inclining all sorts of people to an hearty concurrence in supporting the work after it was once begun, nay even such from whom (being themselves under straits) no such thing was expected. To these charitable persons we may apply St. Paul's expression, 2 Cor. viii. 1, 2. wherein he commendeth the Macedonians, "That in a great trial of affliction, the abundance of their joy and their deep poverty abounded unto the riches of their liberality. For to their power, yea, and beyond their power, they were willing of themselves." Some who were not able to contribute towards our support with ready money endeavoured to supply that defect either by personal labours, or by kind intercessions with others, or by good advice, and other acts of charity. Country-people have caused pewter-cups to be made at their own charge, and conveyed to us for the use of the hospital; and several pewterers have done the like; others have bought pewter dishes and plates; others vessels of copper for the same end. Several country women have readily bestowed some flax and thread; others have willingly made it into linen; and others employed themselves in making shirts of it for the use of the poor. Now and then some well-wishers to the hospital have clothed some of the children from head to foot; others would send in some of their corn after reaping; others would send meal, fish, cheese, and other supplies; others have made over to the hospital a parcel of books, which proved the foundation of erecting a library for the use of our poor students employed in the hospital; others would turn whole suits of finery into money, and cloth the poor therewith; others have sent hither, and others have sold silver-spoons, silver-buttons, silver-cups, gold-rings set with stones, golden-bracelets, neck-laces of gold, to support the poor withal. And such things have commonly fallen out, when great want and necessity have excited us to pray for relief. I forbear to mention all the small sums of money falling in now and then, which yet are not forgotten before the Lord, or in my heart, especially since my design only is to give at present some discovery of the gracious dealings, and providen-

tial foot-steps, of our great God, for which that may suffice which has been said already. In the mean time, I protest, that I do not despise the gift of any, let it be never so small; because I keep my eyes on the one hand fixed on him who inclines the heart; and on the other, on the inward principle of that sincere and cordial affection, whence such charitable emanations are derived; so that now and then a few groats are as necessary and acceptable, as hundreds of crowns at some other times.

I will mention one branch more of this train of Divine Providences, and then I shall have done with this chapter; and that is, "The sincere and hearty concurrence of those that engaged with me in this affair, and their joint endeavours in promoting the good of their fellow-creatures." This happily prevented all worldly by-ends relating to secular advantages and self-interest, and which are more agreeable to the character of an hireling, than of a faithful labourer in Christ's vineyard. Likewise all manner of debates, strife, envy, and other sinister practices of that nature, too apt to crowd in and to hinder the business of reformation. They have on the contrary rather born one anothers burden, and not only taken what care they could of the things and persons which have been committed to the particular charge of each of them, but have mutually encouraged one another, when they observed that their fellow-labourer could carry on the affair in which he was engaged, to a greater perfection. In this condition of affairs they had many opportunities for the exercise of faith and charity; and as on one hand, they gained much experience under these many trials they met with, so on the other, they have been supported by many visible marks of God's favour and kindness attending their endeavours. I confess, I more admire this branch of God's providence, than the richest mines of silver and gold, and justly enumerate it among the means, whereby the whole undertaking has been begun, and thus far carried on. Nay, all the supplies providence hath so wonderfully bestowed upon us, together with the best and most wisely contrived methods to carry on such a work, would hardly have answered expectation, if faithful men had been wanting for the management thereof. And I do not doubt in the least of God's blessing and good success, so long as he shall vouchsafe us such labourers, as impartially consult their consciences, and stand free from all engagement to self-interest. Whereas, on the contrary, if covetous hirelings, (who have no other aim in view in what they do, than to get a livelihood) or such as affect popular applause, should be entrusted with the management thereof, nothing would more certainly ensue than a sudden overthrow of the whole affair; and this makes me pray before-hand, "That the Lord would take it into his own protection, and never permit it to fall into the hands of such unfaithful stewards."

This account, I think, may give the reader some insight into the many difficulties and trials Providence hath carried us through, whilst we have been employed about this affair. For tho' our poor have not suffered want; yet we have met with such hours of probation, in which not only I had nothing, but could not so much as espy any means by

which we might be supplied. When I first began to go about this business, I thought indeed that the Lord, in the first appearance or moment of our poverty, would presently relieve our necessity. But I did not then know the meaning of that expression: "Mine hour is not yet come," Providence tracing now and then such untrodden paths, that human reason is not able to follow them. And this proves a comment upon David's saying: "But thou, O Lord, how long?" It has often happened, that I had not one farthing left, though the next day the steward was to go to market, to buy provision for about three hundred persons. Such things as were not absolutely necessary, have been turned into money to buy bread. We happened once to be in the utmost want, when the steward finding me void of all relief, went back with an heavy heart, to see whether he could scrape together two groats to buy some candles, that the children might not be forced to sit in the dark, and he found nothing till night came on. And so it has often fallen out, that the steward having given me notice of the present want, has been obliged to go empty away; and I must confess, that the frame of my mind was not then perplexed at the want we were in, though by sharing the burthen the other lay under, I was not a little affected with the crossness of his circumstances. And such pressing necessities have often afflicted us, till all hope of help and relief was expired, and human reason did not see any manner of probability of being delivered from such straits.

I cannot forbear to mention here one instance more of a particular trial that fell upon the steward, when the hospital was just building, and of the extraordinary means whereby his sinking spirits were raised above the then pressing difficulties. The substance is as follows; When the building of the hospital was just begun, and the workmen employed to carry off the rubbish, the steward or overseer had to grapple with abundance of difficulties; the labourers one while wanting stones, another while sand or lime, tired him very much with their importunate demands; he not being in a condition then to afford a present supply, because there were neither horses of our own, nor the least appearance of getting any hired for that use, it being just in the height of harvest. This now very much discouraged him, and cast him into sorrow and perplexity, when finding his thoughts overcast with deep care and concern, he got away into his closet, to be for a while by himself alone, and in some measure to recollect the scattered powers of his mind. He was but just retired, and venting himself to God in sighs and groanings, when the master-brick-layer followed him at his heels, and called him back out of his privacy, telling him withal, that stones and other necessities were immediately to be provided, otherwise the workmen would cease from their work, and yet demand their full pay. This cast him down yet lower; however, away he went with the brick-layer, though he did not know how to break through these difficulties that surrounded him. When he came to the place where the men were at work, one of the labourers happened to find a piece of coin in the rubbish that was digged up. This he offered to the steward, who

took it, and looking upon it he found the following words impressed thereon:

יהוה	} In English: {	May	Jehovah
Conditor		the builder crown	
Condita		this building with	
Coronide		a happy conclu-	
Coronet!		sion!	

The reading of this inscription raised his sinking faith to that degree, that with great presence and readiness of mind he went to work again, hoping now that he should live to see the building brought to perfection, though at present, while they were but breaking ground, we had to encounter with many difficulties. In the mean time he contrived a way to get together such necessaries as the brick-layer had minded him of, and within a few days it happened, that two horses were made over to us, and some time after two more, and at last another, to help forward the building. And these instances I was willing here to set down, that I might give the reader some idea both of the pressing trials and happy deliverances we hitherto have met with; though I am sufficiently convinced, that narratives of this kind will seem over-simple and fanciful to the great wits of the age.

[ From Chapter 3. ]

*Of the Advantages which may be expected from such Endeavours.*

As for the spiritual benefits, which may be expected to accrue from such endeavours, and which we are chiefly to regard, they may easily be guessed at, considering the main scope of the whole undertaking, which is not to lay up provision for the body, but to save souls, and convert them to life everlasting; and so to use the former as a means only subservient for obtaining the latter.

Persons of candor and unbiassed judgment may, without much difficulty, penetrate into the bottom of this affair, by taking an impartial survey of the whole method whereby the work is carried on. The end we aim at, and the means we make use of for obtaining the same, are all of a piece. The word of God is instilled into the children from their youth up. Unfeigned faith in our Lord Jesus Christ is laid for a foundation, and a real sense of Godliness, attended with a conscientious behaviour, are the most material points, to the obtaining whereof, our earnest endeavours are constantly directed. As near as is possible such men are chosen to manage the work of inspection and education as we can safely rely upon for their candour and integrity (as well as ability) on that behalf; expecting that they will render themselves worthy examples both by their words and their actions. And if it happens that we unexpectedly mistake in our election, the person convicted of any misdemeanor, is obliged to make room for one that is better qualified. We prevent also, as much as in us lies, the spreading of infectious examples in the hospital to save the children the better from the danger their tenderness exposes them to; and we take it very kindly, when

any body offers to assist us with good advice, towards forming a sound and compleat scheme of education, and training up children to it.

Two hours are set apart every day, wherein all manner of poor, blind, lame and impotent persons, both such as live amongst us, and such as come from abroad; as likewise exiles, and such as have lost their goods by fire, war, &c. and, in a word, all sorts of distressed people, are carefully instructed in the principles of religion, admonished, comforted, and at length supplied with some bodily relief. And this, I think, every one will allow to be a method useful for the public good.

Many poor orphans, for whose education no body was in the least concerned, and who otherways of necessity had been drawn away into numberless disorders and most heinous sins, have been with-held from the dangerous courses, which a beggar's life might have exposed them to, and thus instructed in the word of God, that in time they may become good Christians and profitable subjects, which without question must turn to the general good of the kingdom.

Many boys of good natural parts and endowments, by reason of which they might be made fit for great undertakings, but for want of education, lying buried under the rubbish of ignorance, are now found out, and their pregnant genius (which would enable them to become great instruments of mischief) cultivated, and polished for the common benefit.

And what else may such foundations be more properly accounted, than seminaries set up for the general good of the country? here a foundation is laid, for training up good workmen in all trades, good school-masters, nay, good preachers and counsellors; who of course hereafter, will think themselves the more obliged to serve every one, because they have both an experimental knowledge of God's providence from their youth up, and the benefit of a sound and solid education.

By such undertakings, the country will be cleared by degrees of stubborn beggars, thieves, murderers, highway-men, foot-pads, and the whole pack of loose and debauched people, who (as we may find if we search into the true reasons of such overflowing wickedness) commonly let loose the reins to disorder and impiety, because they never imbibed so much as the least tincture of a good education. Now an undertaking of this nature may, in tract of time, put a stop to the fierce torrent of such headstrong vices, and so conduce both to the spiritual and temporal good of the whole country.

By such visible instances of alms well bestowed, many may be encouraged the more willingly to contribute their charitable assistance towards the support of so necessary a work, who perhaps could not be otherways induced thereto by the most persuasive rhetorick, without such real demonstrations of the benefit resulting from their charity. By such charitable foundations, people will be melted down more and more into a gentle and compassionate temper of mind, and have the untractableness and stubbornness of their natural disposition softened into mutual acts of charity.

'Tis moreover a means to wear off, at least in some measure, that stain which Christian religion hath contracted in these our unhappy

days; viz. that there is such a crowd of poor helpless people in the midst of these who stile themselves Christians: whereas the Lord requires of his people, that there should be no poor among them. Hence it is no small honour to a city or country, if the poor be regularly managed and maintained.

The prayers of poor fatherless children, and of all such as enjoy the benefit of hospitals, are the strongest wall and fortress to defend a city and land from the invasions of any adversary; as on the contrary, the tears or sighs of poor distressed people, who commonly express their grievances in that manner, when they lie neglected under extreme necessity, draw down the dreadful displeasure of almighty God, against that unhappy nation wherein such cruelty is practised.

A great many students, being every day employed in teaching the children, are prepared for a skilful management of schools up and down in the country, and having been used to an exact method, and a plain familiar way of discoursing people, even of the meanest capacity, they may prove instrumental, to effect in some measure the reformation of schools, so highly necessary at this time.

And in fine, every one, I think, will confess, that a town or country is so much the more abundantly blessed with temporal advantages, by how much the more effectual care is taken for the maintenance of the poor; experience itself bearing witness, that these governments are the most flourishing, which concern themselves most in providing well for the poor.

*Extract of a Letter from Professor Frank to Dr. Cotton Mather in New-England, dated December 19, 1714, prefixed to Pietas Hallensis, Part iii.*

Reverend Sir,

IT was the first of Aprill, 1713, when I received your letter, dated the 10th of January, 1712, in the West-Indies, together with the packet of books, and the piece of gold accompanying them: but as for those you sent me the 28th of May, 1711, (the copy whereof I find also inclosed in the packet just mentioned) they are not come to my hands. Both your letters have been very acceptable to me, not only on account of the present of money and books, so unexpectedly sent to our orphan-house from the remote parts of the West-Indies; but especially because I perceived you are of the number of those (of which, God be praised, I know not a few) who make it their business to promote the honour and glory of God on all occasions. This I have observed, partly from the books you have published concerning the propagation and increase of the knowledge of Christ, and partly from that pure pleasure and satisfaction which you say you took in reading the narrative relating to some establishments set up here, for the same end and purpose. And hence it is, that the encouragement you give me, in a preface to one of your treatises, (together with your good wishes and prayers, whereof you assure us) hath wonderfully excited both myself and my fellow-labourers to extol the unspeakable goodness of God on that account.

And for this divine mercy, which hath inspired you with so Christian a temper, I return my unfeigned thanks to the Lord, beseeching him that he will give you grace to continue steadfast in the same mind, and more and more establish you in the resolution of enlarging his kingdom in the country where he has been pleased to place you.

I hope you will be agreeably surprized into the praises of God, after you have read in the account here following, that the establishments set on foot in this country, have received considerable improvements since the time the book, commonly known by the title of *Footsteps of Providence*, was published in English, and intitled, *Pietas Hallensis*. As to the orphan-house itself, it appears from the English preface prefixed to the second part of the abstract of the said book, that about the latter end of the year 1709, there were maintained three hundred and sixty persons; whereas, at present, the number is increased to above one hundred more, who receive their daily dinner and supper in the house. There are at present about a hundred poor boys, and thirty girls, besides the apprentices employed in the printing-house, the library, and in the apothecary's shop; who, together with the servants belonging to the several stewards in their offices, amount to twenty-four: all which have their diet, that is, breakfast, dinner, and supper, with the necessary cloaths provided them in the hospital. The rest, who are here freely boarded, are either poor students of divinity, or such scholars as have their schooling in the orphan-house. The number of such students is increased at present to one hundred and fifty, whom we call ORDINARY COMMONERS, having a place assigned them at the table, at their first reception into the house. For this benefice, they are obliged either to teach two hours a-day in the schools, or spend the same time in transcribing such sermons as are publicly preached: or else some other matters relating to the good of the public. Twelve of these students have been maintained hitherto at the expence returned from England; the late queen Anne having allowed a sum of money for that purpose. Of this, after her death, a certain account was sent us<sup>r</sup>. The students boarded at this table, learn and teach the English tongue, and turn English books into German, &c. from whence this body of commoners has the name of the ENGLISH TABLE. The rest of the divinity-students and scholars are called EXTRAORDINARY, who have also a tolerable subsistence allowed them, though there be no determinate number of them.

[After a pretty large Account of the State of the Orphan-House, as to—  
The Care of the Sick.—The Charity-School.—The Seminary of School-Masters.—The Oriental College of Divinity.—Also of some other Establishments under his Care: as,—The Royal Pedagogue.—The School for Daughters.—The Constitution for the Support of poor Widows, &c. he adds]

But I must not pass over in silence the book-seller's shop and the printing-presses, which have hitherto proved highly serviceable for promoting religion both at home and abroad. Abundance of books, tending to

a Prince George of Denmark gave at one time a thousand pounds.



revive a spirit of primitive piety, have been all along published from the hospital's press, and attended with a singular blessing in the conversion of the readers. I will mention but one instance of this nature, which, I hope, may prove both edifying and entertaining to you, and which hath happened at a vast distance too; I mean in Siberia, a country to which many Swedish captives have been confined since the battle of Pultowa. It is as follows:

In the year 1706, after the Swedes in Poland, and other adjacent territories, had carried all before them, by a continued course of victories, they made, at last, an irruption into Saxony, where they subsisted near a twelvemonth, their king having taken up his quarters in a village which is but a few miles distant from the city of Hall. Having quitted, at last, the electorate of Saxony, they returned into Poland, and endeavoured to carry their victorious arms into Russia, with their king, at the head of them, leading them on every where by his presence. Being arrived at last to the uttermost parts of Ukrania, near the town of Pultowa, they found themselves reduced to a want of all necessaries on one hand, and surrounded with a numerous army of Muscovites on the other. It was then they were put to a necessity of engaging in battle with their enemies, the event whereof proved very fatal on the side of the Swedes; the greatest part of their army being taken prisoners by the Russians, and afterwards dispersed up and down through their vast dominions. This action happened in the year 1709, in the month of June. The king himself, having happily escaped the hands of his enemies, retired into the Turkish dominions, with a few that attended him; and, having resided there above five years, returned at last into Pomerania the 22d of November last. The Swedes, whom the Russians had made prisoners in the said action, were compelled to go into Muscovy; where some of them were ordered to continue, whilst others were carried away into the kingdom of Casan, and others again to Siberia itself, being every where exposed to great hardships and miseries. Under these dismal circumstances, many of them were powerfully wrought upon by the Divine Grace, and began seriously to reflect on their former life and condition. And truly what is said, Isa. xxvi. 16. may be fitly applied to the circumstances they then were under: "Lord, in trouble have they visited thee; they poured out a prayer, when thy chastening was upon them." Of this matter I had an ample relation sent me in a letter subscribed in the name of all the rest, by several captains and ensigns: it was writ at Tobolio, (commonly called Tobolsk) the metropolis of Siberia, and dated in June 1713. The substance of this letter is very remarkable upon several accounts; but I will content myself to insert here but a few passages, relating chiefly to the more interior operations of the good Spirit of God upon their minds. "After our infinitely good God, by his ineffable mercy, and ardent desire to save souls, hath suffered us to be carried prisoners to this place, and, at the same time, given us some knowledge of the blindness of our hearts, we cannot but wonder how it was possible, we should trust to Divine Mercy, whilst we lived in a constant course of sinning, and conformed to all the fashions of a profane and impious

world: nay, that this presumption could so far influence us, as perhaps to undergo death itself, on account of so strong a delusion. But no sooner were we touched with a sense of our own misery, by the lively power of Christ, (of which we were altogether ignorant) but we began to pant after the grace of God by most fervent desires; and it happened then very providentially, that one book or other, published at Hall, did happily come into our hands; by the reading whereof, we found ourselves so highly edified in this captivity, that we wish the Lord may give us grace to preserve the blessed fruit and effect thereof to an happy eternity!" Not long after, I received another letter, subscribed by the aforesaid officers, and thirty-two other persons. It contained an answer to what I had writ them in return to their first, and explained more at large what before they had mentioned but briefly. Other letters have been sent us from the town of Muscov and Archangel, confirming the same account we had received before, of the pious motions observed in many Swedish soldiers dispersed through Muscov and Casan. And of this, Reverend Sir, I thought to give you a few hints at present, to the end that you may praise the Lord for his marvellous works, and his unspeakable mercy bestowed on many souls in foreign parts.

Whilst I mention some of the divine blessings attending the books printed in the hospital here; give me leave to acquaint you also with the impression of the New Testament in two divers languages, published in those latter years. The one is the Sclavonian; and the other is the vulgar Greek, with the original text added to it. This last mentioned edition came out in the year 1710, the charges being born by the queen dowager of Prussia, and the book itself designed for the use of the Greek churches: who, by reason of the tyranny of the Turks, under which they groan, are but meanly provided with copies of these divine oracles. There was indeed another edition of the New Testament, printed in vulgar Greek at London, about the beginning of this present century; but the original text being wanting in that edition, it was supposed, that both texts, fitly joined together, might prove both more useful and agreeable to the churches in the Levant.

As for the Sclavonian New Testament, it hath been re-printed in these years at the charge of some friends, and is designed for the edification of the Bohemians, chiefly of those that are settled in Hungary. This undertaking was judged highly serviceable for the good of this nation: for, as the Papists do not allow the Protestants (or at least not without many restrictions) the free exercise of their religion; so it cannot be expected they should grant them a free use of the press, to publish books for the service of their own schools and churches. After this was happily finished, the like care was taken about John Arndt's books of *True Christianity*; which being done into Sclavonick, are now actually in the press, in order to be disposed of for the improvement and benefit of the same nation. But as the Divine Providence hath thus supplied sundry nations with the book, containing the mysteries of salvation; so Germany hath had a great share in these providential mercies, relating to the word of God in our native language. This hath

been effected after a very agreeable manner, of which I cannot but add a brief account in this place:

A gentleman of a noble family, and, what is more, spiritually born again from above, I mean Charles Hildebrand, baron of Canstein, a true lover of all sincere servants of God, published a proposal in the year 1710, exhibiting a method in what manner the entire Bible, as well as the New-Testament by itself, might be printed and purchased at a very moderate price, for the benefit of the poor. The substance of this proposal was: that such a number of types should be cast, as might compose so many pages as the whole book did contain; and then, that all the forms thus composed be preserved entire for all the succeeding impressions. Many, as soon as they came to be acquainted with the design, did highly approve of it, as of a thing, whereby, in time, they might see a Bible printed off with as great care and exactness as the study of men was able to make it. In effect, some readily contributed several sums of money for rendering practicable a project of so public a use and advantage. In the year 1712, the beginning was made with publishing the New-Testament, and the Psalter, which was joined to it. And truly, Sir, within the compass of thirty months, there were wrought off no less than seven editions, making up in all a number of thirty-eight thousand copies, and sold for about four pence a-piece unbound, or for about the sixty-third part of an English pound sterling. The whole Bible printed in octavo hath had two editions, wherein there have been wrought off ten thousand copies; and in the month of March of the year ensuing, an edition is coming forth in twelves, whereof five thousand copies will be published at once. The price of both volumes is so very inconsiderable, that for about twenty shillings English, there may be bought thirteen copies of the larger size, and twenty-one of the smaller. I do not doubt, reverend Sir, but you will greatly wonder at so uncommon a providence, which hath attended us in publishing the divine oracles at so low and easy a rate. It is certain that many, even in Germany, have been highly taken with this enterprize, as tending so much to the promoting of Christian knowledge among the poorer sort of people. It is true, that for these twenty, or five and twenty years past, wherein the Lord hath visited these countries a-new with a singular measure of the light of his knowledge, there hath been published so vast a number of German Bibles, and of the New-Testament by itself, as hath hardly been done from the time of the reformation down to this present age. Hardly did a man ever hear that Bibles or New-Testaments were disposed of at so cheap a rate as now they are vended in Germany; so that now the meanest servant, let them be never so poor and indigent, may easily save a few pence for buying at least the New-Testament, for their improvement in Christian knowledge. To which I must add, that several other towns have, in some degree, followed the example set them by the abovesaid gentleman, and found means to print and sell the New-Testament, though not quite so cheap as we afford it here, yet a great deal cheaper than it is usually sold by the ordinary printers and bookfellers.

I could relate many other particulars of the establishments here,

wherein they have proved an encouragement to others to undertake the like: but I'll mention but one or two more, out of a great number that might be produced. As soon as the orphan-house was finished here, there was a considerable stir in several cities and towns of Germany, to set about the same business of providing for the poor. A pious minister at Augsbourg having read the historical narration of our hospital, entitled; *the Footsteps of Providence*, resolved immediately to concern himself more earnestly about the poor and fatherless in that place. After he had seriously recommended the design to the magistrates, he received into his care four poor persons, and employed the tutor of his own children to instruct them in the principles of religion. This pious beginning was blessed with so visible a success, that within the compass of about one year, the number of four increased and multiplied into fourscore persons. This happened in the year 1702. The poor were lodged in an house, freely bestowed for that use by another charitable gentleman. However, in the month of December, 1703, when the city of Augsbourg was, by the French and Bavarians, besieged, this house was, with many others, reduced to ashes; upon which the poor were dismissed for that time. However, after a little while, God, in his infinite mercy, provided them with another lodging again, and supported them to that degree, that their house proved a shelter both to many poor inhabitants, at that troublesome time, and to such soldiers, as being made prisoners of war, were carried thither, and found help and comfort among the poor. Soon after, when the enemy was obliged to quit the town, the whole design was set on a better foundation, and hath been considerably improved ever since. Not to mention at present the city of Nurembergh, where a faithful minister of the gospel hath found means to get the children of poor parents instructed both in the fundamentals of religion, as well as in reading, writing, and other such necessary improvements.

In the year 1710, the following thing happened, worthy of our observation: a countryman, who, by driving a waggon, had hitherto gained his livelihood, being brought, some time since, to a solicitous care about his own soul, and its eternal salvation, found himself so deeply affected with the deplorable ignorance of so vast a number of people, that he formed a project of saving from eternal ruin, at least, some of the ignorant youths, wherewith the country did abound, and to give them such home instructions as he thought proper for obtaining that end. He took up thoughts of building a house for their reception, and then to appoint a master for regulating their life and manners; but seeing himself altogether destitute of such means as were necessary for accomplishing that design, he, without any more ado, sold waggon and horses, in order to build a house fit for his purpose. Many laughed at the poor man's enterprize, and others maliciously opposed it: but himself, with unwearied application, pursuing the work, and relying on the power and goodness of God, for seasonable assistance, made his way through all lets and obstructions, and raised such a building as he supposed would answer the design in hand. There are now twenty children in it, who are not only provided with cloaths and diet,

but have also an able master set over them, to form their lives, and to train them up in the fear and knowledge of God. They have no other fund to depend upon, than what is cast in by occasional contributions of good and charitable Christians. I could add many other such instances of a more enlarged spirit of charity, which, of late, hath appeared in Germany, among Protestants of both denominations; but what is said may suffice, at present, to give you a taste of the good motions tending to a revival of practical piety in these parts, and particularly to a more careful education of poor and fatherless children.

However, I cannot but entertain you on this occasion with another charitable work, but of a very singular nature, and extending itself as far as the coast of Coromandel in the East-Indies. You may perhaps remember, reverend Sir, that in the treatise which gives an account of the hospital here, there is up and down mention made of some Danish missionaries sent to the coast of Coromandel, to attempt the conversion of the Malabar Heathens in those parts. Several pieces have been published in English relating to the rise and progress of this affair<sup>a</sup>, some whereof are perhaps fallen into your hands by this time. I'll only subjoin here a few general hints of the whole undertaking, in case the aforesaid papers be not come to your sight. In the year 1705, two young candidates of divinity, Bartholomew Ziegenbalgh and Henry Plutschow, natives of Germany, were sent by Frederick IV. the present king of Denmark, to the East-Indies, for the end above-mentioned. They arrived safely at Tranquebar in the month of June, 1706, and immediately applied themselves to learn the Portuguese and Malabar tongues.

The latter of these languages, though exceeding hard and intricate, was, within eight months time, so far mastered by Mr. Ziegenbalgh, that he began to preach to the Malabar Heathens in the same, and, by this means, to explain unto them the method of salvation. In effect, God did not leave their endeavours without a blessing: for, soon after, some of these Heathens, being wrought upon by the word of salvation, did shake off their Pagan idolatry, and readily came over to Christianity. And this hopeful beginning proved a new encouragement to these labourers, to go on with the work so happily set on foot, though not without toil and difficulty: however, after a little while, they found so many letts and impediments in their way, raised both by Heathens and Christians, as seemed to break the very first efforts tending to the conversion of the Heathens to the church of Christ. The Pagans were generally possessed with an utter aversion to the Christian religion; and this for no other reason, but because they saw so much impiety and prophaneness abounding among those that call themselves by this name. This was attended again with many other fatal consequences: for no sooner did a Heathen embrace the Christian faith, but he was for ever banished from all his former goods and possessions, and left to the wide world, to shift for himself. However, there were some other impedi-

<sup>a</sup> See Propagation of the Gospel in the East, Part i. and ii. A letter to the reverend Mr. Lewis, giving an account of the method of instruction used in the charity schools at

Tranquebar. An account of the measures taken in Denmark for the conversion of the Heathens in the East-Indies, &c.

ments thrown in their way, far more obstructive to the propagation of the gospel, than all what the Heathens could do to oppose it. Those impediments were started on the part of the Christians themselves, whose duty it had been to aid and support so laudable an undertaking. But in the midst of these various obstacles, raised originally by the common enemy of souls, God was pleased to excite many persons in Germany, to favour the labours of the missionaries; especially after they were convinced, with what candour and diligence they endeavoured to manage the work committed to their trust. And truly, considerable sums of money were required for settling and improving the several branches of this constitution; it was necessary that a church should be built, that charity-schools should be set up, and all manner of Malabarian and Christian books transcribed, for the improvement of the whole design.

About the latter end of the year 1708, when the work increased under their hands, three persons more were sent over on the same errand, viz. two missionaries, and one student of divinity; the latter whereof had been employed in our charity schools here, and thereby acquired a good method of instructing children. They arrived at Tanquebar in July 1709, in order to join the other two in the same design. It was about this time, or soon after, that these small endeavours, tending to the conversion of the Heathens in the East, came to be taken notice of in England, by the gentlemen of the worthy society set up at London for propagating Christian knowledge. In the beginning of the year 1711, the said society was pleased to write a letter to the missionaries; and having chose them corresponding members of their body, invited them in very obliging terms, to a fixed correspondence by letters. They were, at the same time, supplied with a printing-press, a font of Latin types, and other necessaries, at the expence of the English nation; the whole being accompanied with a present of fifty pounds in money, for carrying on the better the design in hand. They conclude their letter with the following exhortation to a steady continuance of the whole work. It begins: "But you, Rev. Sirs, accept in good part, both this burden and count. (relating to the several undertakings set up in Great Britain for propagating religion at home and abroad) and invitation to a future correspondence by letters. Let our endeavours here in England, excite you faithfully to pursue the work you are engaged in. The greater the number of those is, that run with you the same race, the more you ought to press forward towards the proposed end. Do not shrink back in your minds, whenever the enemy of souls assaults you, either with open violence, or endeavours to throw snares in your way, by his wonted craft and subtilty; leaving no stone unturned to stifle the work of God, if possible, in its first rise and infancy. Truth always comes off with triumph; and tho' it be pressed down for a while, yet nothing is able to oppress or destroy it. Let your victory be in the humility of Jesus Christ, and let universal love and benignity arm and surround you with patience, as with a shield, which is able to break all such weapons as may be lifted up against it." What an uncommon encouragement the missionaries received from this moving exhortation,

and the unexpected supply attending it, doth manifestly appear, from a letter they sent me in the year 1712. And truly it could not but give a new life to a work incumbered with so many lets and disappointments, and which seemed to threaten it more and more on all sides.

Whilst these helps were sent over from England, for the benefit of the mission; we, in Germany, did whatever we could to prepare a font of Malabar types, in order to print off such books as were thought necessary for the church and schools gathering on the coast of Coromandel. We had an alphabet, or set of Malabar letters, transmitted to us from the East-Indies, which served for a model, or pattern, in engraving and casting off a sufficient number of those characters. With these types, we printed off, as a specimen, the *Apostles Creed*, together with a Latin and German translation thereof. After this, we committed the whole care of the press to Mr. John Berlin, a student of divinity, who had learned the art of printing in the Orphan-house here, and thereby qualified himself for that employment. To him was joined Mr. Jo. Theophilus Adler, a printer come from Leipzick in Saxony, who freely offered himself to go over to the East-Indies, and, jointly with Mr. Berlin, to manage the printing part, for the use of the mission. We readily embraced this offer, and looked upon it as a finger of Providence, thereby to settle this work on a good and promising foundation; since this person was not only acquainted with the art of printing, but had also a sufficient skill in graving and casting off the necessary letters. They set out from hence about the latter end of the year 1712, for England; and in February, 1713, having put themselves on board the English fleet, pursued their journey to India, where they happily landed the 29th of June following. Lately we received letters from them, with some specimens of their first labours among the Heathens, and the agreeable advice, that the New Testament, done into Malabarick by Mr. Ziegenbalgh, was then actually put to the press<sup>a</sup>. And thus much may suffice, Rev. Sir, for giving you an information of a matter tending to the conversion of the Malabar Heathens, in the East-Indies; which, I hope, will prove no less acceptable than the other parts of this epistolary narrative.

Providence hath cast your lot in America, a country abounding with numerous and barbarous nations, who, living without the pales of the Christian church, stand in need as much as those in the East, of the saving light of the gospel. I do not doubt, but it would be very agreeable to our missionaries, if a letter from your hand did give them a full account of all such methods as hitherto have been made use of for converting your West-India Heathens to the Christian faith. And I heartily wish, that the like account may be also imparted to us, with the first opportunity. I have in my hands a letter, dated at Boston July 12, 1687, and writ by one Crescentius Mather, to John Leusden, heretofore a famous philologer at Utrecht in Holland<sup>b</sup>. I suppose the writer to be one of your relations. In this letter he mentions one John Eliot, and his unwearied labours, in spreading Christian knowledge among

<sup>a</sup> See Vol. II. Book iv. Chap. 1.

<sup>b</sup> See above Book iii. Chap. 3. Sect. 2.

the Heathens there. He speaks likewise of some entire congregations, made up of such persons as were gained over to our holy religion by the diligence of that labourer. All which I have read with singular satisfaction, and wish to be fuller informed of the present state of all such endeavours as have a tendency that way. I should have concluded my letter here, were it not that I thought a word or two relating to our University, might possibly give you some satisfaction. As for the whole university in general, I shall only say, that many look upon it as the most flourishing which is in Germany at this time. In the theological faculty, I have four fellow-labourers, the names whereof are as follow: D. Joachim Justus Breithaupt, D. Paul Anthony; Mr. John Henry Michaelis, and Mr. Joachim Langius. We live, by God's blessing, in the bonds of hearty love and unity; and, by these combined endeavours, carry on the work we are entrusted with, according to that measure of grace every one hath bestowed upon him. Those that are committed to our care, we endeavour to render not only learned, but also truly pious, that the church of Christ may be furnished in time with workmen rightly cutting the word of truth, and proving ensamples to the flock over which they are set. And tho', in so doing, we have drawn upon us the odium of the profane and wicked, yet hath the Lord given us victory hitherto, and we confide in him, that he will grant also the same hereafter.

As for the charitable presents you have been pleased to bestow on our hospital here, (though the first of the two you mention is not come to my hands) I am, Rev. Sir, unfeignedly thankful; and beseech you to accept of the treatise here inclosed, as a small token of my candour and gratitude. I assure you, that from the time I have received your letters, frequent mention hath been made of your name in my applications to the Lord, and hope I shall not be wanting in so Christian a duty, even hereafter. And I do most heartily entreat you, that, according to your promise, you would reciprocally shew the same Christian favour to me, and to my fellow-labourers in the work of the Lord: the consequence whereof will be, that at so vast a distance of places, our hearts will be, nevertheless, more and more united into one; till we shall see one another in these celestial mansions. Which, that God would grant us, for the sake of our common Saviour, Jesus Christ, is the hearty wish of, &c.

AUGUST. HERMAN. FRANCK.

Hall in Saxony, }  
 December the }  
 29th, 1714. }



## C H A P. V.

*Of the Societies for Reformation and Propagation of the Gospel, which arose in Great Britain and Ireland in the latter End of this, and Beginning of next Century.*

## S E C T I O N I.

*Introduction.*—Profaneness and Debauchery generally discouraged and suppressed in England about the Middle of this Century.—Afterwards they overflowed like a Flood.—The Rise and Success of the Endeavours of a few private Persons to get the Laws execute against them.—The Design meets with Opposition.—But is encouraged by Queen Mary.—Providence countenances it with remarkable Success.—A short Account of the original Society.—Of the second Society.—The Third.—The Fourth.—Eight more of a different Constitution, but like Design.—Thirty-nine religious Societies of another Kind, of which an Account is given by Dr. Woodward.—Besides these in Ireland.—The great Advantages of pious Persons uniting in Societies for carrying on this Work.—The happy Fruits of it in London and Dublin.—Something of the same Spirit in Scotland.—An earnest Persuasive to Zeal in this Work.

[ From the Account of the Societies for Reformation of Manners in England and Ireland, with a Persuasive, &c. fifth Edition, 1701. ] a

**I**T may be hoped, that this plain discourse will meet no other enemies than such as are likewise enemies to religion and virtue, and are lost to the sense of good and evil, since the only design of it is evidently to promote the true interest of religion. The observation has been long since made, that how many disputes soever there have been raised among the too various denominations of Christians, concerning the power of the magistrate in matters of religion, with respect either to faith or worship, it hath never been a dispute, whether the magistrate hath power to punish immoralities: the prosecution of men for their vices is not reckoned persecution; it being as plainly the duty of the magistrate, from the word of God, which obliges him to execute wrath upon those that do evil, as it is evident from the dismal effects of vice and wickedness in all ages, that laws against profaneness and debauchery are necessary for the preservation of communities, and that piety and virtue are requisite to their well-being; and that unrestrained vice and profaneness are as fatal to public societies, as they are destructive to private persons.

But though laws are necessary to the very being of communities, and

a There are prefixed to this Book, 1. Ap-  
probations by a number of the nobility and  
judges, as well as the clergy, above seventy  
in all. 2. An Address of the house of com-  
mons to the king, for the suppressing of  
profaneness and vice. 3. The king's procla-  
mation for preventing and punishing immor-  
rality and profaneness, Feb. 20th, 1697.

good laws to their happiness, yet they cannot be supposed, by any rational man, to be any more sufficient of themselves to procure the welfare of the body politic, without execution, than the best medicines can procure the health of the natural body, without the use and application of them. If therefore the execution of good laws be necessary, as is proved, to the welfare of communities; and those that concern matters of religion, as do those for the punishment of profaneness and debauchery, are allowed, in a Christian country, to deserve the greatest regard, the interest of religion and the welfare of the community being so deeply concerned therein, it cannot be a matter of dispute, whether it becomes men that call themselves Christians, to promote the execution of such laws: nay, it cannot be well imagined, how men can have a zeal for the service of the great God of heaven and earth, or can have a due love to mankind, who have no regard to the honour of God, or welfare of their country. Now, what becomes all men in their several capacities to do, in the promoting of the execution of our laws against profaneness and debauchery, my business, in the first place, is to shew that it is practicable, and that it may be done by us of this nation; which I shall endeavour to prove, not only from what was done some years ago, in the times of usurpation, but from what hath been done within eight years past, in and about this city, and other parts of the kingdom. And, in the next place, I shall consider the particular obligations of some orders of men to give their hearty assistance in this pious work.

It is very well known, that, in the late times, profane swearing and cursing, drunkenness, open lewdness, and profanation of the Lord's day, were generally discouraged and suppressed. And it is as well known, to our shame, that those sins have not only since revived among us, by reason of the impunity of offenders, the countenance and preferment they have met with, and the contagion of great and ill examples, but have been committed with great impudence, and without controul, without either shame, or the fear of the laws; so that they were seen and heard at noon-day, and in our open streets; and, as if we were resolved to out-do the impieties of the very Heathens, profaneness, and even blasphemy, was too often the wit and entertainment of our scandalous play-houses, and sincere religion became the jest and scorn of our courts. And thus debauchery diffused itself throughout the whole body of the nation, till, at last, our morals were so corrupted, that virtue and vice had with too many changed their names; it was reckoned breeding to swear, gallantry to be lewd, good humour to be drunk, and wit to despise sacred things; and it was enough to have rendred one suspected of fanaticism, or an abjectness of spirit, and a matter of reproach, not to suffer one's self to be carried away with this torrent of wickedness, and not to glory in those fashionable vices. Nay, it was thought an unpardonable rudeness, even for a clergyman, or magistrate, to reprove or punish one that was guilty of them, notwithstanding the solemn obligations of their oaths and vows to do it. And even after the accession of his present majesty to the crown, though Popery immediately vanished, immorality and profaneness still kept their

ground, as if they expected an establishment with our liberties after so long and peaceable a possession. Reformation was indeed talked of by some persons, as an excellent thing, and as a proper way of expressing our thankfulness to Almighty God for his mercies to this nation, and to procure a continuance of them to us, and to our posterity: but vice was looked upon as too formidable an enemy to be provoked, and public reformation was thought so difficult an undertaking, that those that gave it very good words, judged it not safe to set about it in the time of war, whilst there were so many in arms on the other side; and therefore they seemed to decline the thoughts of it till we should see the end of the uncertain war we were engaged in; though they were, I conceive, otherwise instructed by God's express command to the Jews: "When the host goeth forth against thine enemy, then keep thyself from every wicked thing." When things were in this dismal and almost desperate state, it came into the hearts, it seems, of five or six private gentlemen of the church of England, to engage in this difficult and hazardous enterprize, who considering that the higher the tide of wickedness was, the more need there was of opposing it; that our crying sins were our greatest enemies, and most threatned our ruin; that we have laws in force against them; and that they should have the laws of God with the prayers of good men on their side, resolved, whatever difficulties they met with, to make their efforts for promoting the execution of our laws against profaneness and debauchery, and the suppressing of them by adviseable methods.

This was such an undertaking as we might well believe would soon alarm the enemy, but which the patrons of vice would make no doubt to defeat before any progress could be made; and which the prudent and wise men of the world, who rely on second causes, with too little regard to the first, the Almighty Creator and Governor of the world, "with whom (as king Aſa expresses it in his prayer) it is nothing to help, whether with many, or with those that have no power," would look on with pity, if not with derision; and so it proved, that the champions and advocates of debauchery put themselves in array to defend their wretched and infamous liberties: they set themselves to ridicule, to defame, and to oppose this design, and to overthrow the hopes and expectations of the undertakers: and some others, whom in charity we would not look on as enemies of religion and virtue, tho' we cannot easily esteem them our friends, whose conduct has so greatly obstructed the progress of this design, consulting human prudence, or rather worldly policy, too much, and perhaps their own obligations too little, were very forward to censure these attempts as the effect of an imprudent and unseasonable zeal: but notwithstanding a furious opposition from adversaries, the ill offices of those from whom better things might have been expected, and the unkind neutrality of friends, these gentlemen, who in a little time began to add some others to their number, not only kept their ground, but made farther advances; for our late excellent queen having this affair laid before her in the absence of the king by Dr. Stillingfleet, she had just sentiments of it, and therefore thought it became her to give it countenance: she graciously condescend-

ed to thank those who were concerned in it, and afterwards, upon this application made to her majesty, she was pleased to send her letter to the justices of Middlesex, July 9, 1601, commanding them to "put the laws against profaneness and vice in execution with all fidelity and impartiality; and to this end, that they should be careful and diligent in encouraging all persons to do their part in giving informations against offenders, as they were obliged by their oath, as magistrates, to do:" and when there was further occasion, she shewed she was in earnest to promote this design, by taking other more effectual methods for that purpose. But as it may well be supposed, that the queen's patronizing of these endeavours could not but give credit and strength to them, so the affair, by her death, (it may as easily be imagined) must lose a great advantage; but yet the loss (tho' it appeared exceedingly great) did not discourage those that were engaged in this enterprize. For as they at first set about it with little or no expectation of such a patroness, because they thought it would be an acceptable service to the King of kings, and that it would promote the true interest of religion, and the welfare of their country; so the same considerations obliged them to pursue their design with equal vigour and zeal, though they were deprived of so great a friend and protector. And it seemed that Divine Providence by this time favoured their endeavours, by the great and remarkable success that had attended them; for multitudes of offenders had been by their means brought to punishment. The public opposition that was at first made to their undertaking was broke through, (which the bishop of Gloucester, who hath been a great encourager of this undertaking, gave an account of in his vindication of it, which, it may be wished, there may never be any further occasion to remember) and the honesty of it had recommended it to the virtuous and unprejudiced part of the nation, whom the account of these matters had reached; the enemy, after a severe examination, having not been able to discover that any illegal methods had been used, or that any secular interest was pursued by those, who bestowed their time and their pains in carrying on so ungrateful and hazardous a work, as that of reformation will be always found, since it is the opposing of ill men in their sinful indulgencies, which are often more desirable to them than their very lives. With these encouragements they prosecuted their business, increasing their number by the addition of persons of considerable note, and of the best character; some of whom, though they were of different opinions from those of the established church as to some points, were willing to unite their strength in the common cause of Christianity, and engage in so noble a design, that had done so much good: by whose joint endeavours, great advances have been made towards a reformation of manners, which is every day getting ground, persons of various ranks, of considerable fortunes, and of the clearest character, offering assistance to it, not only in and about the city of London, but from several parts of the kingdom.

But since it hath been long desired, that a more distinct and clear view may be given to the world of this undertaking, and of the advances of it, which those that have been principally concerned in it (so industriously

consulting privacy) have not hitherto been prevailed on by any temptations, either of vanity or resentment, to make public, being more desirous that it should be known by the good effects it produces, than by any history or narrative; I ask leave to present the world with a short scheme of the design, and some account of the managers of it, that the well-disposed part of the nation, that have hitherto been strangers to it, may, by the knowledge thereof, be induced to join in so good a work, and now especially, since this conjuncture is so favourable to it, beyond our expectation. There is a very large body of persons, composed of the original society before-mentioned, with the additions that have been since made of persons of eminency in the law, members of parliament, justices of peace, and considerable citizens of London, of known abilities and great integrity, who frequently meet to consult of the best methods for carrying on the business of reformation, and to be ready to advise and assist others that are already engaged, or any that are willing to join in the same design. This society is at a considerable yearly charge for the effectual managing their business; but takes no contributions of any but their own members, by whose endeavours, as was said before, thousands of offenders in London and Westminster have been brought to punishment for swearing, drunkenness, and profanation of the Lord's-day; and a great part of the kingdom has been awakened, in some measure, to a sense of their duty in this respect, and thereby a very hopeful progress is made towards a general reformation.

A second society is of about fifty persons, tradesmen and others, who have more especially applied themselves to the suppression of lewdness, by bringing the offenders to legal punishment: these may have actually suppressed and rooted out about five hundred disorderly houses, and caused to be punished some thousands of lewd persons, besides swearers, drunkards, and profaners of the Lord's-day, as may appear by their printed lists of offenders. These persons, by their prudent and legal management of their business, have received great countenance and encouragement in our courts of judicature, and very particular encouragement and assistance, for several years past, from the lord-mayor and court of aldermen, who are sensible of the great service that is done by them, which they express upon proper occasions.

A third society is of constables, (of which sort of officers care is taken to form yearly a new body in this city) who meet to consider of the most effectual way to discharge their oaths, to acquaint one another of the difficulties they meet with, to resolve on proper remedies, to divide themselves in the several parts of the city, so as to take in the whole to the best advantage, for the inspecting of disorderly houses, taking up of drunkards, lewd persons, profaners of the Lord's-day, and swearers, out of the streets and markets, and carrying them before the magistrates: and I must observe, that this is found a very advisable and successful method for constables to take, for the suppressing of the abominable sin of swearing, when private persons are negligent in giving of informations, and the magistrate is careless of his duty.

A fourth rank of men, who have been so highly instrumental in this undertaking, that they may be reckoned a corner-stone of it, is of such

as have made it some part of their business to give informations to the magistrate, as they have had opportunity, of such breaches of the laws as were before-mentioned. Many of these persons have given the world a great and almost unheard-of example, in this corrupt age, of zeal and Christian courage, having underwent, at the beginning more especially of these proceedings, many abuses, and great reproaches, not only from exasperated and hardened offenders, but often from their lukewarm friends, irreligious relations, and sometimes from unfaithful magistrates, by whom they have been reviled, brow-beaten, and discouraged from performing such important service, so necessary to the welfare of their country. And herein these brave men have acted with so great prudence, as well as zeal, that fore-seeing it might one day be the policy of the enemy of all goodness, and the business of wicked men, who are his instruments, and who could not generally be brought to shame and punishment for their intamous practices but by their means, to raise prejudices in the minds of bad and unthinking people against them, and to disparage their proceedings, by whispering of jealousies of their being influenced in what they did by worldly considerations; that the world may be challenged to make appear, that these societies have been so much as treated with, by any person whatsoever, to give informations with any promise of a reward, or that they have ever received the least advantage by any convictions upon these statutes against profaneness and debauchery, the money arising thereby being wholly appropriated to the poor, except the third part of the penalty upon the statute against profanation of the Lord's day, which, in some cases, the magistrate hath a bare power to dispose of, but was never, that we know of, received by any one of these persons; which I thought fit to observe, as a lasting answer to any objection of this kind, in justice to them who have gone through frowns and reproaches for the sake of doing so much good; and that all men may see with how great reason it is, both from the character of the persons concerned in the discharging of this service to religion, and their country, as well as from the nature and necessity of it, (which I shall hereafter enquire into) that the name of an informer is now become much more glorious among wise and good men, than it was grown contemptible by the ill practices of some in our days: and that it does therefore appear truly honourable for persons of the greatest quality to give informations in these cases, for the service of the most high God, as some among us, of greater ranks than the world does perhaps think of, have of late done; and which, it hath been observed, in divers discourses lately published, that even princes under the Jewish dispensation were not ashamed to do, "Now when these things were done, the princes came to me, saying, the people of Israel, and the priests and the Levites have not separated themselves, from the people of the lands, doing according to their abominations, &c." *Ezra ix. 1, 2.*

There are eight other regulated and mixt bodies of house-keepers and officers, in the several quarters of London, Westminster, and Southwark, who differ in their constitution from those before-mentioned, but generally agree in the methods of inspecting the behaviour of constables and other officers, and going along with them, and assisting

them in their searching of disorderly houses, in taking up of offenders, and carrying them before the magistrate, and also in giving informations themselves, as there is occasion.

Besides those before-mentioned, there are about nine and thirty religious societies of another kind, in and about London and Westminster, which are propagated into other parts of the nation; as Nottingham, Gloucester, &c. and even into Ireland, where they have been for some months since spreading in divers towns and cities of that kingdom; as Kilkenny, Drogheda, Mannouth, &c. especially in Dublin, where there are about ten of these societies, which are promoted by the bishops and inferior clergy there. These persons meet often to pray, sing Psalms and read the Holy Scriptures together, and to reprove, exhort, and edify one another by their religious conferences. They moreover carry on at their meetings, designs of charity, of different kinds; such as relieving the wants of poor house-keepers, maintaining their children at school, setting of prisoners at liberty, supporting of lectures and daily prayers in our churches. These are the societies which our late gracious queen, as the learned bishop that hath writ an essay on her memory tells us, took so great satisfaction in, "That she enquired often and much about them, and was glad they went on and prevailed;" which, thanks be to God, they continue to do; as the reverend Dr. Woodward, who hath obliged the world with a very particular account of the rise and progress of them, hath lately acquainted us. And these likewise are societies that have proved so exceedingly serviceable in the work of reformation, that they may be reckoned a chief support to it, as the late arch-bishop Tillotson declared, upon several occasions, after he had examined their orders and enquired into their lives, that he thought they were to the church of England.

I might now give an account of a society of ministers of the church of England for carrying on of this work, and another agreement of justices of the peace; but I am withheld at present by some considerations from descending to any further particulars concerning them; and must content myself with saying, what will easily be allowed, that the stated meetings of such persons are as proper, and may be more useful for the promoting of this work, than any other I have described. For what might we not expect from the zealous endeavours of these orders of men in this affair? which, 'tis obvious, will not be employed with so great effect, as when they form themselves into societies, or at least have frequent or stated times of meeting for the prosecution of this business. 'Tis true, that ministers and magistrates have greater advantages, as well as more particular obligations, than others, (as may hereafter appear) to be serviceable in this work of reformation; but yet when they act alone in this contention between virtue and vice, though they will do great good in our present circumstances, and much more than they will easily believe till they are heartily engaged in it; yet they must expect to be under disadvantages on some occasions as well as other single persons, who exert their zeal without a communication with one another, and particularly when they encounter combinations of wicked men, which it is not unlikely will sometimes happen. Do we not see

by what methods the men of the world propagate wickedness, and countermining good designs? Is it not by their clubs and confederacies? Are we not sensible with what advantages our civil concerns are carried on by companies and corporations? Nay, does not the account before us convince us of the great usefulness, or rather necessity, of good mens confederating and meeting frequently together, to concert methods, and encourage one another in this difficult work of confronting and suppressing of bare-faced and insolent wickedness? And that the reason why good men have not sooner or more generally done it, may be, because "the children of this world are in their generation wiser than the children of light." Since therefore union and method seem evidently to give good men much the same advantage (abstracting from the consideration of the goodness of their cause, and the divine aid that they may expect) in their just and brave opposition to profaneness and immoralities, against the greater number, 'tis to be feared, of the wicked, as discipline and good ground in war gives a small body of men against a very unequal number of those that are undisciplined, and with disadvantageous ground: 'tis highly to be wished, that not only societies of ministers and magistrates, but of all other degrees of men, were set up in prosecution of this design, in all parts of the kingdom, more especially in all towns, cities, and corporations. And it may charitably be hoped, that there are but few, if any, such places, where there are not to be found three or four persons at least, of one or other denomination of Christians, that have a zeal for God and religion, who may easily form themselves into a society, which may enlarge by degrees, and which will, probably speaking, go a great way towards the suppressing public disorders where they are; but may have a marvellous effect, with God's blessing for this end, where there is a magistrate that makes a conscience of his duty, or a minister that encourages reformation; as would be manifest to any that had observed in how short a time, and to what a degree, open wickedness hath been checked, where a zealous minister hath given himself the trouble, I might rather have said the pleasure, of meeting sometimes a society of his parishioners, to encourage their zeal and constancy in this work of reformation, even where the magistrates have been either open or secret enemies to it. The advantages moreover are too many to be insisted on in this place, for the exercising of our own graces, by our associating with our fellow Christians for the carrying on religious designs, in an age when Christian conversation, which hath an inestimable value with men of religion, is so exploded by a wicked world, and is with such difficulty met with. The forming therefore of good men into such pious combinations, for the over-balancing those of vice, the countermining the contrary attempts of all wicked men, and recovering the power as well as form of religion, is most earnestly recommended to all the friends of piety and virtue. And, methinks it may be expected from all, that have any sincere regard to God's honour, their own and their country's happiness, that they should exert themselves, in their several capacities, with a noble zeal and emulation, for the perfecting of this great undertaking. And now especially the times of peace are returned, which we have



been told, are the times of reformation, surely none that carry the face of Christians can with confidence offer new excuses any longer to postpone it; we may now hope for the assistance of some, at least, of the cautious and prudent men amongst us, who have hitherto, with great gravity, stood neuters in this affair, and that they will at last answer the expectation of good men from them, and suffer the generations to come to call them blessed. 'Tis at least to be hoped, that if they are too great and wise to engage in the work themselves, they will not however obstruct it more than the open enemies of it can do, by their calling it an impracticable undertaking, whispering groundless jealousies of the design, or uncharitable and disadvantageous characters of the persons concerned in the promoting it; but rather, that they will let the world see that their zeal is engaged in the carrying on of wiser and more successful methods, for the effecting of a national reformation. And one would think, that the employing our labour or authority in this noble design, of being instrumental in doing good to multitudes of souls, by suppressing of national sins, and, by consequence, the reviving the power and reputation of religion, and thereby preventing national judgments, should be more worth the concern and application of Christians, and should afford a more true and solid satisfaction than the pursuit of our worldly interests or pleasures. All indeed are not capable of being serviceable in the same way; but whether it be by executing the laws, or by preaching, discoursing, writing, informing, setting up of societies, or otherwise contributing towards it, which way soever it be that we can further this glorious work, it will, I think, be hard to find a good excuse for any that shall decline their concurrence, according to their advantages and opportunities, in an undertaking which it would become the greatest man upon earth to promote<sup>a</sup>, which is now so far facilitated by the schemes that are laid, and the methods it is put into.

We have seen some few persons engaging in this enterprize before they had any methods to direct them, or many examples to encourage them, encountering opposition in the first forming their design, from open enemies, and perhaps false friends, suffering cruel mockings, unkind censures, and unjust reproaches, and yet not giving way. We have seen them surmounting their greatest difficulties, so that the main brunt seems now near over, and going on with that resolution and success, that the deluge of publick wickedness is visibly abated. We are told, that many thousands have been brought to punishment for swearing and cursing, by their means; seventy or eighty warrants a week having been executed on these offenders, in and about this city only, since the late act of parliament against swearing and cursing was made; which hath given so great and remarkable a check to those scandalous sins, that our constables sometimes of late have found it difficult to take up a swearer in divers of our streets and markets, where, within a few years past, horrid oaths, curses, and imprecations, were heard day and night; that a multitude of drunkards, and profaners of the Lord's day, some of whom kept as it were open markets within a few years

<sup>a</sup> See the *Help to a national Reformation*, lately published.

past, have been made examples by their means<sup>a</sup>; that hundreds of disorderly houses, which were little better than stews, and nests for thieves, clippers and coiners, &c. have been rooted out and suppressed; and that some thousands of lewd persons have been imprisoned, fined, and whipt; so that the tower-end of the town and many of our streets, have been much purged of that pestilent generation of night-walkers, that used to infest them, which were a reproach to this noble city, and a scandal to Christianity, forty or fifty of them having been sent in a week to Bridewell, where they have of late received such discipline, that a considerable number of them have chose rather to be transported to our plantations, to work there for an honest subsistence, than to expose themselves, by their lewd way of living, to shame and punishment, to poverty and disease, to all sorts of wicked practices, and the danger of the gallows, to which, in the conclusion, they are often, if not generally, brought. And I may justly add, that far greater things, by the application of the original society of gentlemen, have been accomplished, than what have yet been mentioned, and such as I am not permitted at this time to discover. But thus much may be said, that the endeavours of those gentlemen have not been confined to this city and kingdom, but have extended as far as Ireland, where they have had an influence, very little, I think, to the honour of that kingdom, from whence it had its first rise; of which, since a more particular account may be expected, I may satisfy myself, at present, with saying in general, of my own knowledge, that the transactions of reformation here having been, near two years since, laid before some few persons in Ireland, and most of those (I must again observe) private persons, and of the lower rank of men, with proper considerations to move them to unite in the same design, and methods to pursue it with advantage, it determined them to engage heartily in it: and they have prosecuted it with so much vigour, that there are now several societies for reformation in the city of Dublin, which I am assured, by divers accounts that I have in my hands from thence, are spreading into several parts of the kingdom, and are encouraged by his excellency the earl of Gallway, (one of the lords justices of Ireland) the arch-bishop of Dublin, many of the clergy, and the best of the magistrates and gentlemen of that city: in one of which societies, most of the parish-ministers of Dublin, several of the pious bishops, particularly the arch-bishop, and divers other persons of quality, are members; some of whom have shewn a zeal, which if it prevailed the three kingdoms over, might soon produce a glorious reverse of the state they are now in, and which in less than two years space hath succeeded, though not without such various oppositions as might be expected from combinations of bad men, to that degree in Dublin, that the profanation of the Lord's day, by tipling in public-houses, by exercising of trade, and exposing of goods to sale, is almost suppressed; that lewd women are so strictly enquired after, and severely punished, that they have transported themselves, as in England, to our plantations; and that swearing is so run down, that an oath is rarely heard in their streets; so that public disorders are remarkably cured, and, in

<sup>a</sup> See the printed accounts of the number of these offenders that have been yearly punished.

short, vice is afraid and ashamed to shew its head, where within a few years past it was daring and triumphant.

We are likewise assured, that Scotland hath concurred in these matters, where his majesty's proclamation against profaneness and debauchery, hath been issued out in very strict terms, and his late gracious letter to the parliament of that kingdom, takes notice of the progress that they have made in the forming of methods for the discouraging of vice and irreligion, and assures them, that 'tis a work most acceptable to him.

But to return to our own nation. We are made acquainted, that many societies and bodies of men, of different ranks and persuasions, are engaged in this work, to which men of virtue, of temper, and unblemished reputation, may either join themselves, according to their quality, circumstances, or opportunities, or may form themselves into new bodies: that the public opposition that was made to it, which our posterity may blush to read of, is at an end, which, 'tis to be hoped, will be the last that we shall hear of in a Christian state, and under a Protestant government; that the city of London espouses it, where there are two sermons quarterly preached, and divers of them printed, to make men sensible of their obligations in this respect. And it is true also, that swearing is much lessened, as we have reason to believe by the accounts we receive, in most, if not in all parts of the kingdom, as other public disorders are in many; and that the societies for reformation have been in divers places already actually formed, and are going on in many others; as particularly in Gloucester, Leicester, Coventry, Shrewsbury, Hull, Nottingham, Tamworth, New-castle, Cheller, and several other corporations; so that in a few months time, by the methods that are now taking, there is reason to believe, that we shall hear of a very considerable progress in this work from all parts of the nation. And now is this a time for men that would be reckoned Christians, to stand neuters in an affair wherein their religion, their country, and their posterity, are so deeply concerned? let the men who can contentedly see the laws of God trampled upon; who can, in their ordinary conversation, in the streets, and even at their own tables, hear horrid oaths and curses, nay, men calling upon God for damnation upon themselves and others; in a word, offering high indignities to the glorious majesty of their great Creator, consider, whether the very Heathens, who would not suffer their artificial deities to be affronted, or their religion to be despised; who, in sieges, and other distresses from their enemies, were more concerned for their images and altars than for their own houses, or private affairs, do not condemn them? But can men of conscience satisfy themselves with complaining of the iniquities of the age, and wishing for reformation, with giving only some good words to these proceedings, or even praying for God's blessing upon them, without doing, as they have opportunity, what is necessary to promote them? when, as it hath been said, we have the laws of God, of the nation, and, as we have reason to hope, the government on our side; and moreover, so many examples and so great success to encourage us; and have now, generally speaking, not much more to fear than calumnies

and hard words, and most of those, 'tis to be hoped, from the enemies of God and goodness, which the best of men, and the best designs in all ages, have ever met with, and which, in such a case, it is our true glory to suffer? No; surely this is a time, as I shall endeavour to make appear, for all good men to join their hearts and hands, their interest and authority, in this so necessary, so great, and so glorious a work, &c. [See the Book.]

## SECTION II.

*Much of the Spirit of Christianity appearing in many young Persons. — Former Editions of this Account made useful. — Professor FRANK's Letter, Jan. 21<sup>st</sup>, 1700. — Mr. JURIEU's Letter. — A Letter from Switzerland, Jan. 12<sup>th</sup>, 1700. — Religious Societies in Nuremburg, Augsburg, and Ratisbon.*

[ FROM DR. WOODWARD'S Account of the Rise and Progress of the religious Societies in London, &c. Chap. 1. ]

SINCE the pious education of our youth is a matter of the greatest importance to us both in church and state; and since the whole hope of improving the next age, and of continuing the mercies of God with this, depends upon it: it cannot be unacceptable to any sober person, to peruse a brief account of that which our good God hath done for us in this respect; to whom alone be the praise and glory of the whole.

It is the observation of many serious and judicious persons, that within the compass of a few years past there hath appeared much of the genuine spirit of Christianity in many young persons among us, whose pious dispositions, together with their humble and inoffensive behaviour, have occasioned the praises of God in the mouths of many pious people; for they cannot but look on this blooming piety of these orthodox and sober persons as a very seasonable blessing of God, to excite new spirits in the degenerate professors of our holy religion, to antidote those damnable heresies, and to check that exorbitant wickedness, which hath appeared with great impudence in these latter days.

When I first applied my mind to draw up a brief account of these things (being led thereto by sundry moving considerations) I advised with several divines, and others, about it; by whom it was generally concluded to be a work that might prove serviceable to the common interest of religion, and might revive the languishing state of it among us: which, as it is the only end I propose hereby, so indeed it is a consideration that needs no other to second it; for I know nothing more desirable in this world, than to invigorate a hearty concern for religion in it. And when this brief narrative was drawn up, and perused by several persons, who were acquainted with the most hidden springs and motions of these societies, they attested the justice and equality of it: in particular, the late reverend Dr. Horneck, (who had a very perfect knowledge of them, and indeed was an eminent friend, or rather father, to them, from their first rise to the day of his death) in a discourse I had with him a little before his decease, was pleased to give this public testimony of it, "That it was a very faithful and modest account of

the whole matter:" adding, that at the first appearance of these societies, they were looked upon with suspicion and dislike by many of our superiors, who now, said he, upon a fuller view of them, do not only think them fit to be tolerated, but worthy to be encouraged; concluding with his prayer (in that pathetic and heavenly manner which was usual to him) "That God would bless and prosper these beginnings of reformation." This was the last discourse I had with that pious and worthy divine, who was soon translated from his painful labours, we hope, to eternal rest. And since the former editions of this *Account*, I have understood, in my conversation with many divines in and about this city, and by letters from the remotest parts of this land, and from foreigners; in short, from many, whose faces I never saw, into whose hands this *Account* has fallen, that the piety of many persons, especially of the younger sort, has been evidently enlivened thereby; and that it had been read by many of them, with a very surprising joy. Yea, in some parts of this nation, several divines of considerable character have met together, to express their unanimous satisfaction and joy in these proceedings; of which they have given us account by letter. And on this occasion it comes to be known, that in some places the very scope and design of these societies have been begun and continued by several pious persons within the compass of a few years past, who knew nothing of these London societies, nor had so much as heard any report of them. In a certain town (which I forbear to name) some discreet and serious persons, considering the great benefit of a strict observance of the Lord's day, came to a resolution to meet together on the evening before it, to enliven each other's affections towards spiritual things, as a meet preparation for the duties of the sacred day following. And finding the great advantages of this practice, they continued it for the space of three years; and then hearing what was done here in London, so suitably to their inclinations, they were lifted up with joy, and betook themselves to the same method. In some parts of the county of Lincoln, a most profane custom had long prevailed, to spend the three Lord's days after Lammas (and of late many before it) in horse-racing, and other riotous diversions. This disorder was endeavoured to be suppressed in Cromwell's days, but in vain; and afterwards by some gentlemen of the country, but with no better success. So that it had now, for several years past, been lamented by serious people, as an inveterate evil which was not to be redressed. But it pleased God, for a few years past, to stir up the spirits of the ministers of the adjacent parishes, with such zeal and indignation against this scandalous profaneness, that they took their constables and other proper assistants with them, and appeared with such courage and resolution against this rude assembly, that the whole multitude was over-awed, and put to flight. So that, on such Lord's days, when there used to be many hundreds of this lewd mob, you could only have beheld several devout ministers, with their constables, walking their rounds; or, if any vain persons looked that way, their next care was, to flee with such speed, as might secure themselves from apprehension. And it is hoped, that the same care, continued yearly in this and other places, will perpetually pre-

vent the like disorders; to suppress which, they resolve not to be wanting; as a minister informs me from the place. Nor is the benefit of this pious undertaking confined by the boundaries of this our nation: the morals of her sister kingdom of Ireland have been happily improved by it. Yea, the accounts sent us from persons of the most eminent learning and piety, in distant countries, inform us of the sensible vigour and life of religion, which has been excited amongst them, by what they hear of its increase amongst us.

The pious and learned Dr. Franck, professor of divinity in the city of Hall in Saxony, writes thus concerning this matter to some gentlemen in London: January 21st, 1700. "The eminent success of your pious undertakings has been made known to us in Germany, by the reverend Dr. Jablonki, chaplain to the newly-crowned king of Prussia, who hath translated the account of your societies out of the English into the German language. Nor has this gentleman's pains proved un-  
useful: for, besides the good it has done to many particular persons, who have been thereby awakened to a greater concern for their spiritual edification, a great number of the citizens of Nuremburg, who had a little before begun to meet at each other's houses, in order to their mutual improvement in the knowledge of the truth, are, by this book, mightily encouraged and invigorated in good things; as a very pious minister (who, with two other divines, is wont to preside at these meetings) has, in the name of them all, informed me from the place. And indeed, the field of our Lord waxes more and more white unto harvest: and the true savour of the gospel daily increases amongst persons of various ranks and conditions, both men and women, with a general desire of living suitably thereunto."

The eminent Monsieur Jariieu writes in a sort of transport concerning these matters, in a late letter of his to one in London; "rejoicing and praising God, that, amidst the many societies which he had observed to be made about the concerns of gold and silver, he had at last, through the goodness of God, received a most reviving account of pious persons united in prudent and effectual methods for the extirpation of vice, and the advancement of religion."

A very worthy gentleman writes thus from Schaffhausen in Switzerland: January 12th, 1700. "Dr. W——'s full account of the religious societies in London, is translated, and printed at Berlin, and is dedicated by the translator to the prince of Brandenburg, who is lately married to the young prince of Hesse-Cassel. We have here some examples of the same sort of societies; and it rejoices many amongst us to hear of the great piety and zeal that reigns in England."

A very learned and pious foreigner, who is pleased to favour me with his correspondence, in a letter of his (March 14, 1700) informs me, that not only at Nuremburg, but also at Augsburg and Ratisbon, they find great benefit by their religious societies; and that some great persons begin to relish the divine favour of religion: among whom, alas! too many are so deeply immersed in carnal pleasures, that they have little taste of spiritual joy. He adds, that Dr. Lange of Altorf had begun to use religious exercises with his scholars, in imitation of those at Hall, as

Dr. Spener had long since done at Franckfort. And that such as formerly disliked these things, began to be ashamed of being more vehement in opposing assignments for religion, than those for drinking and gaming, or the clubs of atheistical and profane men. Concluding thus: "For my own part, I look upon these things as comfortable signs, that the Spirit of God is now about a great work, to put a new face upon the whole Christian church." I forbear to recite other extracts of foreign letters: and shall only observe, that as these happy effects upon other nations afford matter of comfort to such as have engaged in them here, so their noble victories over the impudence of public enormities at home, serve to encourage them in the pursuit of the scattered forces of the prince of darkness. The rather, because the Lord of hosts seems to fight for them; partly by dispiriting and intimidating the actors of vice and profaneness, who have been heretofore undauntedly bold and hardy in the commission of it; and partly by exciting the spirits of such as oppose them, even to a pitch of bravery, which somewhat resembles those of whom it is said in scripture, that "the Spirit of the Lord came upon them;" and then we always find that they prevailed, and came off with victory and success. So that it is beyond question, that if such as are of eminency amongst us did more generally give their assistance and countenance to this divine and glorious work, it would run on with vigour from one end of the land to the other. And how much this would tend to their comfort and glory, in that day wherein great men must give an account of their talents of power and authority, before that righteous Judge, from whom they have received them, is not to be expressed: nor, on the contrary, can we conceive the horror and confusion, the regret and anguish, which shall then overwhelm such as drowsily forget, or cowardly hide, or basely misemploy, these weighty talents.

*Of the Rise of these Societies about thirty-two years ago.—Dr. Horneck and Mr. Smithie's preaching blest'd.—Some of their Meetings in the Year 1678.—Their Behaviour in the Reign of King James II.*

[ From Chapter 2. ]

I do not here undertake to give an account of all the pious fellowships of youth, which have been amongst us in time past, (which, we may hope, has been the practice of serious young men in all ages, and among all the too various denominations of Christians) but to give a short narrative of the original of those regulated societies which are now, through the grace of God, conspicuous among us for many good works; and which, if duly encouraged, may very much contribute towards the support, honour, and advancement of these three kingdoms in church and state, and yet are but too little known to very many among us.

Now, as far as I am able to trace their first rise, it was thus introduced by the gracious providence of God: it is now about two and thirty years ago that several young men of the church of England, in the cities of London and Westminster, were about the same time touched with

a very affecting sense of their sins, and began to apply themselves in a very serious manner to religious thoughts and purposes. As to their manner of life before this, I am informed, that though some of them had been guilty of great neglect, and contempt of religion, they became very affectionate servants of God afterwards, (even to an eminency, in the judgment of some, who with wonder considered their happy change) yet the greater part of them were such as had enjoyed a sober education, and had not shared in the scandalous and heightened enormities of these latter days, otherwise than by their having been too insensible of the dishonour done to God by them. But they now began to look on their own and others sins in another manner. I was, about that time, made privy to the spiritual sorrows of one of them, who with floods of tears lamented that he had not 'till then had any affecting apprehensions of the glorious majesty and perfections of Almighty God, nor of his infinite love to men, in his Son Jesus Christ: and that he had not before felt any just convictions of the immense evil of every offence against God, though it be but, said he, in the wilful neglect, or misperformance of any duty to him. But now he saw, and groaned under all this, in very sharp and pungent convictions. And withal, perceiving the universal corruption of human nature, and the deplorable crookedness and deceit of man's heart, and with what a world of temptations we are encompassed, being withal besieged by many legions of infernal spirits: when he considered all this, his soul was even poured out within him, and he was in danger of being overwhelmed with excessive sorrow. The case was very much the same with several young men at the same time, as he then told me; some of whom had been greatly tempted by the devil, that murderer from the beginning, to lay violent hands on themselves; which was also, he confessed, his own temptation; and that so urgent sometimes, that sleep departed from his eyes, as well as rest from his soul. In this mournful season, these disconsolate convicted persons often resorted to their ministers for spiritual advice and succour; betaking themselves in good earnest to the ways of real piety and eternal peace. And it many times fell out, as the same person informed me, that several of them met together, at the house of their spiritual physician, seeking cure for their wounded spirits; and so contracted a little acquaintance by those providential interviews. For, alas! as he suggested, there needed little other language but that of their looks, to discover their inward sorrows to each other, especially when they came prepared to open them to their minister; and they needed no other arguments to incline them to pity each others case, but to consider their own; there being a propensity in nature, to succour those who groan under the like miseries with ourselves. So that by these, and the like means, they soon contracted a very intimate acquaintance.

The benefit of Dr. Horneck's awakening sermons, and the morning lectures on the Lord's day in Cornhill, preached by Mr. Smithie (chiefly designed for the instruction of youth) having occasioned much of this happy work upon the spirits of these young men: they did more particularly apply themselves to these divines for direction, who had been instruments in the hand of God for their conviction. And



upon their frequent application to these and other ministers, it was advised, that since their troubles arose from the same spiritual cause, and that their inclinations and resolutions centered in the same purpose of a holy life; they should meet together once a week, and apply themselves to good discourse, and things wherein they might edify one another. And for the better regulation of their meetings, several rules were prescribed them, being such as seemed most proper to effect the end proposed. Upon this they met together, and kept to their rules; and at every meeting (as it was advised) they considered the wants of the poor; which in process of time amounted to such considerable sums, that thereby many poor families were relieved, some poor people put into a way of trade suitable to their capacities, sundry prisoners set at liberty, some poor scholars furthered in their subsistence at the university, several orphans maintained, with many other good works. But they were not presently brought to these pious exercises, orders, and things of public benefit, to which they are now, by the grace of God, advanced. As no creature is born in its full perfection; so the improvement of these societies grew up by degrees, by conferring one with another, and by their enlarged desires of doing good, as occasions and advice were offered them. So that I cannot but recommend Christian society with the greatest earnestness to all sorts of men. It must needs be as useful to magistrates and ministers, in carrying on their arduous work of regulating and reforming mens manners, as daily experience shews it to be to artists and tradesmen, who join together in companies and societies, and find their arts and interests advanced by a multitude of heads and hands. So that we may very properly pronounce Solomon's "Woe to him that is alone." These young men soon found the benefit of their conferences one with another; by which, as some of them have told me with joy, they better discovered their own corruptions, the devil's temptations, and how to countermine his subtil devices; as to which, each person communicated his experiences to the rest.

It seemed proper, for the better management of their common stock for charitable uses, to choose two stewards, as the managers of their charity. And the two first stewards that I find (after diligent search) were in the year 1678, whose names I have by me, with a recorded succession of them to the beginning of the reign of king James the second. In this unhappy juncture the face of the reformed religion began to be clouded, and all private meetings were suspected. And now, alas! some of these persons not having digged deep enough to have a firm root in religion, began to shrink and give back, like the seed in our Saviour's parable, which had no deepness of earth. They were afraid of the jealousy of the state against them; especially when they saw the bloody and merciless executions in city and country with which that reign began, which dyed it of such a crimson colour, as rendered it frightful to many, particularly to these young proselytes. Upon which some of them forsook their wonted assemblies, and getting loose from their strict rules and good society, they grew cool in religious concerns, and some of them grew vain and extravagant. But, through the grace

of God, there was not a total reversion among these young disciples of our Lord; but, on the contrary, some of them being encouraged by others, who till then had not been of this society, being also grieved at heart to see some of their brethren turn their backs in the day of battle; and being animated with holy zeal against the growing interests of Popery, which then appeared not only open, but in armour; they took a more vigorous resolution than ever, to do what in them lay towards the maintaining and increasing the purity and power of religion in themselves and others. And seeing that the Popish mass was then publicly celebrated, not only at the royal chapel, but in other public places, they set up, at their own expence, public prayers every evening, at eight of the clock, at St. Clement-Danes, which never wanted a full and affectionate congregation. And not long after, they set up an evening monthly lecture in the same church, to confirm communicants in their holy purposes and vows, which they had made at the Lord's table. And by this public lecture, which was greatly frequented, many were confirmed, both in the profession and practice of the true principles of primitive religion. For they were preached by the most eminent divines about the city, from whose lips and pens Popery received such wounds, as all her art will never be able to cure.

It was the design of these young men, from the first framing of their societies, to conceal their names from public knowledge, lest it should seem to be a device to catch the applauses of men; which is but a very poor matter, an aerial blast, of little importance if attained, and usually of as little continuance. They looked upon it therefore with just disdain; and fixed their hearts on those exceeding great and precious promises, which the unchangeable God hath set before men. But they had now a particular reason for concealing their names from all but their ministers and a few friends; for the eyes of Papists then in power were intent upon them, who, together with those their undersetters, whom gain, and the promises of court-favour, had brought over to their party, pried narrowly into all they did; so that they saw they had great reason, as well as the primitive Christians, to use the wisdom of the serpent, whilst they as carefully retained the innocence of the dove; especially being in the near neighbourhood of the court, which was then filled with foreign and domestick zealots for Popery, or with crouching false friends to Protestantism. In this juncture, upon advice, they changed the name of society for that of club; and instead of meeting at a friend's house, who might be endangered by it, they adjourned to some public house or other, where they could have a room to themselves; and, under the pretext of spending a shilling or two, they conferred seriously together in the same religious manner as formerly: by which honest artifice they carried on their good design without interruption, even to the end of that unhappy reign.

*Their Christian Admonitions and good Discourse useful to others.—Concern to bring in others.—Their Apology to the Bishop of London.—Misery of Apostates from them.—Their frequent communicating.—Their great Love to each other.—Their Piety.—They increase to about forty Societies within the Bills of Mortality.—Letter from the Minister of Old Romney in Kent.—Nine or ten Societies in Dublin.—Of Professor Franck's labours at Hall.—Some Endeavours this way at Oxford and Cambridge.*

[ From Chapter 3. ]

THIS their constancy, piety, and good service to the public, in so hazardous a juncture, made them more known, and much esteemed, at the beginning of the reign of king William and queen Mary; those instruments of God's providence, for the restoring of our religion and liberty, when the public enjoyment of both were just expiring.

The first design of those who joined in this religious fellowship looked no farther than the mutual assistance and consolation one of another in their Christian warfare. That by their interchanged counsels and exhortations, they might the better maintain their integrity in the midst of a crooked and perverse generation. But as their sense of the blessedness of religion, and the value of immortal souls, increased, they could not but exercise bowels of compassion towards such as discovered little concern about these important matters. This inclined them to endeavour, by discourse with their acquaintance in proper seasons, to press upon them those divine arguments whereby themselves had been roused out of a state of carnal insensibleness. And finding that the grace of God many times seconded these their Christian admonitions, to good effect, they became more habituated to good discourse, especially where there was any probability of a civil acceptance of it. Insomuch that at length they could not but stand amazed at the success which it pleased God to give them. One of them, to whom God had given a very deep sense of religious matters, and a very moving manner of expressing it, had such success, that he had, under God, induced most of his intimate acquaintance at least to an outward reformation. Upon this they made a private order at one of their assemblies, that every one should endeavour to bring in one other at least into their society: which they did to good effect. For I heard a very serious person bless God with great affection, that ever they made such an order, and took such resolutions: for, said he, this put one of them upon discourse with me about those things, which till that time I little minded; and which now I can never forget. This may recommend good discourse upon all proper occasions in company; which, wherever it is piously designed, and seriously performed, will be blessed of God to more excellent purposes than we can without trial conceive.

Thus then their religious fraternities grew and increased, even till they became conspicuous, and in some degree famous: which still induced other young men, who were of sober inclinations, to join with them; and as they multiplied in distant parts of the city, they erected

new societies by the pattern of the old. This conspicuous advancement of these societies, in number and repute, gave occasion to some mistaken or ill affected persons to misrepresent them to the bishop, as things leading to schism, spiritual pride, and many other ill consequences. And this made their names more public than ever they thought or desired to have them. For now they were obliged to appear and justify their undertaking: which they did in a very humble and solid apology addressed to the bishop of London; wherein they humbly assured his lordship, that their only design was, to quicken each other's affections towards spiritual things, and to advance their preparations for another world; and to this end, to assist each other to live in all respects as it becometh the gospel. And that they desired to prosecute this Christian design in no other but Christian methods; with due respect to their superiors in church and state, and without any cause of offence to any one. And, in fine, their vindication appeared so reasonable and satisfactory, their assemblies so regular, and subordinate to the public worship, and their designs so truly Christian and inoffensive (all which was attested by several eminent divines on their behalf) that his lordship dismissed them with these words; "God forbid that I should be against such excellent designs."

As to that dark and dismal case of some few of them, who after an appearance of zeal for this pious undertaking, and a temporary partnership in it, have fallen off to vanity and vice; it is like the cutting off a member to the rest of the body; they consider it with piercing grief, affliction, and indignation; though it be no new thing in every profession of religion, to have some false brethren. The first planters of Christianity had reason to sigh over the apostacy of a Judas, a Nicholas, a Demas, whom the love of this present world had ensnared. And I mention this, that every one who maketh profession of religion, and thinketh that he standeth, may take heed lest he fall: and that they may dig deep, and lay a firm foundation. Some of these unhappy revolvers from their former strictness of life, are now not able to bear the reproofs of their persevering brethren; they shun their company, they know not how to converse with them, and are ashamed to look them in the face; and sometimes they pray them to disturb them no more by their admonitions, since they apprehend all the danger they threaten them with to be very true, and foresee their desperate end, sometimes with a terror not to be expressed. And their design seems to be, to divert those melancholy thoughts, as long as they can, with all the sensual amusements they can invent. So true is that observation, "That religion can torment those whom it cannot reclaim." To shun this fatal danger of apostatizing from God, and reversing their vows made to him; it is the practice of all these societies to partake of the holy supper of our Lord as frequently as they may, thereby to devote themselves afresh to their good Master, and to confirm their purposes of perpetual service to him, and as a means of receiving spiritual strength from him so to do. And in order to their more advised preparations for so solemn a work, there is in some one church or more of this city, a sermon preached every Lord's-day in the evening (by the

procurement of some of these societies) on the important subject of due preparation for the Lord's table, and a meet deportment after it; by which great good has been done, and a deep sense of religion wrought in many persons. And by this their care to acquit their consciences, as to this last command of our dying Lord, many of them have, through the grace of God, attained to that excellent primitive temper, of frequent communicating without growing formal; not lessening a due reverence by the frequency of it: nor extinguishing the proper exercises of divine love, thankfulness, and joy at this holy sacrifice of praise.

There is such love amongst those of them that have fallen under my observation, that scarce any natural brothers are so affectionate; and those who are newly admitted are soon contracted into the same fellowship of Christian brotherhood. They are also far from rigid censure and unkind treatment of any sorts of Christians. As they truly aim at real Christianity, so they value it where-ever they find it. And as a learned foreigner writes, this is the effect it has abroad; and that where the Lutherans and Calvinists fall into these methods of advancing true piety, they become more kind and meek, that is, more Christian-like one to another.

It is required of such as desire to join themselves to them, that they give the society some testimony of their sincerity in this affair, and of their sense of spiritual things, with the real motives which lead them to this undertaking, and what they seriously purpose as to their future life. This is many times done in writing; and I have perused some of their papers, and have found them penned in such an honest, affectionate, and undisguised stile, with such pious and sensible expressions, and in so modest and humble a manner, that they would greatly affect any pious person to read them, and move him to break forth into pathetic praises to God, who hath given such grace to the rising generation in so degenerate an age.

As for the reproaches which ill people cast on these societies, it is what good things and persons have ever met with from the beginning, and must be expected to the end of the world. The scoffs and grudges of such people against any thing, demonstrate that there is good in it; and indeed their commendations may be looked upon as an effectual defamation. Upon such occasions of slanders and evil-speaking against them, I have heard them exhorting and recommending to each other the true Christian armour of humility, patience, and a resemblance of our blessed Saviour's silence under revilings, admiring that divine command of his, of returning blessing for cursing, and of endeavouring to overcome evil with good; minding one another, not to make any mention of their being of such or such a society; but to make their holy lives to testify, that they are real Christians. And thus by exhorting and encouraging one another in Christian duty, the piety of many of them has appeared very eminent and exemplary; insomuch that it is evident, even to demonstration, that their zeal hath in many places given new life to the celebration of the Lord's supper, public prayers, singing of psalms, and Christian conferences; duties which were in many

places almost disused, or performed in a cool and languishing manner.

This is, as far as human eye can see, the real and only design of these societies, who seem with one heart to attempt, by the most pious and peaceable methods, to put a stop to our overflowing wickedness, remove our plagues, and to dispose us into a meetness for the blessings and gracious presence of God; by whose blessing they have of late years so increased amongst us, that there are now about forty distinct bodies of them within the compass of the bills of mortality: and there have produced the like in many other cities and country-towns. I shall only instance particularly in a religious society at Old Romney in Kent, concerning which we have this account from the minister of the place, in a letter to a gentleman in London, in the month of December 1700. "When I first came to my parish, about ten years ago, I found, to my great grief, the people very ignorant and irreligious; the place of divine worship indecently kept, and the public service neither understood nor attended. The ministration of the Lord's supper was supported only by the piety of three or four communicants; and the divine ordinance of singing Psalms almost laid aside. Now, whilst I considered by what means I might redress this general neglect of religion, I was of opinion, that the setting up of such a religious society as I had known in the city of London would be very proper; but I feared that it would be impracticable in the country; especially where there appeared no competent dispositions towards it. So that at first I began to teach three or four youths the skill of singing Psalms orderly, and according to rules; withal, minding them of the indispensable duty of the spiritual fervency of their hearts in this heavenly exercise; which greatly tended, through the grace of God, to awaken their affections towards religion, and to give them a favour and relish of it. The improvement of these in singing Psalms being soon observed by others, many young men desired to be admitted to the same instruction; which being granted, and the number of them increasing daily, I began to shew them the unacceptableness of their psalmody to God, yea, the odiousness of it to God's infinite purity, except their hearts and lives were upright before him. Whereupon, after sundry exhortations, and serious deliberation, they readily submitted to the rules of a religious society; and they have been careful observers of them. By these means a general reviving of piety, and a solemn observance of the public ordinances, have been, through God's blessing, produced amongst us. So that a considerable number of young people are carefully catechised, and by many pious books given to them, encouraged to fear God betimes; and by them many prudent ways are made use of to promote an effectual reformation of manners: and, to the joy of all pious souls, our shepherds, plowmen, and other labourers, at their work, perfume the air with the melodious singing of Psalms, to the praise of the great Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier of men." Thus far that minister.

Other societies of this nature have been both formerly and lately formed in various parts of this nation, and even as far as Dublin in Ireland; where from three or four persons with which they began, they are now increased to nine or ten societies, containing about three hun-

dred persons. And they find such encouragement there from the pious archbishop, and from several divines, and other considerable persons, that they have been a means of reviving a great sense of religion in many of the inhabitants of that city, and have begun a very hopeful reformation of manners among them; the archbishop having signed his approbation of their Orders, which are copied from those in London. And indeed all these good effects were occasioned by the examples of the London societies, and by the removing of some few of the London associates to Dublin.

We hear also from divers parts abroad, of the laudable proficiency of religion and good learning in the newly erected university of Hall in Saxony; proceeding chiefly from the pious conduct and indefatigable labours of their professor, Dr. Franck, who, besides his wonderful pains in the *Paedagogium*, or school, where youth of all ranks are carefully taught, and his inspection of a vast hospital of poor children, does also take a very particular care of the students in divinity. And by his lectures, conferences, and argumentations, demonstrates it to them, that their way to become eminent divines, is to apply themselves in the strongest efforts of faith and prayer to him, "In whom are hidden all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge;" together with the most humble and serious application of mind to the sacred oracles, in order to the perfect knowledge of the will of the Lord, before they assume the character of his ambassadors. And that when they have attained the experimental knowledge of God in the Lord Jesus Christ, through his grace, and have perceived the efficacy of his Holy Spirit in their own conversion and renovation, they will be best able to exercise a pastoral care over the souls of others. And to this purpose, in a lecture of his, *De Abusibus Studii Theologici*, he shewed them the mistake of those who seek the name of great divines, by canvassing impertinent notions and opinions, rather than endeavouring to attain that blessed communion with God, through faith in our divine Mediator, which (if St. Paul had a true notion and taste of these things) is to be preferred before all other acquirements in the world. And, finally, that a sound, practical sermon, sensibly and experimentally pressed on the consciences of men, would be of greater use to the hearers, and more honour and comfort to the preacher, than all the flourishing harangues of wit, and the elaborate ornaments of human rhetoric; though too many young divines seem to forget or undervalue the former, in the eager pursuit of the latter. And by these his theological institutions and ascetics, this reverend professor has been instrumental in training up many learned and useful men; and is frequently addressed by persons of quality and others, to supply them with chaplains, pastors, and school-masters, out of those who have had the advantage of being educated under his inspection.

I am informed that some particular methods, which have been very serviceable to religion, have likewise been endeavoured by several worthy persons in our universities of Oxford and Cambridge. There can be no doubt but that the efforts of these famous universities, to retrieve the primitive vigour of our religion, would excel all that has been at-

ready done of the like tendency by others. And truly we have reason to hope, that all serious endeavours of this nature, by all persons whatsoever, are likely to be blest with greater success than can at first be apprehended; if we consider what has been already done by our religious societies, consisting for the most part of persons in the most private station and condition of life; the account of which will be the subject of the next chapter.

*They long for a legal Suppression of Profaneness and Immorality.— Providence gives them Direction and Encouragement.— Their Zeal and Resolution.— The House-keepers in the Tower Hamlets assist them.— Their Success in suppressing Lewdness, Sabbath-breaking, Drunkenness.— The Society for promoting Christian Knowledge begun in the Year 1699.— The Society for the Propagation of the Christian Religion in foreign Parts.— Conferences of Ministers on Methods of advancing the Interests of Religion.— Happy Fruits of the Societies for Reformation.— In Dublin, &c.— Their Manner of sending Relief to the Poor and the Sick.— The good Effects of it as to their spiritual as well as temporal Welfare.*

[ From Chapter 4. ]

AS our sober young men found great joy in the serious application of their souls to religious matters, and in the society of those who joined with them in it; so were they not a little grieved, from day to day, by the profane and filthy conversations of such as proclaimed their contempt of God and religion in the open streets. And therefore they longed in their minds for a legal suppression of these scandalous enormities; of which they complained often one to another, and much lamented them in their prayers to God.

And since the magistrate cannot punish a transgressor with righteousness, but upon due conviction; and, whereas few are so rash as to trespass before the face of a righteous magistrate, it is absolutely necessary, in order to suppress public sin, that such persons, before whom the illegal fact is done, take care to inform the magistrate of it. For the execution of justice depends as much upon the proof of the matter of fact, as upon the execution of the penalty of the law: and where either the informer or the magistrate fails in his respective duty, justice is obstructed, the efficacy of the law nulled, iniquity cherished, and the wrath of God provoked. For if none give evidence against a transgressor, none can be punished, and all penal laws are vain. Besides, it is one great design of the temporal punishments of vice, by the laws of God and men, to render it ignominious, and to bring shame upon the committers of it, as an admonition to others, “that all may hear and fear, and do no more any such wickedness.” Now this way of discountenancing vice is utterly lost, where such penal laws are not put in execution: and the contrary takes place, namely, the transgressor grows impudent, and comes to glory in his shame; and hereby the community is apt to mistake the nature of vice, and to admire it.



Our associated young men had due convictions of these things, and were sensible that it must needs be as great a piece of charity to bring a profane person, by light and temporary punishments, to shun eternal torment, as to bind the hands of such distracted people as would otherwise tear their own flesh, and be their own murderers. And therefore they were ready to do all that became them in their places to check those public and scandalous sins, which were become very insolent in this city, and indeed very crying. They only wanted some directions to manage this affair in a due manner, according to the law, and to be countenanced by some magistrate in a work so proper to his office, and so worthy of his regard. And it was not long before a singular providence of God gave them a favourable opportunity to express their zeal for his name in this matter.

For, about this time four or five gentlemen of the church of England (whose names deserve to be had in perpetual esteem, though I have not their leave to publish them here) falling into serious discourse upon the melancholy subject of the iniquity of the times, came at last to a most brave and generous resolution, to do all that they possibly could, by the authority of our laws, to chastise and suppress those impudent vices and impieties which they saw very provoking in the sight of God, and very grievous to the spirits of all good men. And forasmuch as some of these gentlemen had made the knowledge of our laws their study, they collected an abstract of our penal laws against vice and profaneness, and drew up such prudential rules, as are fit for the legal conviction and prosecution of such as offend against them. And having (in the year 1691.) by the motion of Dr. Stillingfleet, then bishop of Worcester, obtained the queen's pious letter to the justices of peace, to act as it became their post in this important affair; and the justices having made a very good order thereupon, and the lord mayor and aldermen doing the like: these gentlemen caused copies of all these to be printed, and to be sent all over the kingdom, at their own great expence, and lodged blank warrants in many hands all over the city, for the ease of informers, and other persons concerned; with many other excellent expedients to further a general reformation, which surely is the best of works. Of this one of our pious bishops has given an account to the world, to the just honour of these worthy gentlemen, and to the shame of such as have reproached and opposed their righteous and religious undertaking. Now, this fell in very fitly with the disposition of our societies, who thereupon formed themselves into two considerable bodies, for information against public enormities; the one in London, the other in Westminster, the better to advance this work in all parts, according to their respective places of abode. And thereupon they gave punctual information to some magistrate or other, of those public acts of debauchery and profaneness which they observed to be committed by persons hardened in their sins; still keeping to the rule of the law, and the directions subservient thereunto, which these gentlemen had given them. And as these prudential methods testified the unblameableness of their conduct before men, they also laboured to approve themselves to the all-seeing God, by the exercise of the following

duties, viz. 1. Christian poverty of spirit, in the sense of their own impurity and imperfection. 2. A disinterested mind, wholly renouncing all carnal ends. 3. Habitual prayer to God, with a courageous and unwearied pursuit of such things as are agreeable to his will, and subservient to his glory. 4. Unfeigned charity towards all men; especially to their souls and spiritual welfare. 5. Quiet resignation to the providence of God in all events. I found all these particulars written in a paper which they privately communicated one to the other. These were good and useful preparations, for that which they afterwards suffered on the account of their endeavours to suppress the scandalous vices and impieties of those times. For, wickedness being at that time insolent, and unused to restraint, these persons met with very outrageous resentments, and with bitter reproaches and threats from the passionate lovers of vice. Yea, they often ran the hazard of their lives in the prosecution of this design; which they underwent with Christian courage, being supported, under God, by several of our worthy bishops and pious divines, who told them, That if any of them suffered in so divine a work, rightly principled and justly ordered, they would very much resemble the martyrs and confessors of Christ, and receive the reward of it in the other world. And in this respect, the bishop of Gloucester, and those worthy divines, Dr. Horneck, Dr. Jekyl, and Mr. Edward Stephens, have most eminently signalized their zeal for their Great Master and his work.

And whereas our young men found it very often objected in common discourse, that they were only a few raw youths that engaged in this work, which seemed particularly to exasperate the persons prosecuted by them; they greatly wished for the concurrence of some grave and elderly persons, to countenance and inspirit them in this difficult enterprize. To this our good God, who would not suffer this excellent work, undertaken purely for his sake, to drop, was pleased, by his good providence, to administer a very seasonable support. For it fell out about this time, that the good service of several men, most of them house-keepers in the Tower hamlets, came to be known, which was begun on this occasion. The inhabitants of those hamlets being much perplexed by pilfering people, pick-locks, house-breakers, and such ill persons; some of them began to inquire into the places which were suspected to harbour that sort of people. And by tracing out their places of resort, they soon dived into the true source of their grievances; namely, that these vicious persons living in shameful lewdness and idleness, and having no income by trade or estate to maintain them in it, they betook themselves to robbery, shop-lifting, burglary, and picking of locks and pockets, to maintain their expensive lusts and lewd companions.

Upon this, some of the sober inhabitants of these hamlets set themselves, with great concern, and undaunted courage, to pull down the very nests of these disorders. They got warrants for search, and brought all suspected persons to clear themselves in a legal way; and where it was requisite, they demanded security for their good behaviour. And whereas some of those who engaged in this work were of the public

communion, and others of different persuasions, their lesser differences in matters of religion did not in the least divide them in prosecuting of these things, which they saw were directly contrary to all religion. And such as did not act personally in this affair, yet perceiving the good that came of it, were inclined to contribute towards it. But there were some things wanting in this undertaking, in the defect of which it was much retarded, and had like to have sunk. The one was, a methodical way of proceeding, for want of which their endeavours were neither so orderly, nor so effectual as they afterwards proved. They also wanted a more compact incorporation of their members into one society or body, which might be moved and guided by the same prudential methods as if they all proceeded from the same soul. And lastly, their fund was low, and insufficient to defray the expence. Our aforesaid societies for giving of informations having considered these circumstances, and having admired the zeal and courage of those honest and excellent men in these hamlets, and having observed how well they suited to make up what themselves wanted in years and experience, they resolved to concur with them, that their united forces might be the more victorious. And now their resolved work went on with happy success, the one emulating and pushing on the other. And in all cases they acted regularly, and in conformity to the rules approved by the learned in the law. They were instrumental in putting down several open markets that had been kept on the Lord's-day; and in suppressing some hundreds of houses of ill fame, bringing the frequenters of them to due shame and punishment. And by the means of this society alone, above two thousand persons have been legally prosecuted and convicted; and the names of these delinquents are set down in the black lists which they have printed. All which have been sentenced by the magistrates as the law directs, and have accordingly been punished. Besides this, the members of this society have legally convicted multitudes of notorious swearers, sabbath-breakers, and drunkards: and their proceedings in all these cases have been so strictly legal and unblameable, that they have for many years past received great countenance in the several courts of judicature; and have found very considerable encouragement from the lord mayor and court of aldermen, who have honourably contributed towards the necessary expence of so great and useful an undertaking. But yet these endeavours of so general a good did not proceed without many a rub; if they had, it would have been the first time that virtue had been advanced with ease and smoothness. We must have concluded, that either virtue or vice had lost its nature, if the one could supplant and dethrone the other without passionate opposition: yea, we might have thought that the devil had lost his envy to the good of mankind, or that all the legions of the infernal pit had been cast into a deep sleep, should they have suffered such a brave onset to be made upon the territories of darkness, without exerting all the power and interest they had, to oppose it. It was therefore no wonder at all, that the undertakers of this work met with many difficulties to struggle with in the prosecution of it. In truth, they experienced not only the rude assaults of licentious debauchees, which they expected;

but too often the brow-beatings and discouragements of such as were bound, by the awful bond of an oath, and the divine trust of authority, to do otherwise; which was the more difficult to bear.

But there was great hope of a full redress to this grievance, when there came forth a pious proclamation from their majesties, January 1691, "Requiring all magistrates, ecclesiastical and civil, in their respective stations, to execute the laws of this realm against profaneness and immorality, as they would answer it to almighty God, and upon pain of their majesties highest displeasure; complaining also (most justly) that by a long continued neglect and connivance of the magistrates and officers concerned, these dissolute enormities had universally spread themselves, to the dishonour of God, and the scandal of our holy religion, &c." This proclamation was occasioned by the pious address of our archbishops and bishops to their majesties, as the preamble of it declares. And since this did not fully accomplish its end, it was followed (May 16th, 1693.) by a personal excitation of the justices of Middlesex, to further this work with vigour, by the lord keeper, in a speech made to them to that purpose, by her majesty's special command: and partly by these supports, but chiefly by the good hand of God upon it, this enterprize has gained ground, notwithstanding the many ill turns that have been done it.

Insomuch that there are now near twenty societies, of various qualities and functions, formed in a subordination and correspondency one with another, and engaged in this Christian design, in and about this city and suburbs: all which have their set hours and places of meeting, to direct, support, and execute this their undertaking. In this number of the societies for reformation here given, I do not include any of the forty religious societies before-mentioned. For though they all agree in the promotion of virtue, and opposition of vice, yet their first and more direct design of association seems to be distinguished thus: in that the societies for reformation bent their utmost endeavours from the first to suppress public vice; whilst the religious societies endeavoured chiefly to promote a due sense of religion in their own breasts, though they have since been eminently instrumental in the public reformation.

And here, as I pass, I cannot but take notice, with great thankfulness to God, of a very honourable and beneficial society, erected in the year 1699, in this city, by which the promoting of Christian knowledge is vigorously endeavoured, which seems to fill up all that could be thought deficient in the methods that were before set on foot, in order to the general amendment of the lives and manners of men. For, whilst the societies for reformation pluck up the weeds, and prepare the ground, this sows the good seed; and the religious societies carry on both these excellent works amongst our youth, which is the proper season for it, and the direct way to make the next generation more virtuous and more happy. And that the whole world might partake of these great advantages, a society was erected by charter, at the latter end of the reign of king William the third, for the propagation of the Christian religion in foreign parts; in which many thousands of pounds have been expended with great advantage. These extraordinary efforts against ignorance

and impiety, vice and infidelity, seem to preface a much better state of the Christian religion than hath appeared in many generations past; which God Almighty grant, for the sake of Jesus Christ! In the society for promoting Christian knowledge, which I was before describing, there are several persons engaged that are of eminent rank in church and state; and many, who are for the societies for reformation, who have fixed a most useful correspondence abroad with other protestant churches, and do very bountifully contribute towards the education of poor children, the supplying of poor families with books of piety and devotion, and towards the advancing of religion in our plantations. And from the great advantages which have been already reaped from the transactions of this society, it cannot but be the wish of such as understand, and desire to promote, the interest of the reformed churches, that in all Protestant states a like society were regularly established, in order to an amicable and intimate correspondence, which would directly countermine the politicks of our Popish adversaries; and would tend to invigorate the practice of the blessed gospel, by their mutual assistance and advice in the concerns of religion, and by producing Christian charity, love, and agreement, one with another, which would exceedingly advance the essential interests of the church of Christ in general, and happily defeat very much of the devil's malice against it.

Great advantages have also been reaped from the monthly conferences of the parochial clergy, in divers parts of this kingdom, pursuant to the directions of our most reverend primate, in his circular letter, April 6th, 1699; in the fourth page of which we have this most excellent advice: "It were to be wished, that the clergy of every neighbourhood would agree upon frequent meetings, to consult for the good of religion in general, and to advise with one another about any difficulties that may happen in their respective cures; as, by what methods any evil custom may most easily be broken; how a sinner may most effectually be reclaimed; and, in general, how each of them, in their several circumstances, may contribute most to the advancement of religion." In the pursuit of these noble and blessed ends, many of the parochial clergy in the counties of Bedford, Nottingham, Lincoln, and many other places, have held monthly consultations, to treat of such matters as might render their labours more effectual in their respective cures. In order to which, in many places they contribute towards the buying of books of plain instruction, and of necessary devotion, for poor families; the small books being given, and the bigger ones lent. Towards which charitable work, divers well-disposed persons of the laity do readily contribute; there being scarce any piece of charity of such inestimable benefit, that is of so moderate an expence: due care being always taken, that no occasion be hereby administered to unnecessary dispute or controversy, but to the edifying of the whole body of Christ in love. And through these pious dispositions of the clergy, monthly lectures have been set up in divers places, with the leave of their diocesans; tending chiefly to the suppression of vice and immorality, and to raise the conversation of Christians to the heavenly temper of their holy faith: and after the sermon the neighbouring minis-

ters retire into the vestry, or to some other convenient private house, to confer and act as aforesaid.

But, to return to our societies, their honest endeavours to stop the wide mouth of our crying sins, have, by the blessing of God, so far succeeded, that the impudence of lewd women, and the blasphemies of licentious tongues, are manifestly abated in our streets, and the works of darkness seem to be retiring to their proper scene, the obscurest corners that can be found, as most remote from human observation and punishment. But the banishment of vice from the public view is not the only good that has been done even by these legal prosecutions, (though that is most highly valuable, as it takes away public scandals and temptations) but there have been many instances of persons apprehended in ill houses and company, who having something of *mo esty* and tendernefs remaining, have been alarmed out of this ill way of life, and have afterwards acknowledged the mercy of God, and the clarity of men, in pulling them as fire-brands out of the fire. It would also tend to allay the passionate resentments of such as fall under the magistrates discipline, if they did but foresee the invaluable kindness of stopping their way, though with thorns, to prevent their running into the infernal pit. O! that men had faith to make a due estimate of the certain and necessary consequences of these things, which a few moments will exemplify upon every soul of us, in eternal bliss or torment.

It was the deep sense of these great things which first engaged the hearts and hands of those few pious gentlemen in this most noble work, who do not now (blessed be God) act alone in it. Several other gentlemen, and eminent citizens, are now incorporated with them; and they meet frequently to superintend, direct, and pursue this best of works; consulting the best and most advisable methods to carry it on, spending a great deal of time weekly, and sometimes daily, in it, and furthering it by very large and honourable contributions. And by these means, many thousands of vicious and profane persons have been brought to just punishment; to which the late excellent law against profane swearing and cursing has been very serviceable; and were it but enlarged in a line or two, to make the work of information easier, it would soon banish the hellish, senseless sin of blasphemy, and other public impieties, out of this nation. This late law against profane swearing has also done good service in the kingdom of Ireland, where it has been vigorously put in execution: concerning which a person of quality writes thus from Dublin, in a letter to his friend in London, October 28th, 1797. "The reformation goes on in this city very vigorously: when we were presented with a thousand warrants against profane swearing, by a gentleman from London, it was thought we should never have needed more; but those have all been put in execution, and we are now printing a third thousand of them more. The last Lord's-day I believe there were eight or nine pounds levied in ale-houses, and above a hundred bakers have paid within this last quarter, for profaning the Lord's-day in the business of their trade, besides taylor, drovers, and others, and bawdy-houses and whores are hunted down with a high hand. Bridewel

is filled with them, and this without any great assistance from the magistracy. Some persons of our societies being put upon the grand jury for the city, do it effectually: ten or twelve lewd women have been taken up in a night, in the houses as well as streets; and this twice or thrice a week. But I must add, however, that this reformation, in every part of it, is beholden to our recorder, who shews more zeal and application to it, than any magistrate in London or Middlesex has done, since I have been acquainted with these matters." There is also a society of this kind in Drogheda, in Manouth, and in Kilkenny; and several divines are endeavouring to plant them in other parts of Ireland. But I return nearer home.

Their manner of disbursing their bounty to sick and distressed people, is such as renders it a double benefit: for they usually send their alms by the hands of two or more of their most serious members, who make a personal inquiry into their necessities, and usually introduce some seasonable discourse, suitable to the affliction of the person or family which they relieve: which many times proves the better charity of the two. For the poor afflicted persons being partly awakened by the rod of God upon them, and being surprized by such a visit and bounty from persons unknown to them, and not a little pleased to hear such savoury speeches drop from the lips of such young persons: all these things together have sometimes been happily instrumental in propagating a sense of religion in some persons, who scarce ever before felt any thing of it; and of exciting it where it had before taken place. So that I have sometimes had greater thanks from some who, upon my recommendation, have enjoyed these spiritual expressions of their charity, compassion, and consolation, than for their other bounty; though they have confessed themselves almost ravished in the consideration of both. It has sometimes pleased God to reduce some of their own members, by sickness, or other means, to a low condition; and then they have duly called to mind the apostolick rule of shewing piety at home; they have afforded them suitable supplies in their sickness and distress, and buried them decently after their decease.

I was once present at one of their conferences, when a poor man came with most earnest affection to return them thanks for what they had done, both for his body and soul. It seems he was a perfect stranger to them all, and to every other person in the place where God cast him down by a sharp and long sickness, in which, as he said, his body and soul had like to have perished together. He had lived a very ill life, and been much refused to the ordinances of God, by reason of his seafaring life: and being now come on shore sick, and being above a hundred miles from his abode and acquaintance, he fell into great want. Upon which some of this society perceiving his distress, recommended him to the rest; and they readily allowed him a weekly pension for eight weeks together, till he was recovered. And one of the society being a surgeon, carefully dressed a very grievous sore which he had; and, by God's blessing, restored it to perfect soundness. Others of them went to him, and read good books by his bed; which tended to the improvement of God's visitation upon him. They also fetched the

minister of the place to him, and got a collection from some charitable neighbours for him. And, upon the whole, he recovered, and seemed to be a reformed man, and came then to render his praises to God, and thanks to his Christian friends. I mention but few of multitudes of such instances. [See the Book.]

### SECTION III.

*Some Accounts printed in the Year 1707, of what was done, and doing, upon the Design of propagating Christian Knowledge in England, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland.—And of the Success of the Societies for Reformation*

[FROM the APPENDIX to the third Edition of PIETAS HALLENSIS, printed at Edinburgh 1707.]

WITHIN the cities of London and Westminster, and within ten miles thereof, there are sixty-four charity-schools, in which there are constantly maintained above fifteen hundred boys, and near one thousand girls. For the support of this charity, there have been voluntary subscriptions amounting to near three thousand pounds a-year.

In other remoter parts of this kingdom, according to the example of this city, there are about one hundred and forty charity-schools of the like nature, wherein about three thousand poor children have been freely taught, and a good part of them clothed, some wholly maintained, and several of them disposed well in the world. Most of this is done by the charitable contribution of the inhabitants.

In Wales, the governor and company of the mine-adventurers of England allow, within two several counties, twenty pounds a-year in each for charity-schools, to instruct the children of the miners and workmen belonging to the said company. In another county, the lord of the manor and freeholders are building a charity-school on the Waste, and enclosing part thereof, which is to be given for ever for teaching the poor children of that lordship. And within other counties some numbers of poor children are taught at the expence of private persons.

In Ireland there is published an account of some charity-schools set up in the city of Dublin, in imitation, as the account expresseth it, of the charity-schools in London.

And there are lately come abroad some proposals concerning the propagating of Christian knowledge in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, and foreign parts of the world, inviting all whose heart God shall incline to subscribe for such sums of their benevolence, as they shall think fit, for the promoting that good design; and, which makes this matter so promising, it is informed, diverse persons have already subscribed for considerable sums; so that there is ground to hope this design shall have good effect, it having pleased God wonderfully to countenance such projects, as appears from the foresaid undertaking of Mr. Franck; and have we not some instances of the like nature nearer at home, in England, in what is before narrated?

As to the success of the societies for reformation of manners erected lately in England, and by their example in divers other nations,



and countries both of Europe and America, it may be found particularly and largely related in a treatise, intitled, *An Account of the Progress of the Reformation of Manners in England, and Scotland, and Ireland, and other parts of Europe and America, with Reasons and Directions for our engaging in this glorious Work*, of which I have seen the fourteenth edition, wherein are related, not only the endeavours of such societies for reformation in England, Scotland, and Ireland, but also in the English plantations in America; and not only in New-England but in Jamaica. And that for propagating this design, the account of these societies hath been translated into the French and Dutch languages, and into Latin. And he giveth an account of divers letters concerning the approbation and imitation of these societies from Switzerland, and from Germany and Denmark, and from Berlin, and from Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and from divers professors of divinity in Leyden and Utrecht. And that there have been transmitted into Sweden, and several other countries, the books of reformation, for promoting of the design in these countries. There also ye have an account of the great good they have done for promoting the sincere practice of religion, by their procuring so many books and papers to be written for the awakening of men to a sense of their sin, and concern for their souls, and giving away, at their own expence, a great number of these books and papers for reformation from drunkenness, swearing, uncleanness, and profaning of the Lord's-day, and such like vices, &c.

#### SECTION IV.

*A short View of the Rise of the three great Societies in England for the Advancement of the Gospel!—And of the Society in Scotland.*

[ From PRINCE'S Christian History, N<sup>o</sup> 56. ]

AT London there are three great companies for the advancement of religion. The first was founded by the English parliament on the 27th of July 1649, established by king Charles II. in 1661, and styled, "The Society for propagation of the gospel in New-England, and the parts adjacent in America." And, as the design is for the propagation of the gospel among the Indians only, this society have all along had their commissioners, for the Indian affairs, at Boston. The second was erected by king William III. on June 16th, 1701, and named, "The Society for the propagation of the gospel in foreign Parts." And their endeavours are for promoting the church of England in the English colonies. The third is called, "The Society for promoting Christian knowledge;" which received their name at the end of 1701. And their design is, 1. To promote and encourage the erecting of charity-schools in all parts of England and Wales. 2. To disperse, both at home and abroad, Bibles and other tracts of religion; and, in general, to advance the honour of God, and the good of mankind, by promoting Christian knowledge, both at home and in other parts of the world, by the best methods that should offer.

[ From ROBE's Monthly History No 5. 1744. ]

AS to the society in Scotland, about the year 1663, when there was a cloud over that church, there were many fellowships (as they were then called) in Edinburgh. These were blessed means of edification and comfort, and keeping up a lively frame both in city and country. But thro' the severe persecution, in the year 1677, or about that time, these fellowships gave up, and were no more heard of. After the revolution several societies set up in the same way, particularly one in 1699, in which there were several honourable gentlemen of weight and distinction. In this capacity they exerted themselves to curb the growing immoralities of the age, and that with success. And laying to heart the deplorable condition of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, thro' ignorance, superstition, and barbarity, they engaged together in a voluntary subscription for a sum of money, to be employed in erecting charity schools. This done, and there appearing some prospect of success, these gentlemen were encouraged to apply to members of parliament, and others in power, that the state of the Highlands, &c. might be considered, and methods proposed for the reformation thereof, if such were authorized by act of parliament: a memorial of these things was published, and sent up and down. The general assembly, in the year 1704, were applied to, who recommended a collection for this purpose. Other pious and charitable persons were spoke to, to contribute, and, in 1707, the assembly appointed a select committee to meet with the worthy gentlemen on their project. They had many meetings, and at last printed a paper, entituled, *Proposals concerning propagating Christian Knowledge in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, and foreign Parts of the World*. The design, thus published, several contributed liberally thereto. Many of the nobility took it by the hand; a royal proclamation was emitted recommending it; and, in the year 1709, royal letters patent were obtained, establishing a society for propagating Christian knowledge, which first convened at Edinburgh, Thursday the 3d of November 1709; which society do maintain schools, at which are educated and instructed in Christian principles, upwards of 5000 scholars, according to the annual reports of visitations certified by the presbyteries. With respect to their management, it may be observed in the general, that never any public design was managed in a more honest and disinterested manner, than this is, and always has been, now for a long tract of years. [See Principal Smith's Sermon.] The first projectors thereof, now with God, will be had in everlasting remembrance. Of their number were the right honourable lord Grosrig, lord Cullen, lord Newhall, Sir James Stewart lord advocate, Mr. Robert Alexander, one of the principal clerks of session, Mr. William Brodie, one of the commissaries of Edinburgh, colonel John Eriking of Carnock, and Nicol Spence, late agent for the church, &c.

## C H A P. VI.

*Some particular Persons remarkable for their Zeal and Charity in propagating Christian Knowledge.* 1. Gouge. 2. Boyle. 3. Junius. 4. Winslow. 5. Brand.

[ From Gouge's Life prefixed to his Works, Glasgow 1751. ]

1. **M**R. THOMAS GOUGE. He was minister at St. Sepulchres in London, eldest son to Dr. William Gouge. That which, of all other graces shone brightest in him, and was his most proper and peculiar character, was his chearful and unwearied diligence in acts of pious charity. He had a singular sagacity and prudence in devising the most effectual ways of doing good, and in managing and disposing his charity to the best purposes, and to the greatest extent; always, if it were possible, making it to serve some good end of piety and religion, as the instruction of poor children in the principles of religion; and furnishing grown persons that were ignorant, with the Bible, and other good books; strictly obliging those to whom he gave them, to a diligent reading of them, and when he had opportunity, exacting of them an account how they had profited by them. In his occasional alms to the poor, in which he was very free and bountiful, the relief he gave them, was always mingled with good counsel, and as great a tenderness and compassion for their souls as for their bodies; which very often attained the good effect it was likely to have, the one making way for the other. Another instance of his remarkable zeal and charity in propagating religion, was when he was ejected or silenced from preaching in the year 1662, and had quitted his living of St. Sepulchres, upon dissatisfaction about the terms of conformity. He then having a compassion for those parts of Wales, which were distressed with ignorance, and wanted means of knowledge, made a journey into South Wales; and in every town where he came, he enquired what poor people there were, that had any children, whom they were willing to have taught English, and to read and write, and to learn the catechism; and where he met with a competent number, he enquired for fit persons to instruct them; a man for the boys, and a woman for the girls; and agreed with them for a penny, or two-pence a week, which he undertook to pay.

Mr. Edmund Calamy saith, " When he had lost much by the fire, and had settled his children, and had his wife taken from him by death, he had but about one hundred and fifty pounds a year left, and he gave a hundred of it to charitable uses. It was his daily work to do all the good he could, with as great diligence and constancy, as other men labour at their trades. He visited the poor, and stirred up the rich in whom he had any interest, to devote at least the tenth part of their estates to works of charity.—Dr. Owen saith, " That he was a person eminently suited unto that work he was called unto. For whereas he was deprived of all outward advantages (as well as many others) not only of encreasing his wealth in the world, but of ordinary supplies for himself, and family, beyond his peculiar patrimony, he abundantly manifested

himself to have lived in the faith of that truth, which he endeavoured to implant in the minds and consciences of others, and did but invite men unto the same belief and practice with himself."——Dr. Manton saith, "That he was a meet advocate for so good a cause, for we willingly hear every man in his own faculty, none so fit to exhort others to charity, as those that are eminently charitable themselves. When he was between sixty and seventy years old, he used to travel into Wales, and disperse what money he could spare himself, or collect from others, among the poor persecuted ministers there. He settled in the chief towns of Wales a great many schools, to the number of three or four hundred, for women to teach children to read, having himself undertaken to pay them for many hundred children. He preached in Wales till they drove him from place to place by persecution. He went constantly to the parish churches, and sometimes communicated with them; and was authorized by an old university-license, to preach occasionally; and yet for so doing, was excommunicated even in Wales, and that while he was doing all this good."

For about nine or ten years before his death, he did almost wholly apply his charity to Wales, because there he judged was most occasion for it: and, because this was a very great work, he did not only lay out upon it whatever he could spare out of his own estate, but employed his whole time and pains to excite and engage the charity of others for his assistance in it. And in this he had two excellent designs: one, to have poor children brought up to read, and to be carefully instructed in the principles of religion; the other, to furnish persons of grown age, the poor especially, with the necessary helps and means of knowledge, as the Bible, and other books of piety and devotion, in their own language; to which end he procured the Church Catechism, the Practice of Piety, and the Whole Duty of Man; besides several other pious and useful books, some of them to be translated into the Welch tongue; and great numbers of them all, to be printed, and sent down to the chief towns in Wales, to be sold at easy rates to those that were able to buy them, and to be freely given to those that were not. And in both these designs, through the blessing of God upon his unwearied endeavours, he found very great success, for, by the large and bountiful contributions, which chiefly by his industry and prudent application, were obtained from charitable persons of all ranks and conditions, from the nobility and gentry of Wales, and the neighbouring counties, and several of that quality in and about London; and from that perpetual fountain of charity the city of London, led on and encouraged by the most bountiful example of the right honourable the lord mayor, and the court of aldermen; to all which he constantly added two thirds of his own estate: I say, by all these together, there were every year eight hundred, sometimes a thousand poor children educated, and by this example, several of the most considerable towns of Wales were excited to bring up at their own charge the like number of poor children in the like manner, and under his inspection and care. He likewise gave very great numbers of the books above-mentioned, both in the Welch and English tongues, to the poorer sort, so many as were

unable to buy them, and willing to read them. But, which was the greatest work of all, and amounted indeed to a mighty charge, he procured a new and very fair impression of the Bible in the Welch tongue, to the number of eight thousand, one thousand whereof were freely given to the poor; and the rest were sent to the principal cities and towns in Wales, to be sold to the rich at very reasonable and low rates. A work of that charge, that it was not likely to have been done any other way: and for which this age, and perhaps the next, will have great cause to thank God on his behalf. He was used to say often with pleasure, "That he had two livings, which he would not exchange for two of the greatest in England, meaning Wales, where he used to travel every year to spread knowledge, piety, and charity; and Christ's Hospital, where he used freely to catechize the poor children, in order to the well laying the foundations of religion in them in their tender years."

I shall here subjoin an account of his charities in Wales for one year, by which some judgment may be made, as to the rest. It was in the year 1674, before his excellent impression of the Bible, in the Welch tongue; it was printed about that time in a single sheet, which is apt to be lost: whereas it is pity, but it should be preserved to posterity: it was in these words, "An Account of what hath been done in Wales this last Year, from Midsummer 1674, to March 25th, 1675, in pursuance of the above trust, upon the encouragement of divers worthy persons, to this pious and charitable design. 1. In fifty-one of the chief towns of Wales, eight hundred and twelve poor children have been, and are put to school, to learn English over and above the five hundred put to school the last year by the charity of others, before this trust began. 2. There have been bought and distributed in several families, thirty-two Welch Bibles, which were all that could be had in Wales or London. 3. There were two hundred and forty New Testaments in Welch, to be given away to poor people, that can read Welch. 4. And five hundred Whole Duties of Man in Welch to be distributed in like manner. All which pious and charitable undertaking, hath already provoked divers of the better sort of the Welch, to put above five hundred of the poorest Welch children to school, upon their account. So that about one thousand eight hundred and fifty in all, are already put to school to learn to read English: attested by us

Matthew Pool,	Thomas Firmin,	Thomas Gouge,
William Durham,	Edward Stillingfleet,	John Merison,
John Tillotson,	Benjamin Whitchot,	Simon Ford.

In these good works, he employed all his time and care, and pains, and his whole heart was in them, so that he was very little affected with any thing else. And the good success he had was a continual feast to him; and gave him a perpetual serenity both of mind and countenance. His great love and zeal for this work made all the pains and difficulties of it seem nothing to him: he would rise early and sit up late, and continued in the same diligence and industry to the last, though he was in the threescore and seventeenth year of his age. And, that he might manage the distribution of his great charity with his own hands, and see

the good effects of it with his own eyes, he always once, but usually twice a year, at his own charge travelled over a great part of Wales: so that all things considered, there have not, since the primitive times, been many to whom that glorious character of the Son of God might be better applied, than "he went about doing good."

[ FROM BURNET'S SERMONS.]

2. The Honourable ROBERT BOYLE. It appeared to those, who conversed most with him in his enquiries into nature, that his main design in that, on which as he had his own eye most constantly, so he took care to put others often in mind of it, was to raise in himself and others vast thoughts of the greatness and glory, and of the wisdom and goodness of God. This was so deep in his thoughts, that he concludes the article of his will which relates to that illustrious body, the royal society, in these words, "wishing them also a happy success in their laudable attempts, to discover the true nature of the works of God; and praying that they and all other searchers into physical truths, may cordially refer their attainments to the glory of the great author of nature, and to the comfort of mankind." As he was a very devout worshipper of God, so he was a no less devout Christian. He thought pure and disinterested Christianity was so bright and so glorious a thing, that he was much troubled at the disputes and divisions which had arisen about some lesser matters, while the great and the most important, as well as the most universally acknowledged truths were by all sides almost as generally neglected as they were confessed. He had therefore designed, though some accidents did, upon great considerations, divert him from settling it during his life, but not from ordering it by his will, that a liberal provision should be made for one, who should in a very few well digested sermons, every year, set forth the truth of the Christian religion in general, without descending to the sub-divisions among Christians, and who should be changed every third year, that so this noble study and employment might pass through many hands, by which means many might become masters of the argument. He was at the charge of the translation and impression of the New-Testament into the Malayan language, which he sent over all the East-Indies. He gave a noble reward to him that translated Grotius's book of the Truth of the Christian religion into Arabick, and was at the charge of a whole impression, which he took care to order to be scattered in all the countries where that language is understood. He was resolved to have carried on the impression of the New-Testament in the Turkish language, but the company thought it became them to be the doers of it, and so suffered him only to give a large share towards it. He was at 700 l. charge in the edition of the Irish Bible, which he ordered to be distributed in Ireland; and he contributed liberally both to the impressions of the Welch Bible, and of the Irish Bible for Scotland. He gave during his life 300 l. to advance the design of propagating the Christian Religion in America, and as soon as he heard the East-India company were entertaining propositions for the like design in the East, he presently sent 100 l. for a

beginning and an example, but intended to carry it much farther, when it should be set on foot to purpose.

[ From TURNER'S Remarkable Providences, Part i. chap. 62. ]

*For the East-Indians, in the Isle Formosa near China.*

3. MR. ROBERT JUNIUS, late of Delph in Holland, was nominated by the honoured and pious senate, of the famous expedition of the united provinces, for the conversion of the Eastern Indians, and particularly in Formosa: who accordingly undertook the charge, went over to the place, bestowed much pains in laying the ground-work, and principles of religion amongst them; so that of persons grown up (adult) in the isle of Formosa 5900 of both sexes, gave up their names to Christ; and professing their faith, and giving fit answers to questions propounded out of the word of God, were baptized by him. He set up school-masters to instruct others, and gained six hundred scholars to read; collected the chief heads of religion, and composed several prayers, and translated certain Psalms into the Formosan language. This in the Northern parts mostly: but in the Southern also he planted churches in three and twenty towns, and promoted the worship of the true God. At last having set divers pastors over them, being grown weak and unserviceable in body, and desirous to see his aged mother, and native country, he returned home again. This narration is published in Latin, by Casp. Sebellius, and prefixed to his book called *Antidotum Ambitionis*, and attested by several others. See the narrative published at London 1650.

*For the Indians in New-England.*

4. MR. WINSLOW, in several relations gives the following account as to the Indians in New-England. First time, Octob. 28th, 1646. Four of us (saith he) having sought God went according to appointment to the wigwam (or tent made of boughs and mats) of Waaubon (an Indian governor) who had given up his eldest son before, to be educated by the English in the knowledge of God; where we found many Indians gathered together from all quarters, to learn of us the knowledge of God. We preached in the Indian tongue above an hour; the Indians attended very diligently, professing they understood all that was taught them. Then we propounded questions, and desired them to propound questions to us: which they did. 1. *Quest.* How may we come to know Jesus Christ? 2. *Quest.* Whether God, or Jesus Christ did understand Indian prayers? 3. *Quest.* Whether Englishmen were at any time so ignorant of God and Jesus, as they? These questions being answered, and we demanding if they were weary? They answering no: a time was agreed upon, for our coming again.

The second time, Nov. 11th, 1646, meeting again at Waaubon's wigwam, we found more Indians than at the first. After prayer, we asked them three questions, which were thus answered. 1. *Quest.* Who

made you and all the world? *Ans.* God. 2. *Quest.* Who do you look should save you from sin and hell? *Ans.* Jesus Christ. 3. *Quest.* How many commandments? *Ans.* Ten. After this we preached of God, Christ, sin, punishment of sin, God's now offering salvation unto them, with which some were much affected; one wept much. They propounded questions to us. 1. An old man asked, Is it not too late, for one so old as I am, to repent? 2. Seeing we all come from one father, how came the English to know God more than we? 3. How may we come to serve God? 4. If a man have stolen, and restored again, and was not punished by the Sachim (Indian governor) what then? *Ans.* God's anger burns like fire against all such sins, but if he fly to God's mercy in Christ, and repent, God will forgive him. Upon this the man drew back, hung down his head, as smitten at the heart, and his eyes ready to drop, saying, "Me little know Jesus Christ, else I should seek him better."

Third time, Nov. 26th, 1646. We met again, found more wigwams built. The preacher hearing that other Indians had discouraged these, he encouraged them. The same week one Wimpas, a sage Indian, with two stout young men, brought his son, and three other Indian children, to be taught English, and the knowledge of God; the two young men offering their service for the like end; and certifying, that the old man, (who had asked, if such a one could be saved) his wife, and one of his six sons (who were Pawaws) were resolved to hear the word, and seek to the devil no more<sup>a</sup>.

[ From the same Author. ]

5. The rev. Mr. BRAND. Dr. Annesly<sup>b</sup> (whose non-such zeal in promoting the gospel has been so successful in this part of the world) gives the following account of him in the narrative of his life, wherein he seems to have been actuated by a double portion of the same Spirit, whilst he writes the story of his friend. He tells us, his zeal for promoting the gospel was so extensive, that, besides his constant weekly catechizing where he resided, he promoted the constancy of it in all schools and places to which he was a benefactor; and engaged all ministers, to whose support he contributed, to be diligent in it, often examining the conduct and success of those he trusted with it. And besides these, again, he hired several other persons in distant places to catechize children, and all others willing to be instructed; and once a-month, or oftner, rode to visit and catechize them himself, and to encourage them to do well; and especially those who were old, and yet ignorant, and therefore ashamed to come to frequent those exercises, he gave them books or money, according to their quality: and to allure masters and parents to send their children or servants, he would also present them with books curiously bound and gilt; and to such as were poor, he would give more money than they could earn in the time spent in learning. His discourse with parents and masters themselves was catechistical, and yet not disparaging; all his questions to all sorts

<sup>a</sup> See also of Eliot, and the Mayhew's Book iii. chap. 3. Sect. 2. and 3.

<sup>b</sup> See Book iii. Chap. 1. Sect. 5.



so instructively worded, that they could not miss a right answer, and his whole method charming and welcome in families, schools, and public assemblies, to both old and young, ignorant and knowing. He exhorted all he came near to become catechists, or catechumens. He gave away many thousands of catechisms, and many hundreds with expositions, not only of those of the Assembly's, but very many of Dr. Comber's, and of Mr. Thomas Adam's *Principles of Christian Religion, cleared and confirmed by the Articles and Homilies*: neither would he be quiet 'till he made his disciples thoroughly understand the points he put them to. In short, our author says, his heart was on his exercise living and dying; and that he never knew any one so painful, and at such care and cost about it, as he.

He dispersed incredible numbers of the most practical, pious sorts of books, not only of small, but considerable price, viz. some thousands, if not ten thousands, of catechisms, many with expositions, some thousands of Shepherd's *Sincere Convert*, R. Allein's *Vindiciæ Pietatis*, Mr. Joseph Allein, *Of Conversion*, several of Mr. Baxter's works, as his *Call to the Unconverted*, his *Now or Never*, his *Saint's Rest*, &c. Particularly he and some others, of whom he was chief, having agreed for an impression of twenty thousand of Mr. Joseph Allein's book *Of Conversion*, he paid down fifty pounds himself, as earnest, for the printing and dispersing them through England and Wales; and afterwards procured an impression of twenty thousand more, to be sold at under rates. He also disposed some writings of Conformists, viz. Pink's *Trial of sincere Love to Christ*, Caley *Of Eternity*, Wade *Of Redemption of Time*, Dent's *Plain Man's Path-Way to Heaven*, Scudder's *Daily Walk*, Reiner's *Precepts*, &c. also, Fox's *Martyrs* in three volumes, and Charnock's *Works* in two volumes, several annotations and commentaries on the scriptures, and several libraries to young students, and candidates for the ministry. Above all, his care and policy was to disperse Bibles, by giving away, perhaps some thousands; and when he found some were so tender of charging him with such gifts, that they had rather be without, he contrived between his friends and himself to distribute them at one shilling and sixpence a-piece, on condition not to sell them again; by which means he caught many that refused them gratis, and returned some money towards buying more: and he not only gave such books to assist the poor, but to allure and oblige the rich, he presented them also with books most proper for them richly bound, to make them the more acceptable. In a word, all houses and places wherever he came, or could send, were stored with pious books, where they would accept them; and he never made a journey, but in every inn, or other place, where he lodged or stopt, he employed all the little time he had, and all opportunities he could find, to fasten good counsel, or good books, or both, on all he met with, of what condition soever; of which our author gives several instances in page 60, &c. to 65. To sum up his charitable expences, a notable, prying, intelligent person, who lived some years in the same house with him, affirms, that to his knowledge, he spent above three hundred pounds a-year that way, besides what he could not find out, which could not but be very considerable,

besides the many large charities he continually procured from others, which no man was more successful in doing, even from the most covetous persons: he sometimes using to say, He would not sell his estate, because entailed, but he would squeeze it as long as he lived; and that he would accept of no man's estate, if he must be tied from using it on spiritual accounts: and he would often pity the condition of wicked rich men. In fine, his zeal for doing good was such, he could as soon cease to live, as cease to attempt it, there being one place where he was contriving to settle a minister, notwithstanding his weakness, when he died. Such was the life, and such the exit of this godly man. The author applies the whole with the same counsel to the reader that our Saviour gave to the Jewish Scribe: "Go, and do thou likewise."

*The End of the First Volume.*

## E R R A T A.

Page 69. At the end of Calvin's life, for 1562, read 1564.

Page 170. Before 2. SEDGWICK, read [From CLARK's Lives.]

Page 319. In the notes, last line except two, delete so.

Page 367. Line 15 from the foot, for *conditions*, read *condition*.

